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Robert R. R. R.







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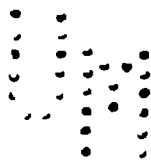
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“Our fathers worshiped in this mountain ; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.” \* \* \*

“The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. \* \* \* But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth : for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit : and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.” (John iv. 20, 21, 23, 24.)

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# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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## I.—THE JEWISH MESSIAH.—II.

WHILE treating of the Jewish Messiah, Hengstenberg discusses the question of the *angel* or *messenger of Jehovah*. This is unnecessary. But it is desirable to examine the point briefly, lest the omission should furnish an objection to our conclusion. In speaking of the *angel of Jehovah*, the Old Testament, it is alleged, shews a distinction between the hidden and the manifest God, the God who remained in concealment and the God who revealed Him. If it can be shewn that the angel of Jehovah was truly God, having divine attributes and performing divine acts, he may be identified with the Messiah. Let us therefore examine the passages which speak of the *angel of Jehovah*.

In the 16th chapter of Genesis, *the angel of the Lord* found Hagar. This angel undertakes a divine work, the countless multiplication of Hagar's posterity. He says that *Jehovah* had heard her affliction, and so predicates of *Him* what he had before assigned to himself.

In the 18th chapter, it is related that Jehovah appeared to Abraham in the plains of Mamre. When the patriarch lifted up his eyes, "three men stood by him." In the course of the interview, one of the three makes himself known as the Lord. He promises such blessings as God alone can bestow, and is called by the historian *Jehovah*.

The expression in xix. 24, "Jehovah rained—from Jehovah," is Hebraistic for "the Lord rained from himself," a noun being used for a pronoun. Hengstenberg arbitrarily assumes that the Jehovah who rained fire and brimstone is identical with the angel, and thus the latter is distinguished from Jehovah; in other words, two Jehovahs are mentioned.

In the 22nd chapter, God commands Abraham to sacrifice his son. *Jehovah's angel* prevents the consummation of the act; and the language employed to convey the prohibition implies that he is a divine person: "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, for now I know that thou fearest *God*, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me." The appellation which Abraham gives the place shews his belief that Jehovah had appeared there.

In the 31st chapter, *the angel of God* appears to Jacob in a dream. He calls himself the God of Bethel, to whom Jacob had made a vow, as is related in xxviii. 11—22, where the patriarch sees a ladder in his night vision, on which the angels ascend and descend, and at whose top Jehovah stands, calling himself the God of Abraham and Isaac, &c.

By comparing Genesis xxxii. 28—30 with Hosea xii. 3, 4, and Judges xiii. 17, we see that the same agent is called *God, angel of God* or *of Jehovah*.

In Genesis xlviii. 15, 16, Jacob wishes for the sons of Joseph a blessing from the God before whom his fathers walked, and from *the angel* who had been his protector.

In Exodus iii. 2, *the angel of Jehovah* appears to Moses in a flame of fire out of a bush, yet immediately afterwards God calls to him and avows himself Jehovah, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, &c. It appears from xiv. 19 and 24, that the angel of God and the pillar of cloud accompanying the Israelites through the wilderness were connected; the latter being the visible symbol of the former. Jehovah is represented as troubling the host of the Egyptians by looking through the pillar of fire and of the cloud; pointing to the identity of Jehovah with the angel. In xxiii. 20, God says to the people that he would send *an angel* before them to guide them into the promised land, exhorting them to obey him because he is not an usual angel, His name being in him.

In Numbers xxii. we read that God's anger was kindled against Balaam because he went; and *the angel of Jehovah* opposed him. At the end of the interview, the angel declares himself to be the author of the communication which Balaam was to make (verse 35).

When Joshua came with his army before Jericho, an unknown being appeared to him with a drawn sword, who

declared that he was captain or prince of the host of the Lord, i. e. prince of the angels (v. 14), and commanded Joshua to put off his shoes because the place he stood on was holy. In vi. 2, he appears to be called *Jehovah*.

In Judges vi. 11, an *angel of Jehovah* comes to Gideon, who is called Jehovah in the 14th verse. After he tells Gideon that *he* had sent him to save Israel, he is recognized as a divine person, addressed by the title *Adonai*, and permits a sacrifice to be offered to him. When Gideon perceives that he is an angel of the Lord, he fears he must die because he had seen such an one face to face, and builds an altar which he calls *Jehovah-shalom*.

In xiii. 3, *the angel of the Lord* appeared to the wife of Manoah. At his second manifestation to the pair, he was recognized only as a man. But when he refused to give his name because it was secret, and the sacrifice was miraculously consumed, the angel himself ascending in the flame, Manoah knew that it was an angel of Jehovah, saying to his wife, "We shall surely die because we have seen *God*."

In Isaiah lxiii. 9, the salvation of Israel is ascribed to the *angel of God's presence or face*.

In 2 Kings xix. 35, *the angel of the Lord* smites the Assyrian army.

The prophet Zechariah receives all his revelations from *the angel of Jehovah*. In i. 12—15, the latter distinguishes between himself and Jehovah of Hosts, saying he had been sent to punish the heathen for what they had done to Jerusalem and Zion. In iii. 2, *the angel of Jehovah* (verse 1) is termed Jehovah.

Psalms xxxiv. 7, and xxxv. 5, attribute to *Jehovah's angel* what is elsewhere predicated of Jehovah himself, the protection of the pious and punishment of the ungodly.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss the different explanations which have been offered of the fact described. Many expositors, including Augustine and Jerome, Bishop Clayton in his "Essay on Spirit," and Mr. H. Taylor in his "Ben Mordecai," think that the person called both angel and Jehovah is a created spirit of the angelic order, who was allowed to personate the Almighty, not only speaking by His authority, but appearing in His person and bearing His name—His representative and ambassador. This hypothesis has been often combated. It encountered

the opposition of Mr. Lindsey from a Humanitarian standpoint, and of Dr. Randolph from a Trinitarian one, neither writer arguing very successfully or philosophically.

Angels belonged to the mythology of the Hebrews who personified the powers of nature. Extraordinary operations, unusual phenomena, manifestations of God, were invested with personal attributes. They were angels or messengers of Jehovah, and are identified with Himself because they represent no distinctive being. Without independent existence, they are only the mode of His appearance, the invisible Deity unveiling Himself to mortal eyes. The word מַלְאָכִים favours this hypothesis, because its form is indefinite. It means *a sending*, not one sent; i.e. it is properly an abstract noun. Almost all the appearances of angels in the Old Testament are to be explained in this manner. The *angel of Jehovah's presence* is identical with Jehovah, because what is so termed is only the manifestation of His presence at a certain time and place, a personified mode of His operation. The Old Testament itself, in identifying the angel with the presence of Jehovah and with Jehovah himself confirms the correctness of this explanation. Nothing can be clearer than that the angel is neither a created being nor the Messiah, if the passages in Exodus xxiii. 20—23, and xxxiii. 14, 15, &c., be compared. The former shews that *the angel* is the pillar of cloud and fire which preceded the Israelites, or the active presence of Jehovah; the latter, that *the presence* or *face of Jehovah* expresses the same idea in the language of a different writer. Hence Onkelos usually renders the *presence of Jehovah* by *Shekinah*, i.e. the visible manifestation of Deity.

The topic has no proper connection with the Messiah's person as described in the Jewish writings. Even if Hengstenberg's view were correct that the angel is Jehovah's revealer, partaking of His Godhead and intimately connected with Him by oneness of nature, he is never identified with the Messiah; for Malachi iii. 1, which the critic quotes in favour of their sameness, is irrelevant. The *messenger of the covenant* is Elijah not Messiah, who is there distinguished from the Lord; and it is arbitrary to make *the angel of Jehovah* the same as *the messenger of the covenant*. If Malachi iii. 1, presents no ground for identifying the angel of Jehovah with Messiah, two other places adduced

by Hengstenberg are irrelevant, viz. Hosea iii. 5, and Micah v. 2. The explanations of both already given dissipate their Messianic nature. Who would imagine, except Hengstenberg and his school, that "the goodness of the Lord" (טוֹב יְהוָה) is identical with "the glory of Jehovah," the Shekinah of God, which was concentrated in "the angel of Jehovah;" or who else could bring forth from the single word מוֹצִיאֵהוּ in Micah v. 2, a God proceeding eternally from the invisible Jehovah and revealing him,—God the Messiah?

Another passage supposed to countenance the identity of Messiah with the angel is this: "In that day shall the Lord defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them." (Zechar. xii. 8.)

The Messianic interpretation of these words regards the house of David as culminating in king Messiah, who is identified with the angel that led the people in ancient times. Thus both the divine and human natures of Messiah are implied. But the interpretation is distorted. What the passage really says is, that Jehovah will protect Jerusalem, putting such a spirit into the inhabitants that he who is weak shall become heroic like David; and the leaders of the house of David shall be changed as it were into superhuman beings or angels who conduct the host. One person is not selected as the representative of David's house, the Messiah; but the leaders of the people, who are compared to superhuman beings or angels in heroic courage. The Messiah is not identified with the angel of Jehovah.

The *Metatron* has less relation to the Messianic doctrine than that of Jehovah's angel, though it is introduced by Hengstenberg as an element in his proof of Messiah's divinity. The Metatron in Jewish conception was one of the three highest angels, who was permitted to sit in the divine chamber and write down the virtues of the Israelites. His name is like that of his master, i.e. Shaddai. The distinction made between him and other angels is, that he sits with God in the inmost apartment, while the rest hear the divine command before the veil. Hence he is called *Prince of the face* (שֹׁרֵר הַפָּנִים), i.e. who stands before God. Though R. Elias applied Exodus xxiii. 21 to him, the interpretation did not involve his divinity; for he was nothing

more than the highest of all the angels, "a king of all kings," as he is styled in *Berith Menucha*, fol. 37. Schoettgen errs in affirming that his name was given to the Messiah, the passages he adduces being inappropriate.\* The doctrine of the Metatron was a later one. It did not even exist in the time of the Septuagint translators, though it has been so asserted on the ground of the Greek in Isaiah ix. 6, where the words are too uncertain to be cited in favour of any doctrinal proposition respecting Messiah. The translator renders אֱלֹהִים (God) by *angel*; but that is done elsewhere in the LXX. To avoid anthropomorphism or its appearance, the translator resorts to paraphrase. A theological bias may have prompted him. It is doubtful whether the doctrine of a Metatron was developed out of Judaism itself. The probability is that it came from Persia. The name occurs first in the book Sifri, belonging to the third century. It is also in the Talmud; in the later Targums, such as that of Jerusalem in its different recensions; attaining its full growth in the book of Sohar. The relation of the Metatron to the Shekinah is fluctuating; and the distinction between a higher and lower Metatron, the one of emanation, the other of creation, is only the fanciful conception of a few. In any case, the being so called was never higher than an angel or archangel, who was admitted into the counsels of God, and revealed them to men as he was directed. He may have been a kind of mediator, the revealer of Jehovah, the investiture of the Shekinah; but he was never thought of as *properly divine*. Instead of participating in God's essence, he was His instrument. While explaining the angel of Jehovah by Metatron, later Jews, far from making him Jehovah's fellow, God eternally proceeding from the unseen Creator, have believed that he was a created angel of exalted rank.

The prevailing doctrine of the Jews respecting the Messiah is expressed by Trypho in Justin Martyr. "We all expect that the anointed one will be a man sprung from men, and that Elias will anoint him."† His divinity and eternal pre-existence are pronounced foolishness by the same speaker.‡ The oldest Targums have nothing different

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\* *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, Vol. II. pp. 8, 16.

† *Dialogue*, p. 235, ed. Thirlby.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 238.



from this—no assertion of his superhuman dignity. That of Jonathan on Isaiah vii. 14, Micah v. 1, 2, is silent respecting his birth from a virgin. On Isaiah ix. 6, the words of it probably mean: "he takes the law upon him to keep it; and his name is called before him whose counsel is wonderful, the mighty God continuing for ever; Messiah, whose peace will come upon us fully in his days." According to the paraphrast, the appellation "mighty God" belongs to the subject naming, not to the person named.

At the time of Christ, Jewish ideas of the Messiah presented a threefold form. There was first, the ordinary characteristic of the prophetic writings, according to which he was a king of David's line, the conqueror of the Gentiles and righteous ruler of all peoples. This is the view of the Talmud. The second was the Danielic form, in which Messiah was a superhuman being, heavenly as well as earthly. This appears in apocalyptic literature, not in the Talmud. Thirdly, the Mosaic form (founded upon, but not meant by, the words of the *reputed* writer Moses), according to which Messiah was the great prophet like unto Moses (Deut. xviii. 15). All who regarded the law as the sacred book *par excellence* and the exclusive source of divine doctrine, adopted this idea, among whom was Philo and probably most Alexandrians. We can scarcely suppose that a fourth modification of Messianic belief existed in the apostolic period, else we should add the *mystical-Mosaic* type by which Messiah was identified with the first man Adam, re-appearing as the restorer of Paradise. This occurs in some Jewish writings. There is also a faint echo of it in the Clementine Homilies belonging to the latter half of the second century.\*

The result of our examination of the post-biblical Jewish writings agrees with that of the biblical ones. The Messiah whom prophets looked for as the deliverer of the nation and poets described in ideal colours, the future restorer of the theocracy in its highest perfection and widest extent, was a king. Following out the hints given in the book of Daniel, some later Jews conceived that he was concealed with the Father, existing before his appearance to men, the Lord and Judge of all. Highest of the creatures of God,

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\* See Homil. iii. 20; Epiphanius Adv. Hæres. xxx. p. 409, ed. Migne.

he was the divine representative, enthroned in surpassing dignity. Sometimes, again, he was considered a great prophet, the instructor of the peoples ; or the true Adam, re-appearing to bring back the paradisiacal state. It is impossible to discover a distinct vestige of the belief among the Jews that he was God or truly divine. None supposed that he was to be of the same or similar substance with the Father.\* Why? Because it was contrary to their monotheism. And we are safe in asserting, that no modern Jew interprets the Old Testament in a sense involving the divinity of Messiah's person. Both learned critics and plain readers of the Bible belonging to the race of Abraham are agreed on the point. Far be it from us to say that they are influenced by theological prepossessions in this matter—that their rejection of Jesus Christ and their aversion to Christianity lead them to take such view of their Messiah. With some it may be a motive ; of scholars and critics it can hardly be predicated. As far as Jews are honest interpreters of their own records, they are the best judges of the question, and their voice is unanimous. Differences of belief they have in relation to the interpretation of Messianic passages, some thinking that the Old Testament has no personal Messiah, while others suppose that the ideal hopes and longings of seers for a great deliverer were destined not to be fulfilled ; but all agree in this, that no prophet or writer dreamt of a person really divine as their Saviour. The Messiah was a created being, neither angel nor spirit nor God, having a nature essentially human.

It has been supposed that the *Word of Jehovah* (מִיְהוָה, מִיָּד), in the Targums or Jewish paraphrases of the Old Testament, is identical with the Messiah ; and therefore the expression has been used for doctrinal purposes. But the alleged identity is baseless. The later Jews were indisposed to represent God as a direct agent in the external world, which led to the conception of a mediative element between the finite and infinite. This was His Word, the expression of His will. Accordingly, where the Old Testament speaks of Jehovah's operations, *the Word* is employed. The *Word of Jehovah* is nothing more than Jehovah Himself, His will going forth into action, His self-revealing agency.

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\* ὁμοιούσιος or ὁμοούσιος, the former semi-Arian, the latter Athanasian, in the phraseology of Christian history.

The earlier Targums never hypostatise *the Word* or *Memra of Jehovah*. In their use of the phrase, it does not denote a substance, much less a person. With Onkelos, the Memra is an emanation from God, something different from Him, but an efflux of His essence. Jonathan seems to identity the Memra with the Holy Spirit, since he translates רוח in that manner. When Alexandrian views about the Word of God as a substance began to prevail, which Word Christians identified with their Messiah; the Jews, uniting the philosophical idea of the Logos or Wisdom of God with the predicates of Messiah, applied it to their future king. The Targum of Jerusalem seems to hypostatise the Word. In it he becomes an angel who is one with the Shekinah; a sort of mediator, Jehovah's representative through whom He works.

No clear instance of the identification of Messiah with the Memra of Jehovah occurs in the pseudo-Jonathan. One which has been quoted fails to prove the point. It is in Numbers xxiii. 21: "The Word of Jehovah their God is their help, and the jubilant triumph of King Messiah resounds among them." Here the parallel clauses are not identical but homogeneous. Another example has been adduced from the Targum on Psalm cx. 1. In the two paraphrases on the verse, given by Buxtorf, one says, "Jehovah spake by his Word (בְּמִמְרֵיהִי) to set me as lord (רַבּוֹן) over all Israel;" the other, "Jehovah spake by his Word to give me the lordship (רַבּוּתָא) for which I had sat," &c. In both instances, it has been supposed that Memra or Word is the rendering of Adonai (Lord); whereas it is a periphrasis of אֲדֹנָי. רַבּוֹן and רַבּוּתָא correspond to *Adonai*.

If our observations be correct, Hacksplan and Paulus are substantially right in affirming that *the Word of God* is an idiom or mode of expression designating God Himself; *Memra* being equivalent to נִפְשׁ and עָצָם in Hebrew, which are used for the reciprocal pronoun *self*. But along with that should be taken the genius of the oriental, and especially of the Hebrew mind. The will of God in action, His Word taking effect, was the initiative stage of that speculation to which the Jews, ignorant of second causes or the laws of nature, were unavoidably led. By degrees, the Word or self-revelation of God became so prominent, that

Jehovah Himself receded from view, and the operative power virtually took his place as a person by whom He was manifested, a mediator between the Creator and creature. Such is the process by which the mediative element tended to personality, and terminated in an outward agent.

In Jewish literature, so far as we know, no identification of the Memra of Jehovah with the Messiah occurs. It might be shewn that it is sometimes identified with the Shekinah; but the latter was only the visible presence of Jehovah, not a person. As to the correspondence of the Memra with the Greek *λόγος* in John i. 1, and its denoting the same thing, we believe with Prideaux, that it is precarious to urge it.

It is not our purpose to treat the subject controversially, else we should dispose of several hypotheses that supply the want of knowledge, or stop farther inquiry on the part of those who have a creed to uphold. If we have shewn that the Messianic conception was ideal and poetical, fluctuating and shadowy, undefined and dim; if some prophets in their highest flights of inspiration, as the deutero-Isaiah, viewed an age and a people, not a person, as the consummation of their hopes, it is easy to detect the error of divines who argue that the Jews *ought* to have deduced the doctrine of the Messiah's divinity from their own Scriptures. When the Jews are told, that had their forefathers not been swayed by prejudice they would have perceived "their promised Messiah was to be the Son of God, co-equal with God, and that he was revealed as such in their own Scriptures," they know the worth of an assertion *contrary* to their Scriptures. Or again, when the anticipation of a Messiah is pronounced to be the result of a special divine manifestation granted to favoured individuals, "by which they were enabled to behold in the essence of the divine nature the person of the Son of God," the dogmatic spectacles of a Christian creed have created a false image. It is incorrect to affirm, that the Messiah was revealed to their spirits as "the Word of God dwelling from all eternity in the bosom of the Father." The knowledge of the Messiah possessed by the Jews of old was not a constituent or essential part of their religious belief. Indeed, "knowledge" is a term inapplicable to the idea, which was rather an anticipation, a forecasting hope, a spiritual longing, an ardent

desire picturing a kingdom of righteousness and peace which attracts to itself the best of all peoples, and either absorbs the Gentiles within its wide-spread enclosure, or rears itself over their ashes, with a Davidic monarch possessed of all the attributes of office in perfection; or a kingdom needing no visible head, because a pure theocracy. It is therefore incorrect to speak of the Jewish writers having knowledge of "a mysterious person existing in the essence of the Divine Being." A Church which *ought* to contain the best learning of the land, but sometimes fails to realize her assumptions, is not exalted when her sons shew so little acquaintance with the subject they undertake to discuss. Her dignitaries and professors should avoid statements avowedly founded on the Hebrew text, which the least knowledge of the Old Testament dissipates. We are surprised, for example, to read, that the sign given to Ahaz in Isaiah vii. 14, "speaks of the Godhead and the Manhood united in one born of a pure virgin for the elevation of man;" that "the belief that *Almah* might mean a married woman; is a folly now abandoned by the most competent Hebrew scholars in Germany itself;" and that "an anointed one" in Daniel ix. 25, should be "the Messiah." No Hebrew scholar is bold enough to deny that *Almah* means a young woman of marriageable age or married, as well as a virgin properly so called. Usage and a comparison with *Bethulah* proves that meaning. For their own sakes, and on account of the many who think that official station necessarily implies talent, the clergy of the English Church should refrain from random statements.

II. A second point connected with the subject resolves itself into an answer to the question, Was he to be a suffering and atoning Messiah? Hengstenberg replies that he is so described in the Jewish Scriptures; others, as De Wette and Baumgarten-Crusius, deny it. The following passages have been cited to shew his humiliation and suffering; his death; the object of his sufferings and death.

(a) "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots." (Isaiah xi. 1.)

These words represent the Messiah as springing from the prostrate trunk of Jesse. The family of David is reduced to its lowest state when he comes forth from it as a growing

shoot, invested by the spirit of Jehovah with all the attributes of a righteous judge and ruler. Neither his humiliation nor sufferings are indicated; on the contrary, the house he descends from is a royal one, though fallen from its ancient splendour.

“Thus saith the Lord God: I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar and will set it; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs a tender one, and will plant it upon an high mountain and eminent,” &c. &c. (Ezekiel xvii. 22, &c.)

Here the Messiah is compared to a young and tender twig taken from the top of a high cedar by Jehovah to be planted on Mount Zion. If he was to be a man, as all the prophets testify, it is difficult to see anything more in the figure employed than his growth from infancy to pre-eminent exaltation. Tender youthfulness gradually passing into greatness does not imply *humiliation*.

“Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy king cometh unto thee; he is just and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.” (Zechariah ix. 9.)

This passage describes the Messiah as just and victorious, but at the same time meek and gentle. Riding on an ass's colt, he cuts off the horses and chariots of the heathen, establishing peace. In token of his peaceful disposition, he rides upon the patient, modest ass, not on the proud war-horse. But meeting with opposition, he destroys the military apparatus of his enemies. The words imply an humble, mild and peaceful spirit on the part of Messiah. The fact of his riding on a colt does not shew that he assumes the low form of a servant in order to lead a toilsome life; neither does it exclude the idea of his being a great ruler; though Hengstenberg takes both for granted.

Isaiah xlii., xlix. and l. are also adduced to shew an afflicted, suffering Messiah, but they are irrevelant. Those who think that *the Messiah* says, “I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; I hid not my face from shame and spitting” (Isaiah l. 6), neglect the context, which proves the opposite.

The 16th psalm is also brought forward as describing a suffering Messiah, whereas it introduces a pious man expressing his feelings and hopes. Thankfulness, joy and confidence, are



the writer's animating motives. Jehovah is his protector, and therefore he is conscious of security—confident that he shall be delivered from deadly danger, and find the way of life in communion with Him for ever.

It is impossible to make this psalm directly and exclusively Messianic without violating historical interpretation. The poet could scarcely transform himself into another person and speak for him. Such personal interchange is a psychological difficulty, not to say impossibility. Much of the language, too, is inapplicable to the character of Messiah as elsewhere described. Thus it is said, "They multiply their sorrows who exchange another (for Jehovah); I may not offer their drink-offerings of blood, nor take their names into my lips." That an ordinary pious man is the speaker, not Messiah, follows from the plural in the 10th verse, "thy pious ones." The description is too specific to suit the ideal king to whom poets and prophets looked forward in certain moods of mind. The lineaments in which he is portrayed are usually general. Here the speaker's subjectivity appears.

The 22nd psalm, which some take to be evidence for a suffering Messiah, must be judged in the same way as the 16th. It contains the prayer of an Israelite beseeching God to preserve his life, and praising him for the blessing. Many parts are inapplicable to the Messiah, as, "I am a worm and no man;" "My praise shall be of thee in the great congregation; I will pay my vows before them that fear him." *The piercing* of the hands and the feet expressed in the Authorized Version is foreign to the original, for the word translated *they pierced* means "like a lion." "Innumerable evils have compassed me about; mine iniquities have taken hold upon me so that I am not able to look up; they are more than the hairs of mine head, therefore my heart faileth me." Who can suppose that these words are suitable to the Messiah; or that his ears should have to be opened to the spiritual truth that God takes no pleasure in outward sacrifices, but rather desires a pious disposition, an obedient fulfilment of His commands? When the speaker refers to his preaching righteousness in the great congregation, he makes it clear that he was one of the worshipers in the temple. The psalm does not allude to the abolition of sacrifice by the self-sacrifice of the sufferer; but expresses

what is the most pleasing offering to God. The suppliant had been in distress, and praises Jehovah for deliverance from it. He is again in difficulties, and prays for speedy exemption from them, to the shame of enemies triumphing over him. It is better, however, to consider the ode as consisting of three parts (1—11, 12—21, 22—26), with the later addition of verses 27—31.

(b) The passages in which the death of Messiah is announced are said to be Psalm xvi. 9—11, where the speaker expresses a hope that Jehovah would not leave him in the grave, but raise him up again. We have already seen that the reference is to deliverance from deadly dangers. "Thou wilt not leave my soul to the under-world, nor suffer thy pious ones to see the pit,"—words containing nothing about a resurrection from the grave. The passage in Zechariah xii. 10, is inappropriate, as we have already seen. So is xiii. 7. Neither depicts the death of Messiah. And in Daniel ix. 26, the English version should be, "An anointed one shall be cut off and have no successor."

The only place in which the Messiah's death seems to be mentioned is the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, which will be examined hereafter.

(c) Some places are adduced where it is alleged that the purpose of Messiah's sufferings and death is given, viz., the removal of sin.

"To finish the transgression and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness," &c. (Dan. ix. 24.)

According to the context and the right sense of these words, the prophet states that seventy years are appointed till the transgressions and misdeeds of Antiochus Epiphanes reach their height, till the guilt of Israel be expiated, and everlasting righteousness brought in by the reign of Messiah. At the end of the abominations committed by Antiochus in Jerusalem and the temple, the writer expects the rebuilding of the city, the restoration of the temple, the anointing or dedication of the altar (the most holy), as the commencement of the Messianic age. So far from atonement being connected with the death of the Messiah, the punishment which had come upon Israel for her sins and the sufferings she had endured from enemies, are the proximate cause of restoration to the Divine favour.

"In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness." (Zechariah xiii. 1.)

The prophet describes the Messianic time in figurative language. A spring of pure water flowing from the sanctuary washes away all moral defilement. The people receive a new spirit, and all their sins are blotted out. The person and death of the Messiah are not referred to.

The only part of the Old Testament on which those who believe in a suffering and atoning Messiah can plausibly rely, is the latter portion of Isaiah—the deutero-Isaiah, as the writer is properly called, for there is no doubt that he followed the real Isaiah after a long interval. The fifty-third chapter especially is interpreted in that sense.

Who is *the servant of Jehovah* whom the unknown prophet describes? Is he Messiah?

The *servant of Jehovah* is not the Messiah, because,

1. The Old Testament never describes him as suffering, despised and rejected, imprisoned and put to death. All Messianic prophecies have a consolatory character, being meant to cheer the people with the hopes of a bright future. Inspired seers direct the attention of their downcast countrymen to a great national Saviour who should restore the kingdom to its ancient glory, and surpass David himself in the attributes of a righteous ruler. The Messianic reign is always introduced to comfort Israel. In the present instance, the picture would have an opposite effect. A suffering, despised, murdered Messiah is not fitted to raise, but depress, the hopes of the nation.

2. The Messiah is always a theocratic king. Here he does not appear in that character. Jehovah smites and bruises him. He is carried off by oppression and judgment. Afterwards, as the reward of suffering, he receives a share of booty and wealth. This is unlike his portrait in other books of the Bible.

3. It is strange that he is never mentioned distinctly, if he be intended. Other prophets speak plainly of the Messiah. Why does not the great unknown do the same?

4. The interchange of the past and future tenses shews that the writer describes one that has a past and a future, a present person or persons. This fact excludes the idea of Messiah, who could only be described as future. It is a

mere assumption on the part of Hengstenberg that the prophet takes his stand between the suffering and exaltation of the Messiah, whence the former appears to him as past, the latter as future.

5. The foreground of the prophet's view in chapters xl.—lxv. is neither the ultimate and highest realization of kingship, nor the inauguration of a perfect kingdom. Yet this is what we should expect if Messiah were described. Instead of a personal ruler, or a kingdom of complete prosperity, the foreground of the picture is the fulfilment of Israel's destination, or the future glory of the church. A revived and glorified Israel appears; a new theocracy, over which Jehovah presides; a nation characterized by love and justice, gathering into itself not only the seed of David but the whole human race.

6. There are clear traces of a plural in the eighth and ninth verses. לְמֹי in the former always implies a collective, a fact not invalidated by the example which Hulsius adduces from Isaiah xlv. 15: קְמוּתָיו is plural. Thus Messiah is excluded.

By the *servant of Jehovah* we must understand Israel, the collective nation, for the following reasons:

1. He is called Israel in xlix. 3. The word *Israel* here is not spurious, as Gesenius supposes. This sense is given by the Septuagint, which inserts *Israel* and *Jacob* in Isaiah xlii. 1, to explain "my servant" or "my elect." It is arbitrary with Hengstenberg to interpret *Israel* as meaning the Messiah.

2. His death is spoken of in the plural, shewing that the phrase has a collective sense (lii. 9).

3. He is a present person who has a past and a future.

4. He is a religious teacher of the Gentiles (xlii. 1—4, xlix. 6, lii. 11). The Messiah is never called a prophet in the Scriptures, nor is he represented as an instructor. Only in Sohar, Tikkune Sohar, and Sohar Chadash, are there a few passages which appear to indicate such office; and they are vague, not to say obscure.\*

5. He procures righteousness for many by guiding and instructing them; intercedes for them with Jehovah, and thus obtains the forgiveness of their sins. He is a mediator

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\* Schoettgen, Vol. II. p. 665 et seq.

and advocate. In the Jewish Scriptures, Messiah is neither a priest, nor an advocate with God on behalf of Israel. He is not a sacrifice for sin. The book of Sohar, with the Tik-kune, and Sohar Chadash, on which Schoettgen mainly relies for proof of the priesthood, is an inadequate witness even for the post-talmudic existence of that opinion.

6. Though he dies a violent death, he is resuscitated immediately after, living long, and performing works acceptable to God. His progeny is numerous; he looks upon his deeds and has full enjoyment in them. He takes part with the mighty and shares the spoil of the conquerors.

The only view of the servant of Jehovah that satisfies all the circumstances of the case identifies him with the nation generally, the exiles in Babylon about to return home with high expectations of happier times. This Israel is personified and idealized. The description shows considerable diversities of form. Sometimes one part of the nation is distinguished from another; the faithful worshipers of Jehovah from those who had apostatized. Sometimes the prophets and leaders are singled out. But the essence of the theocracy, the genuine representatives of the chosen people, are never lost sight of. They are the prophet's ideal, whom he holds up as *Israel proper*, and around whom his bright colours are thrown. It is to their sufferings that an expiatory value is assigned. They represent the whole, being Jehovah's witnesses whom He rewards and exalts after their sufferings have wrought out the salutary ends they were destined to effect. Thus the servant of Jehovah has a collective aspect, though painted as an individual. He is an aggregate, not an unit.

We think it not unlikely that lii. 13—liii. may have been written by another than the author of xl.—lxvi. generally, for there are some peculiarities which seem to separate it from the surrounding chapters. But the view of the servant of Jehovah in it is substantially the same as that of the preceding and subsequent contexts. The one author must have lived in the exile-time as well as the other. Perhaps also he had in view some individual who had suffered a shameful death in the cause of truth, employing him as a vehicle for the more vivid portraiture of idealized Israel. These, however are conjectures.

The passage contains the idea of *vicarious* expiation.

The pious, patient, faithful and true adherents of Jehovah suffer for the sinful and procure the remission of their iniquity. The punishment of others' sins falls upon them, and Jehovah pardons the guilty in consequence.

Those who argue for the identity of Jehovah's servant with Messiah, forget that the prophet describes an ideal Israel, ideal in theory as well as in fact. It is therefore beside the mark to raise up difficulties against our interpretation by converting poetical language into literal prose. The portrait of the whole Jewish nation as the elect servant suffering and redeeming, enlightening the Gentiles, not conquering them with the sword, restored glorified and exalted, is the prophet's picture, in which a personal king is absorbed in the larger conception of a whole people realizing the theocratic function under Jehovah himself; a conception involving a return to the time antecedent to Saul, when the nation had no visible head. The same class of expositors also forget that the spiritual regeneration of the people is never said to be the work of Messiah, but of themselves. They repent and turn to Jehovah when Messiah comes; not as the effect of his advent or power, but as their own act. Hence the eleventh verse is unsuitable if a personal Messiah be described.

The doctrine of a suffering Messiah is unknown to the apocryphal books, as well as to Josephus and Philo.

After this survey of the evidence, it is surely surprising to find grave doctors of the English Church asserting, "The portrait of an afflicted and suffering Messiah is too minutely sketched by the Psalmist (Psalm xxii., xlii., xliii., lxix.), by Isaiah (ch. liii.), by Zechariah (ch. xi.—xiii.), and Daniel (ix. 24—27), to be ignored even by reluctant Jews."

Let us now consider whether the New Testament supports the opinion that the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus expected a suffering and dying Messiah. No traces of it are found among them, any more than among their forefathers. When Jesus spoke of his death, the people answered him, "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever; and how sayest thou, the Son of Man must be lifted up?" The apostles themselves shared the common belief of their countrymen, viz., that the Messiah would deliver the Jewish nation from its enemies, the conquerors to whom they were subject, and establish a



blessed kingdom on earth. When Christ spoke of his future suffering and death, either they did not understand the meaning of his words, or the thought was abhorrent to them; for Peter exclaims, "Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee." In like manner, Cleopas, after the crucifixion, expresses the common belief, "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel." Saddened by the fate of their Master, the apostles were perplexed, not knowing what to think or how to act, because their expectations of the great deliverer were dashed to the ground.

Two passages are adduced to shew that the doctrine of a suffering, atoning Messiah was not unknown to the deeper and more reflecting spirits of the age, viz., Luke ii. 35 and John i. 29,—the former relating to the bitter pangs rending the heart of Mary; the latter, to the sacrificial, atoning death of the Lamb of God. The late date of Luke's Gospel, and the freedom with which speeches in it are reproduced, discountenance the belief that Simeon uttered the poetic song, with its Hebrew parallelisms, as it is given. The mention of Mary's grief on account of Jesus's death must have been suggested by the past fact. The words put into the mouth of the Baptist, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," which presuppose a certain interpretation of Isaiah liii., are in harmony with the symbolical character of the fourth Gospel, the lateness of its origin (about A.D. 150), and the unhistorical nature of its contents. As the Gospel is theological, the writer's ideas impregnate the language of the speakers, both of John the Baptist and others. Hence the passage fails to prove that the apostles and contemporaries of Jesus believed in the expiatory death of the predicted Messiah. It *does* shew that Gentile Christians had transferred their ideas of Jesus to the Old-Testament Messiah. Knowing that Christ had died to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, and that he professed to be the Messiah, they naturally supposed that the Jewish deliverer was represented as suffering and atoning. The two places relied upon by Hengstenberg refuse their evidence for that which they are adduced to support; and we may safely affirm, that the doctrine of Messiah's expiatory death was unknown to the Jews in the time of Jesus and the apostles.

As to the opinions of later Jews relative to the sufferings and death of Messiah, it is necessary to notice the assumption of two Messiahs—one, the son of David; the other, the son of Joseph or Ephraim, who is to lead back the ten tribes, subject them to the son of David, and then to fall in battle against Gog and Magog. This opinion about an inferior Messiah did not arise till after the temple's destruction and was never general, so that Menasseh Ben Israel calls it "an imagination of the ancients." The older Targums, the Mishna, and the Gemara of Jerusalem, speak of one Messiah only. The Babylonian Gemara, and the book of Sohar which first appeared about 1280 A.D., refer to a second. He is also mentioned in Pseudo-Jonathan and the Targum on Canticles (iv. 5, vii. 3). Expiatory virtue is attributed to the death of Messiah Ben Joseph, not to Messiah Ben David, since the latter was to live for ever.\* It must be confessed, however, that atoning efficacy is assigned to the Messiah Ben Joseph only in one passage of a very late work, the *Sh'ne Lucoth Habberith* of R. Isaiah Horwitz, who died A.D. 1610. In the *Yalkut Chadash* (fol. 141, col. 4), which is also late, it is asserted that his death happens on account of Jeroboam's sin. If the earlier Jews thought of his existence, they did not look upon his death as a vicarious atonement; and one or two passages in recent writers cannot elevate the notion into a general belief.

The origin of the fiction of Messiah Ben Joseph is difficult of explanation; some, as Glaesener and De Wette, supposing it to have arisen from a desire to explain the gathering of the ten tribes out of the whole earth and their restoration to the land of Canaan; others, as Schoettgen, attributing it to the influence of Christianity; others still, as Hengstenberg, believing that the Jews were obliged to assume a second Messiah, by the passages in the Old Testament supposed to refer to Messiah's death, especially Zechariah xii. 10. After Messiah Ben Joseph is raised from the dead along with others, by Messiah Ben David and Elias, we hear no more of him. No prerogatives are assigned to him in the kingdom of his greater successor.

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\* A few rabbins, such as Maimonides and Bechai, think him mortal; but this is exceptional. Hence R. Meir reproves Maimonides. See Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Part ii. p. 812, &c.

When the expiation of sin is attributed to Messiah Ben David, it is thought to have been effected before his earthly appearance. About his prior state, opinions differ; some thinking that he was born when the temple was destroyed, but is concealed till the time of his appearance. Thus in the Jerusalem Gemara\* we read, "A thing happened to a certain Jew as he was ploughing. When his ox lowed, an Arab passing heard the lowing and said to him, O Jew, Jew, loose thine oxen and loose thy yoke, for lo, the most holy temple is desolated. The ox lowed a second time. The Arab said to him, O Jew, Jew, put thine oxen under the yoke, and attach thy plough, for behold King Messiah is born. The Jew inquired, What is his name? to whom the Arab replied, Menahem. The Jew inquired again, What is the name of his father? the Arab replied, Hezekiah. The Jew asked, And whence is he? the Arab said, From the royal palace in Bethlehem of Judah. The Jew went away, sold his oxen and his plough, and became a seller of infants' swathing-bands, going along the street. When he came to the city of Bethlehem all the women bought bands of him, but the mother of Menahem bought nothing. He heard the voice of the other women saying, O mother of Menahem, O mother of Menahem, take what are sold here for thy son."† The place where he abides till his manifestation is uncertain; but the general tradition fixes upon Rome.

Others, believing in his pre-existence, assert that he lives in Paradise, where he makes expiation for sin. This view is in the book of Sohar, as the following passage shews: "When the Messiah had heard of the afflictions of the Israelites in their exile, and that they had befallen the people on account of their sins, because the Israelites would not know their Lord, he lifted up his voice and wept because of their sins which weighed upon them. This is indicated in the words of Isaiah liii. 5, 'He was wounded,' viz., the Messiah, 'for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities,'—understand those souls which have been put in their places. There is a certain palace in Paradise called the palace of the sick. Messiah, entering this, called all the diseases afflictions and chastisements of Israel to come

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\* Berachoth, fol. 5, c. 1.

† See also the Hagada on Lamentations, commonly called Echa Rabbathi (part of the Rabbath), fol. 59, 2, where the story is given more fully.

upon him. And they came. For unless, taking them away from Israel, he had taken them upon himself, no man would have been able to bear the punishment of Israel on account of the penalties imposed by the law. Which is indicated in the passage, Isaiah liii. 4, 'Truly he bore our diseases.'\* Immediately after it is added, "When the Israelites were in the holy land, they took away from the world all those diseases and punishments by the religious rites and sacrifices they made; but now the Messiah ought to take them away from men."† Thus it appears that the notion of expiation by the Messiah did not arise till long after the destruction of the temple. In either case, whether the atoning sufferings of the Messiah took place in his pre-existent state or in his concealment after birth, his death is not thought of. The time of his actual manifestation is said to depend on the repentance and reformation of the people themselves. If they continue impenitent, his appearance is retarded; as soon as they turn and repent, he is manifested.†

Another opinion of the later Jews which appears in the Targum of Jonathan on Isaiah liii. 11, is, that the Messiah makes atonement by intercession. This view seems to have arisen from the comparison of Messiah with Moses, who interceded with Jehovah for the people and procured the remission of their sins. It is remarkable that though the paraphrast refers some part of Isaiah lii. liii. to Messiah, he has not a word about his sufferings. All that is said about calamities and sorrows is referred to the people wretched and in exile; but the Messiah himself appears to scatter the enemies of Israel and reign over a saved race. The fact of a diversity of opinion as to the way in which Messiah atones, and his expiation being mentioned only in the book of Sohar and in Sanhedrin, suggests the conclusion that there was no fixed doctrine on the subject, and that the idea of expiation by suffering was held by very few.

When the sacrificial worship had been abolished, the Jews, feeling uneasy in their conscience, began to seek for another method of atonement, and found no readier one than by attributing the power of expiation to the Messiah. Burdened with a sense of guilt, they transferred its removal to

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\* Part ii. Exod. fol. 85, c. 2.

† See Targ. Jonath. on Micah iv. 8. Sanhed. Bab. p. 97 b.

Messiah suffering. Whether the Jews had respect to the Christian doctrine in their assumption of an atoning Messiah, cannot be affirmed with certainty. Later Judaism *was* influenced by the belief of Christians in various particulars. Thus the baptism of proselytes seems to have been adopted in imitation of Christian baptism. That it did not originate till after the destruction of the temple is clear. There is no mention of it in Philo, Josephus, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the Mishna. The Babylonian Gemara first speaks of it. It is needless to say that John's baptism was neither identical with, nor a modification of, proselyte-baptism. Allied to the washings of Israelitish worship, it symbolized repentance as understood by the Jews. Probably also some of the parables in the Talmud which resemble those spoken by Christ were borrowed from the New Testament. It is not remarkable, therefore, that expiation by the Messiah should be traceable to the same source.

The "throes of the Messiah" (חַבְלֵי מָשִׁיחַ) must not be confounded with his suffering, because they refer to the calamities of *the time* of his manifestation. These sorrows usher in his advent, and are alluded to even in the fourth book of Esdras as well as the Mishna. Many of the Jews looked forward to them with terror, or prayed that they might not see them.\*

After the doctrine of a suffering Messiah had been admitted, it was natural for the Jews to adapt passages in the Old Testament to their belief, especially as some present a facility for Messianic interpretation. Christians had already applied them in a similar way. But a later accommodation of some Old-Testament passages by a few, is far from supporting Hengstenberg's statement. It does not prove, as he supposes, that the doctrine of a suffering and atoning Messiah always existed among the Jews, and was developed out of the Old Testament independently. The following citations mislead none but the unreflecting. In the treatise Abkath Rokel, a passage is given from the book Pesikta (a Hagadic work which was not written till the beginning of the eighth century, and, though embodying old materials, having later interpolations) to this effect. "When God created his world, he stretched forth his hand under the throne of his majesty and brought out the soul of Messiah.

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\* Gemara Sanhedr. xi. § 35.

He said to him, Wilt thou heal and redeem my sons after 6000 years? who replied, I will. God said to him, Wilt thou also bear the punishments in order to obliterate their evil deeds, as it is written, He bare our sicknesses? He said to him, I will bear them gladly." In like manner, R. Moses Haddarshan (11th century) says on Genesis i. 3: "Jehovah said, Messiah my holy one, those hidden with thee will be of that kind that their sins will bring a heavy yoke upon thee. The Messiah answered, Lord of the world, I freely take upon myself these plagues and sorrows. Immediately therefore the Messiah, out of love, took upon himself all afflictions and sufferings, as it is written in the 53rd of Isaiah, He was abused and oppressed." In the book *Chasidim*, written by Judah Ben Samuel at Ratisbon, and published at Bologna in 1538, the following relation is found: "There was a devout man among the Jews, who in summer made his bed among the fleas, and in winter put his feet into cold water, in the freezing of which his feet were also frozen. When asked why he did this, he replied, that he must also do some penance, since the Messiah bears the sins of Israel." In the book *Rabboth*, the fifth and sixth verses of Isaiah liii. are referred to the fasting and humiliation of Messiah, that he may obtain mercy for the Israelites, since he intercedes for them when they sin.\* This collection of expositions belongs to various dates and authors; but none is prior to the sixth century. It is all of later origin than the Talmud. In the *Yalkut Rubeni* (middle of the 17th century) it is also stated that the Messiah bears the sins of the Israelites. These extracts consist with the idea that the Messiah suffers for the sins of the people before his manifestation or advent.

In connection with the idea of Messiah already born and bearing the sins of Israel prior to his appearing, we find the story of his being a leper, which arose from a misinterpretation of the word *צָרָה* in Isaiah liii. 8. Thus in Sanhed. f. 98, c. 2, we read, "The masters say his name is leprous, as it is written in Isaiah liii. 4, 'Surely he bare our disease because,' &c."

Yet the belief of his expiatory sufferings was never *general*. It was only the opinion of a few, an opinion vague, fluctuating, superficial, which did not encroach perceptibly on the whole creed of the people, nor enter into their spiritual

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\* B'reshith Rabba, sect. 60, ad Genes. xxiv. 67.

life. This appears not only from the fact of its mention in the late book of Sohar and one or two other treatises alone, but also from the many ways of expiation stated in various treatises. In the book of Sohar itself we read that "the death of the just is the atonement of the sins of the generation;" and, "A wise man propitiates the wrath of the king of the angels of death;" as also, "When the righteous are affected with diseases and strokes, it is usually done for the atonement of the world, viz., that all the debts of that age may be expiated. . . . when the Omnipotent God wishes to bestow health on the world, one righteous man from among them must be struck, for whose sake soundness is given to all." The opinion that the death of the righteous atones is also in the Talmud. Other ways are, the death of the sinner himself, exile and chastisement, a day of expiation, the study of the law, the observance of the Sabbath, prayer, the table (i.e. pious conversation at meals). Great efficacy is also attributed to repentance not only in the Sohar,\* but in the book Rabboth† (a Midrash on the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth.)

The method of salvation proper to Judaism is still contained in the position: "Every one that studies the law and exercises mercy and buries his children; all his sins are forgiven to such."‡ Good works are the necessary condition of salvation. The diligent perusal of the law, a merciful and kind conduct, the patient endurance of affliction as God's chastisement of his children, are the means of procuring the Divine forgiveness. Most importance is attached to the study of the law, since we find in the Megilla,§ that the reading of the sacrificial prescriptions in the law is looked upon by God as an offering presented to Him, effecting the forgiveness of evil deeds. This is a fundamental position, which retains its validity beside the occasional view of a Messiah suffering for sins which retard his advent, leading an humble life among the poor and wretched, and passing through violent struggles to deliver Israel. Such expiation is very different from the Christian one. Taken over from Christianity to Judaism, the doctrine is shorn

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\* See the passages quoted in Schoettgen's *Horsæ Hebraicæ*, pp. 294, 295.

† Vayyikra Rabba, sect. 7, fol. 131, 3, ed. Frankfurt, 1711.

‡ Bab. Berachoth, f. 5 a.

§ F. 31 b.



of its strength, being linked to the unaltered belief of the propitiatory nature of good works.

The preceding discussion leads to the conclusion that the notion of a suffering Messiah is posterior to the New-Testament age. It is also probable that it was taken from Christianity, not developed independently out of Zechariah xii. 10, or Isaiah liii. It was entertained in the time of Justin Martyr, for Trypho asserts that a suffering Christ is manifestly proclaimed in the Scriptures, and refers to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. But this testimony is unreliable, since Trypho is an imaginary speaker, to whom Justin may not always assign his proper sentiments. It is probable, however, that many Jews in the second century believed in a suffering Messiah. *The atoning power* of the Messianic suffering was a later idea than the suffering itself. That the Messiah atones by *death* is a notion foreign to the Jewish mind. In one place, indeed, his death appears to be mentioned, viz., in Jonathan's paraphrase on Isaiah liii. 12, "Because he delivered up his soul to death;" but the words express no more than the fearless courage shewn by the Messiah in redeeming his people, his voluntary exposure to all dangers in confronting Israel's enemies. This explanation, which Hengstenberg himself does not deny, is confirmed by a passage in Tr. Sota, where the same language is applied to Moses, because he said, "Yet now if thou wilt forgive their sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written."

Taking Jewish writings as the basis, we have thus investigated two points connected with the Messiah's person,—his alleged divinity, which is tantamount to the possession of two natures; and his suffering, atoning character. The result is, that neither doctrine is found in the canonical or deuterocanonical Scriptures. Jews have not held the *first*; nor has Schoettgen proved it to be their belief; the passages he adduces being mostly from the book of Sohar, and irrelevant. Besides, he himself argues that Simeon Ben Jochai, the reputed author of the Cabbalistic production, was a Christian. The obscurity and enigmatical character attaching to Sohar make it a precarious foundation for any Jewish opinion. It is even doubtful whether R. Simeon was the writer, for much of it at least bears the stamp of later times. The doctrine of an atoning Messiah was not entertained till a later period than the apostolical,



and even then by a few indefinitely, so that it has never been a Jewish dogma. Schoettgen's assertion, "that the Messiah made satisfaction for the sins of men is the uniform doctrine of the ancient Jews," cannot be sustained; and all that he alleges in its support is futile, because Sohar and some other late books are his authority. Israelitish ideas about atonement, since the destruction of the second temple, have not been uniform, but vary in the thing or person that makes expiation. The means of forgiveness and the procurement of divine favour are for the most part unconnected with Messiah, having less of the vicarious than of the individual element. They depend on the person sinning rather than another. If expiation involve merit, the latter belongs to the offender. Such at least is the general creed—a creed not in harmony with the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, where the proper idea of a vicarious atonement is indicated.\* Idealized Israel, or the pious part of the people, especially the prophets, suffer the punishment due to the sins of ungodly Israel or the apostate class. Godly atones for ungodly Israel,—a conception, however, not essentially different from that of Israel atoning for its own sins.

Perhaps it would be better to avoid the use of the term *atonement* when speaking of Judaism, because the Christian doctrine is so different from anything which appears in the Jewish creed. The second Article of the Church of England speaks of the Son of God, "who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men." If such be the right doctrine of the satisfaction or atonement effected by Christ, it is very unlike what the Jews mean when they speak of the removal of sin. The idea of *satisfying* the Father's *justice* by another's self-sacrifice, or of *purchasing* reconciliation and an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, forms no feature of their creed; it is infinite mercy which presides over the Almighty's ways. The notion of one *purchasing* the favour of God by perfect obedience and a voluntary death on behalf of others, because Jehovah must vindicate the authority of his law, would be repudiated by an intelligent Israelite.

These remarks imply, that the Jews did not attribute

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\* See Gesenius's Commentar ueber den Jesaia, dritter Theil, p. 187.

priestly functions to their Messiah. The Old Testament contains no trace of his priestly, any more than of his prophetic, character. He was to be a king or ruler, higher, nobler, better, than his royal ancestor David.

The belief in a Messiah to come is one article in the creed of an orthodox Jew, but it should not, because it does not form an organic part of the national belief, either in the written or the oral law. A latitude of opinion on the subject has been allowed and taken, at least till the time of Maimonides, whose literary labours tended to impede more than advance freedom of thought among his co-religionists. The Messianic idea should be regarded as a *fluctuating opinion*, which was never received universally, and cannot have the authority of a fixed belief. Yet Maimonides says, "Whosoever does not believe in him and does not expect his advent, denies not only the other prophets, but the law and Moses our teacher."\* It is the twelfth article of the thirteen contained in the prayer-books of orthodox Jewish synagogues, where we read, it is necessary to believe in a coming Messiah, to celebrate him, to receive him with honour and love, and pray for him according to what has been handed down by all the prophets, from Moses even to Malachi. Probably the majority of Reformed Jews do not hold it. As far as we are able to ascertain, they have abandoned the faith in a Messiah to come. Even Hillel, in the second century, said that the Messiah had come already in the days of Hezekiah, so that he could not be looked for again; though his colleagues took it amiss, saying, "The Lord forgive him." We know also that Joseph Albo censured Maimonides severely for retaining this article of faith. The opinion of the Reformed Jews of the present day, or at least of their best scholars and critics, appears destined to prevail. What time must elapse till it become general, can only be conjectured. The force of tradition, the power of prejudice, an obstinate attachment to what is ancient, will retard the day. But it will assuredly come. Meantime, the authority of Maimonides is the chief obstacle to the speedy removal of the old faith. If the first Moses did much harm, as some Jews who regard him as the author of the priestly system assert, the second did more; for by systematizing ancient views, and giving them a philoso-

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\* See R. Mosis Majemonidis tractatus de legibus Hebræorum, by Leydecker, pp. 181, 182.

phical varnish, he strengthened the permanence of the antiquated. But the old building must be pulled down. Mosaic *Hebraism* could not be upheld. Even the ideal, unsymbolic *Hebraism* of the prophets and poets was destined to pass away. Much more destructible is *Judaism*, that heterogeneous mixture of the positive elements of *Hebraism* with foreign mythological and metaphysical doctrines, in which reflection extinguished inspiration. The latter, which has made a return to *Hebraism* impossible by superseding it, can only abide by being constructed anew. Like chaos, it awaits creative power to give it inherent vitality. Rational criticism must conquer in the end, and *Judaism* as a system pass away, being absorbed into a religion which abides. Its dreams about a future king Messiah restoring the house of David, rebuilding the temple, collecting the dispersed of Israel, and reigning in Palestine over a people observing again the ceremonial law as well as keeping the sabbatical years with the jubilees according to the precepts of Moses, will disappear before a more spiritual worship. The Reformed Jews are the pioneers for the race of another era, in which Christians and they may not differ greatly in all that constitutes religion. But the latter must not, with Geiger, depreciate Jesus Christ because he was a reformer of *Judaism*, putting him below Hillel, a far inferior reformer of the same; neither should they dream of a new Hillel, since an incomparably greater than he has appeared in the crucified Nazarene, who purified the old religion from traditional rubbish, and founded a higher than any rabbi has thought of. Whoever expects that another Hillel will exalt the old religion to a better platform than that of Jesus, will be certainly disappointed. Nor should the sons of Abraham refuse to admit, that the indirect influence of Christianity upon them has been highly beneficial; that they have reaped the advantages of Christian civilization to an extent they can hardly perceive, and are thriving best in lands where the light of the later religion shines brightest. Rightly do they set small value on the Talmud compared with the Old Testament, and discard it as a bond of union. Rightly also do they refrain from allegorizing its absurd stories and idealizing its contents; from finding hidden meanings of high import in its tales of wonder. They need not fear, therefore, to adopt *every* salutary reform.

When the difference between Christians and Jews dwindles to its minimum, Israel will cease to be her old self, laying aside a separate cultus. She will cast off the garment of Judaism, and rise to the height of a piety unencumbered with rites. Seeing Jesus to be the express image of the Father, a future Messiah will be abandoned for the revelation of Jehovah in His Son. Still retaining her monotheism, she will awake to the evil of sin, having better ideas of repentance and of the channel in which divine mercy flows forth. The essential in Christianity must be adopted, to ensure the permanence of a rational religion; and though the Jew may give it another form, he must necessarily cling to it, unless he lets go his hold upon the invisible God, and remains without hope in the world.

Every devout Christian must long for the time when Jew and Gentile shall join in ascribing praise to the one Jehovah, and to his Son Jesus Christ, the revealer of the Father; when the ardent hopes of the apostle respecting the salvation of Israel shall be realized; and the nations learn the great lesson of charity which the anointed One taught in its highest form, exemplifying it in his person as it had never appeared before. It will usher in the regeneration of the world when Jews become Christians, not in the orthodox and narrow sense of the word, but in the broad catholic sense; and rise up, after the ideal of Christ, to a higher existence as members of the great church to which the good and noble belong. The golden age for which prophets longed and seers sighed, the Messianic reign of righteousness and peace, will merge in a time when peoples, bursting the shell of their petty theologies, shall unite in hearty striving after the divine model of self-sacrificing devotion embodied in him who founded a kingdom of imperishable truth. And are there not symptoms of a coming revolution in men's ideas about the Bible and the God of the Bible? Have they not caught a glimpse of the fact that Christian life is of more importance than theological dogma; that love to God and man is infinitely superior to orthodoxy; in short, that "the rock of salvation" is not a dead Christ covered with the pall of traditional formularies, but the living Christ whose spirit breathes and acts in that of advancing humanity with the energy of an immortal youth, increasingly fresh from age to age?

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

## II.—JOHN REUCHLIN.

AMONG the precursors of the Reformation, there are few who deserve to be held in more honourable remembrance than John Reuchlin, not only on account of his great learning and noble character, but still more for the courageous stand which he made against ignorance and bigotry, at a time when ignorance and bigotry were both powerful and dangerous. Erasmus gives him the credit of having been the first to awaken in Germany some love for Greek and Hebrew studies, and styles him "that illustrious phoenix of learning in three languages,"\* meaning, of course, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, in all of which he was a proficient. The same writer, in a dialogue which he wrote in his honour after his death, proposed to canonize him, but without the help of the Pope; and truly Reuchlin was made of rather different stuff from that which composes the great majority of Catholic saints. Rome has never been very favourable to literature, and if a few learned men have found their way into her calendar, it has been only when learning has been made entirely subservient to her interests, or antiquity has thrown its friendly shadow over any possible heresies. Reuchlin was far too bold and independent a thinker to attain the highest rewards of his Church, or even enjoy her confidence. He was one who could say,—speaking of respect for great authorities and of his deviations from them,—“Although I venerate St. Jerome as an angel, and honour Nicholas de Lyra as a master, yet I adore the Truth as God.”† To adore the truth as God, and place it above the authority of the Church, is a noble thing in a man, but it is not quite the fitting attitude of mind for a sound Catholic of the Roman type. Again, a burning intolerance is another very essential quality in the saintly character. In this quality Reuchlin was altogether deficient. If the soul of tolerance is to have a respect for the conscientious convictions of others, however widely they may differ from our own, this great man was tolerant to a remarkable degree. A firm believer

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\* *Egregius ille trilinguis eruditionis phoenix.* Erasmi Colloquia, Apotheosis Capnionis.

† *Quonquam enim Hieronymum sanctum veneror ut angelum, et Lyræ colo ut magistrum, tamen adoro veritatem ut Deum.*—Jo. Reuch. De Rud. Heb. Lib. iii.

himself in the doctrines of his Church, he could yet look without horror upon the poor outcast Jew—nay, he could believe that he too had a conscience, and that some sounder principle than mere obstinacy might be at the bottom of his unbelief. He could urge, in defending the literature of the persecuted Hebrews, that although their books might be false “according to our opinion,” they might be true “according to their opinion and belief.”\* Very simple words these may seem; but do they not really contain the pith of the whole matter? Allow that your neighbour’s opinion, though it seems to you utterly false, seems true to him, and if you “adore truth as God,” you will certainly sustain him in his right to hold it, at all events until his reason is satisfied that he has been wrong. If Reuchlin was ever roused to indignation and bitterness, it was only when the vile instruments of persecutors who shrank from too open an attack were employed to shoot at him their poisoned arrows. Yet we may well believe that there was more bitterness in his pen than in his heart. From the serene heights of his learning and philosophy, he might well have looked down with an eye of pity on the poor wretches who in their fierce zeal for ignorance sought to bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

The life of Reuchlin will ever form a most interesting chapter in the history of the period preceding the Reformation. To give such an account of the man and his work as may be possible in a short space, is the object of the following pages.

John Reuchlin—or Capnio, as he was afterwards called by those who thought a German name was not good enough for a scholar—was the son of a poor but worthy citizen of Phorzheim, in Baden, where he was born on the 28th of December, 1455. Of his early training we know little. But his musical talents appear to have first drawn attention to him, and procured him an introduction to the court of Baden, where he was entered among the court singers, and soon rose into favour. The result of this early appreciation of his abilities was, that in his eighteenth year he was sent to Paris, where he devoted himself assiduously to the study

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\* “— und dissen stuck moechten die jüden bücher nach unser meinung falsch sein, aber nit nach irer meinung oder nach irem glauben.” —Augen-spiegel.

of Latin, and attended the lectures of a famous grammarian, John de Lapide or Lapidanus. There, too, he made the acquaintance of the celebrated Wersel, then an old man, who gave him his first lessons in Hebrew, and exhorted him to the study of Greek. Being destined for the profession of the law, he studied at the school of Orleans, and in 1479 obtained from the doctors the honourable title of Papinianist,\* after which he married and settled down to the practice of the law at Tübingen. Subsequently he attained to the highest honours, being made a count-palatine and counsellor of the Emperor; and in the year 1502 he was elected a judge of alliance under the Suabian league, which honourable office he held for eleven years. Learning, however, had far greater charms for Reuchlin than the drudgery of his profession, or even its honours and rewards; and in one of his works we find him lamenting that he enjoys so little intercourse with people who would value elegant phraseology, and that when he is consulted about the ordinary matters of litigation he is compelled to reply, not in Latin, but in the common language of the country. Such was the taste of those days—necessitated of course by the lack of literature—when the ghost of a dead language was preferred to the vigorous German or the sweet-sounding Italian. Meantime Reuchlin had used every opportunity of acquiring a command of both Latin and Greek, and so earnest was he in his studies, that when barely twenty he had compiled a dictionary of the former language, and some time afterwards wrote a Greek grammar, to which he gave the name of *Micropædia*. Besides, he not only spoke Latin with fluency and correctness, but, what was uncommon if not altogether unique in a “barbarian,” with the true Italian pronunciation, so that he was listened to with delight even at Rome. Greek, he tells us, somewhat quaintly, “he learned in fragments, and by, as it were, picking up crumbs from the master’s table.”† He had, however, the advantage of learning from some of the best teachers of that age; among others, from Argyropylus of Constantinople, whose lectures upon Thucydides he took the opportunity of attending when he

\* “Fui a doctoribus honore Papinianistarum decoratus.”—De Rud. Heb. Lib. i.

† “Græcorum linguam frustillatim et quasi micas de mensa domini cadentes accepi.”—De Rud. Heb. Lib. i.



visited Rome for the first time during the pontificate of Sixtus IV. This famous scholar is said to have exclaimed in rapture, on hearing Reuchlin translate Thucydides, "Now has our banished Greece found a refuge beyond the Alps!"

But Hebrew was Reuchlin's special study, and that on which his fame as a scholar must chiefly rest. He was in fact the author, with the exception of a small attempt extending to a few pages by Conrad Pellican, of the first Hebrew grammar and dictionary. This really great work, the materials for which he had collected with indefatigable industry and at no little expense, and which he says he was impelled to write lest otherwise the knowledge of Hebrew should be lost in consequence of the persecution of the Jews, appeared in the year 1506. It is dedicated to his brother Dionysius, a priest, whom he exhorts to learn Hebrew as well as Greek, "the more especially as the Jews of our time, moved by envy or ignorance, are unwilling that any Christian should be instructed in their language;" and he ends it with the justifiable boast, from Horace—"Exegi monumentum ære perennius." But besides this, Reuchlin was the author of two other very learned works, of a less solid, but in many respects more interesting character, which may now be noticed at some greater length, not only as illustrating the peculiar genius of the man, but as specimens from a somewhat unfrequented field of literature. One of these was on the Cabbalistic art; the other was entitled, "De Verbo Mirifico," or "The Wonderful Name;" and these works were no doubt considered by their author of far greater consequence than the grammar, being in fact the actual treasures to which the other was but the key. Thus it will be seen that Hebrew had for Reuchlin all the attractiveness of a mysterious art. Indeed, he himself claims for his "Rudiments," that they "would open the way to the prosecution of the profoundest sciences," and this opinion he supports by the authority of his friend Pico di Mirandola, an enthusiast for Cabbalistic studies, and from whom he had himself first caught the infection. "Whoever," he says, "understands thoroughly the principles of the Hebrew tongue, and adheres to them in his scientific investigations, has a rule for the perfect discovery of everything which it is possible for man to know."

It is not very difficult to understand the nature of the



interest which attracted at least two of the best minds of the fifteenth century to Cabbalistic investigations, and which would probably have attracted many more, had not the science been so difficult of attainment. The Hebrew language was confessedly a sacred language. It was the language which God himself had spoken, and which He had taught to the first man. Was it not likely that it concealed much more than fell upon the outward ear? Again, the Hebrew Bible was confessedly a sacred book. Every word and every letter were in their place by the direct appointment of Heaven. That was a circumstance which both Jews and Christians might join in believing, and which few had learned to doubt. Was it probable, then, that such interference had taken place merely to record the events of a history, however wonderful, or to institute laws and manners for a people, however favoured? Or was it not more probable that underneath the obvious meaning of Scripture, and implied in the arrangement of words and letters, there were many secrets which only the initiated might read? This is indeed the principle of all allegorical and mystical interpretations; and such is the idea on which the Cabbala was founded. The theory was, that upon Mount Sinai the Law had been delivered in two forms—the one, the written Law, which is the same as that now contained in the Pentateuch; the other, the unwritten Law, of which the former was but the shadow, and which was transmitted from mouth to mouth among the most holy men of the Jews to the time of Ezra, by whom it was at length committed to writing, lest it should be lost for ever amid the constant vicissitudes to which the nation was exposed. Thus under the more obvious meaning of the Hebrew text the most recondite truths might be concealed; nay, even the form of a letter might involve some august and awful mystery. Such, in the fewest words, was the art which Reuchlin undertook to recommend to his countrymen.

The work on the Cabbalistic art, which did not appear for several years after the Hebrew grammar, is in the form of a dialogue between Philolaus, a young Pythagorean, Marranus, a Mohammedan, and a Hebrew named Simon, who is the chief speaker, and unfolds the mysteries of his faith to his companions. It would be unprofitable to attempt anything like a full analysis of a work of this kind, but it

may be stated that it treats, among other subjects, of the revelations made to Adam, Shem, Abraham and the other patriarchs, each of whom had his own angelic instructor; of the first and second Adam; of the restoration of the angels; of the Messiah; of hurtful demons and the means of driving them away; of the resurrection and regeneration of the dead. Information upon all these subjects was deducible from Scripture by a threefold method of interpretation, which no doubt might be made by the exercise of a little ingenuity to prove almost anything that the most unrestrained imagination could suggest: namely, first by putting one word in place of another; secondly, by putting a word in place of a letter; and, thirdly, by substituting one letter for another letter. The lost books of Scripture seem to have been all regarded as Cabbalistic, but there was besides a mass of literature upon this subject still extant with which Reuchlin had evidently made himself acquainted. The titles of some of these books are sufficiently characteristic. Such are, "De Splendore," by Simeon, son of Johai; "Portæ Justitiæ," by Rabbi Joseph, son of Carnitolis; "De Credulitatibus," by Rabbi Saadia; "Liber explanationum Alphabeti;" and it may perhaps be thought no bad commentary on the nature of the speculations contained in these works, that one of them—and of all others "De Splendore"—is said to have been written in a vast and gloomy cave, in which the author lay concealed from the sight of the world for four-and-twenty years. The following sentences from the close of this work will illustrate the earnest and elevated spirit in which Reuchlin pursued his investigations, while they also shew that the Cabbala did not confine itself to mere dreams, but sometimes sought to grapple with the deepest problems of philosophy. Reuchlin has quoted from the Mystic Theology of Dionysius the Areopagite (of the genuineness of whose works he was a warm defender), the statement that God is neither Number nor Order nor One nor Unity, and proceeds to ask, "What then is He? The answer of Simonides to Hiero," he continues, "was, that the more he reflected upon the subject, the less was he able to understand it. I have had a similar experience; for when, passing the bounds of creation, I ascend above all being, I find only an infinite sea of nothingness and a fountain of all existence springing perennially from the abyss of dark-

ness. O the height! O the depth! O the weakness of humanity! But it should be enough for us to know of Him what He has been pleased to reveal to us of Himself”\*

The other treatise, “*De Verbo Mirifico*,” might be supposed to be a sequel to that just noticed, as discussing a single branch of the same subject, but in reality it was published many years before. This work opens with a protracted conversation between Sidonius, a student of the heathen systems of philosophy, Baruch, a Hebrew, and Capnio, a Christian, on the possibility of divine revelation. Sidonius maintains, on the principles of Epicurus and Lucretius, that man can have no true knowledge of divine things, there being no proportion between the finite and the infinite; to which Baruch replies by referring to several instances of inspiration among the heathen, and then to the history of his own nation, as being more authentic. Presently Capnio, who of course speaks for the author, joins the conversation, observing that all the senses have their proper objects; but, as Epicurus himself asserts, the eye and the other organs of sense have no cognizance of the essential nature of things; and hence the need of a special faculty for this purpose. This, then, is the province of reason. Truth is the food of reason, just as colour is the food of the eye, or sound of the ear. So far is he from admitting that we have no knowledge save of material things, that he maintains that of these things we have no knowledge at all. The nature of substances is entirely different, being incorrupt and immutable, and there are divine things which are perceived not by sensible apprehension, but by the force of the intellect. Thus it will be seen how thoroughly Platonic and transcendental was the philosophy of Reuchlin. He would not, however, acknowledge any debt to Plato, but rather imagined, as many had imagined before him, that Plato owed much to the Scriptures.† In the second book, Capnio, who has undertaken to instruct his two companions

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\* “*Respondit Hieroni Simonides, Quanto magis cogito, tanto minus intelligo. Et mihi accidit simile; cum exactis omnibus creatis ascendem supra omne ens non invenio aliud quam infinitum pelagus nihilitudinis, et fontem omnis entitatis ex abyssu tenebrarum manantem perenniter. O altitudo, O profunditas, O nostra infirmitas! At satis videri debet id nos de illo nosse quod ipse nobis de se revelavit,*” &c.

† “*Et, O Deus bone, quanta invenio illum istinc (e Scripturis) piscatum, magna ex parte verbum e verbo!*”

in some of the deeper mysteries of the Cabbala, proceeds to explain how man may pass upwards into God and God dwell in man. This property is a profound secret, but it seems to consist in a knowledge of the Divine names. The name by which God revealed himself to Moses was Ehieh ; but a still higher name, as some considered it, because it expresses the identity of the Divine essence, was Hu—the name by which God calls himself when He appears to Isaiah, saying, I am the Lord, Hu is my name. And a third name, also of deep import, is Esth, signifying fire, the three together denoting an ineffable Trinity subsisting in the Godhead, and corresponding with the trinity of substance, virtue and operation, which is contained in all visible things. But a name far more sacred than any of these is the unutterable Tetragrammaton—IHUH. “Four-lettered name, nowhere discovered by man, imparted by God alone! Name sacred and adorable! The one name by which God alone may be blessed according to the religion of our fathers! Most mighty name, which the angels worship, the devils fear, and all nature honours ; which often found by the earnest seeker, but hidden from the knowledge of priests,\* is said to confer miraculous powers upon man!” Each letter in this mysterious name is shewn to have a special signification according to its place in the Hebrew alphabet, and its general character and value. Thus the first letter, the Iod, being represented by a point, and having the numerical value of ten, the final numeral, means the beginning and the end, and therefore denotes God in his absolute unity. The Vau, being the copulative conjunction, and having the power of changing tenses, denotes all things in which matter and form are *conjoined*; that is, the visible universe. And so with the two remaining letters. That the Idea of quaternity exists in God, might be inferred from its presence in nature, where there are four seasons, four elements, four points of the compass. Man, too, consists of four parts, as Ovid says :

Bis duo sunt hominis, manes, caro, spiritus, umbra.

But the Tetragrammaton is not yet the wonderful name in honour of which the work was written. A third book

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\* It is not easy to translate “*ab assiduis cultoribus imbibitum, et sacerdotiis mentibus inescatum.*” Is there a sarcastic reference in this unusual phraseology to the communion in one kind ?

shews how the Tetragram must become the Pentagram, how by the insertion of another letter Ihuh must become Ihsuh; and this is the name "which is above every name that is named in heaven or on earth, or in the world to come." "There is no power in heaven or on earth," says Capnio, "which can dare to resist the name Ihsuh." But whence, it will be asked, did Reuchlin obtain this particular form? For he tells us himself it was altogether different from the name Jesu which other men had borne, and indeed it was necessary that it should be a new name. The answer is, that he found it in the familiar symbol I.H.S.; and it is a curious illustration of the blunders which a learned man may commit with his eyes open in obedience to the demands of a theory, that he charges previous grammarians with ignorance for having taken "this Latin H" for the Greek vowel η. Capnio then recites many examples of the power of this wonderful name, and finally quoting Paul's words, The preaching (word) of the cross is to them that perish foolishness, but to them that are saved the power of God, he announces that this *verbum crucis* is the greatest and most secret mystery of the Wonderful name, and whispers it in the ears of his friends, withholding it, however, from the reader.

The treatise "De Verbo Mirifico" was received with great applause. A contemporary described it as the most extraordinary and the most eloquent work he had ever seen. Such praise, indeed, was extravagant; but it is not to be denied that it contains many fine passages, and is pervaded throughout by a deeply earnest tone, sometimes rising to enthusiasm, and by a sincerely religious spirit, frequently tinged with mysticism. Another valuable contribution which Reuchlin made to the study of Hebrew was his commentary on the seven penitential Psalms, with a new Latin translation.

It was from his Hebrew studies that Reuchlin's troubles began. One who had ventured to point out errors in the Vulgate, as he had naturally done here and there in his Hebrew dictionary, could not but be an object of suspicion to the ignorant monks; and it was not long after the publication of that work that an opportunity presented itself of making him sensible how dangerous it is to know too much. In the year 1510, Reuchlin, though not yet sixty, was beginning to feel himself an old man. The incessant labours

of the scholar, the courtier and the advocate, were telling upon his constitution ; and he had withdrawn as far as possible from public business to seek amid congenial pursuits the repose of a dignified and honoured old age. He was now residing at Stuttgart, where one day as he sat in his study, probably pondering some deep Cabbalistic mystery, a visitor was announced. A man shabbily dressed, with a hang-dog look, entered the room and laid before him a paper which he said was a mandate from the Emperor condemning all Jewish books with the exception of the Bible ; and this mandate he had brought to Reuchlin's house, hoping that he, as a Hebrew scholar, would accompany him down the Rhine, and lend his assistance in executing the Emperor's commands. The visitor's name was John Peppercorn. He was a Jew who had received baptism not many years before, having apostatized—if his enemies may be believed—in order to escape hanging at the hands of his co-religionists.\* Whether that was strictly true or not, he was evidently a religious fanatic of the very lowest type, and his conduct subsequently to his conversion might justify even the worst view of his motives. From that moment he had continued to persecute his former co-religionists with the most unrelenting zeal, and had written a series of tracts against them, urging Christian princes to drive them out of their territories and to prohibit their books, and representing them as more dangerous than the devil, and as bloodhounds whom it is the duty of Christians to persecute. How well he understood the arts of controversy may be inferred from the title he gave to one of these tracts—"I am a little Book, the Foe of the Jews is my Name." Thus the atrocious design of destroying an entire literature, perhaps not very valuable in itself, but valuable to those whose traditions and language it preserved, was not new with this man ; he had now, however, as he supposed, obtained an instrument for carrying his design into effect. Reuchlin did not like the fellow's look, and he liked his proposal still less. Fortunately his legal skill was able to detect a flaw in the mandate, which he pointed out and described in writing ; and this, with the

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\* "Sed dicitur hic quod Joannes Pfefferkorn, quem etiam defenditis vos, est malus nequam, et non est factus Christianus amore fidei, sed propterea quod Judæi voluerunt eum suspendere propter suas nequitias, quia dicunt quod est fur et proditor," &c.—Ep. Oba. Vir. 23.

plea of other business, furnished him with an excuse which it was impossible not to accept.

Nothing more was heard of Peppercorn or his plots for some time, till towards autumn in the same year there came to Reuchlin a letter from the Archbishop of Mayence enclosing an imperial commission, by which he was commanded to write to the four Universities of Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt and Heidelberg, and also to James Hochstraten, Inquisitor at Cologne, John Reuchlin, teacher of law, Victor von Korb, priest, and others learned in the Hebrew language and law, but not Jews, to give their opinion whether it would be for the interest of the Christian faith that the books of the Jews should be destroyed. This was accompanied by a mandate from the Emperor addressed to the Universities and individuals above named, recommending them to aid the Archbishop in this matter. Their answers were to be sent to the Archbishop, and by him forwarded along with his own to the Emperor by the hands of Peppercorn.

The opinion of Reuchlin is a careful discussion of the whole subject, in which the zeal of the advocate seldom leads him to forget the impartiality of the judge. He divides Jewish literature into several classes, and, examining each by itself, shews that there are good reasons why it should not be destroyed. Passing from the Holy Scriptures, which are not in question at all, he comes to the Talmud, which he says has been assigned to different dates, but is in any case more than a thousand years old. It consists of four parts, of which the first treats of holy things, of fasts and ceremonies; the second, of roots and seeds; the third, of marriage and women; and the fourth, of judgments and laws. Reuchlin, however, speaks only at second-hand, as he had never been able to procure a copy of the Talmud, though he would willingly have given double its price. He was not acquainted with half the books in it, nor did he know any Christian who was, nor even any baptized Jew save one, and he had gone back to his former faith. The Talmud, moreover, is extremely difficult to read, owing to the number of Eastern languages that are employed in it,—Babylonian, Persian, Arabic, Greek, and other tongues,—and the frequent abbreviations, so that there are not many Jews who understand it, to say nothing of Christians. It



is quite credible that the Talmud may contain many falsehoods concerning our dear Lord, as that he was the son of a carpenter and a poor woman, that he had a devil, and so forth; but granting that that is so, Reuchlin is still prepared to maintain that it ought not to be burned. His reasons, which are set forth at considerable length, need not be detailed. One, however, is sufficiently remarkable to require notice. He can prove, he says, from the Talmud that Christ has come, and thus refute the Jews out of their own mouth. The Talmud says that the law of Moses shall cease in four thousand years from the creation of the world; then shall the law of the Messiah begin and last two thousand years; and then the world shall come to an end, having lasted six thousand years in all, as it was made in six days. But, according to Jewish calculation, this is the year of the world 5271, so that the true Christ, by their own showing, must have come thirteen hundred years ago. As to the Cabbalistic literature, Reuchlin quotes the proposition of Pico di Mirandola, that there is no science which renders us more certain of the Godhead of Christ than magic and the Cabbala, and shews that some of the Popes themselves had been favourable to this literature, Sixtus IV. having even commanded that it should be translated into Latin. The remaining classes into which the Jewish literature had been divided, commentaries on the Scriptures, sermons, hymn-books, and other books regulating their public worship, works on philosophy and the natural arts, do not require any laboured defence. In short, the only books that Reuchlin permits to be burned are those written expressly in contempt of Christianity, and of such works he knows of no more than two—the *Nizahon* and the *Tolduth Jeschu, ha nozri*, which the Jews themselves regard as apocryphal. Any affirmation, however, to the effect that Jesus is not God, he will not allow to be blasphemy. That is simply their belief, and as such has been endured by the Church for fourteen hundred years. Reuchlin next proceeds to refute the arguments that might be urged upon the other side, and in dealing with the assertion that the Jews had falsified their Scriptures, he takes the opportunity of speaking highly in their praise. “I know of no people on this earth,” he says, “who are more scrupulously accurate than the Jews in copying the Holy Scriptures.” The noble breadth of his



spirit appears in his statement, that even if it were true, as some maintained, that their literature was an obstacle to the conversion of the Jews, he would nevertheless take from no man his own. "The Jew is our Lord God's as well as I; if he stands, he stands to his own Master; if he falls, he falls to his own Master; every one must give an account of himself."\* Reuchlin concludes this remarkable defence of the liberty of the press with a proposal which to his ignorant persecutors must have seemed an aggravation of his other offences. He recommends that the Emperor should command every university in his dominions to institute two Hebrew professorships. The consequence would be, that the Jews would settle in our lands, and willingly lend their books until by printing or copying we should be in possession of all their literature. Our students would soon be so well acquainted with Hebrew, that they would be able to address the Jews in kindly words in their own language, and would thus gain them over to Christianity.

Such was the document which Reuchlin now forwarded to the Archbishop of Mayence by the hands of a trusty messenger. Whether it was on the way thither, or after it had left the hands of the Archbishop, that it got into the possession of Peppercorn, may be a little uncertain, but Reuchlin had no doubt that the baptized Jew, as he delights to call him, must have opened and read it before it reached the Emperor,—an offence for which it seems he might have been hanged.† Peppercorn, enraged to find himself opposed in his diabolical scheme, immediately attacked Reuchlin in a tract called the "Hand-glass," in which he loaded him with abuse, and accused him of having been bribed by the Jews to plead their cause. He had even the impudence to charge him with ignorance of Hebrew, forgetful of the fact that it was his knowledge of Hebrew which had first involved him in the quarrel. The "Hand-glass" was in the vulgar tongue, and was publicly sold by Peppercorn himself and his pretty wife in the market of Frankfort, or, when

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\* "Der Jud' ist unsers herr gotts als wol als ich; stat er, so stat er seinem herrn, fällt er, so fällt er seinem herrn, ein yeglicher würdt für sich selbs müssen rechnung geben."—Rathschlag.

† Reuchlin gives his authority in these words: "Consiliorum nostrorum renunciatores dum vivi exurantur aut furca suspendantur." But it is obvious that Peppercorn may have obtained leave to read the paper from the Archbishop himself.

buyers waxed few, was given away. Reuchlin was naturally indignant, and having applied to the Emperor for a trial, when no citation came from the Bishop of Augsburg, to whom the case was referred, he felt it necessary to take some step for his own vindication. So, in answer to the "Hand-glass," he produced his "Eye-glass," in which he gave a detailed narrative of the circumstances, and printed in full his opinion on the question of the Jewish books. And to this, written in the vulgar tongue, there was appended a Latin disquisition going over much the same ground, and finally a charge against the "Hand-glass," shewing that it contained not less than thirty-four distinct lies.

This was in the autumn of 1511. An attempt, of course, was made to suppress the work, and at the October fair in Frankfort a common priest took upon himself to forbid the sale. The Archbishop having been appealed to, seeing that this would be monstrously unjust, refused to confirm the prohibition. And then there was perpetrated an unheard-of scandal and outrage upon the traditions of the Catholic Church, which shews how unscrupulous the clergy could be in violating their own principles whenever it served their purpose to do so. The priest just referred to announced from the pulpit before all the people that Peppercorn would preach to them at the next feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and exhorted them to assemble in large numbers to hear him. And at the stated time, the Jew, a layman and a married man, both preached and blessed the people with the sign of the cross, which was not merely a usurpation of the priestly function, but contrary to the imperial law. What use he made of his opportunity may easily be conjectured. And now the contest waxed warmer, and the real agents, who had hitherto concealed themselves from view, began to step forward upon the scene. That powerful Dominican order, of which a Pope had been known to declare that he would rather quarrel with the greatest princes of Europe than offend one of the least of its members, represented in this case by the theological faculty of Cologne, was in arms against Reuchlin. The scholars of Germany, however, or rather of the world, gathered loyally round their champion, and gave him every encouragement to fight manfully a good fight. Unfortunately, at first there were some signs of hesitation, which of course only served

to provoke the unrelenting enemy. Reuchlin was informed by a member of the faculty, under the show of friendship, that his "Eye-glass" had been put by the theologians into the hands of Arnold von Tungern, one of their number, for examination. Upon this he wrote to his judge, in a most humble strain, begging him to have mercy, and declaring his willingness to submit to the authority of the Church. After some further correspondence, however, it became clear that the monks would be satisfied with nothing less than an unqualified recantation. Their charges against him were, that he had defended the Talmud and other blasphemous fictions of the Jews, that he had deceived the Jews by flattery and apologized for their usuries, that he had spoken irreverently of Catholic writers, and wounded the pious hearts of faithful Christians; these and many other errors he must abjure, and to prove his sincerity he must at once put a stop to the sale of his book. Then Reuchlin recovered his courage and stood boldly on the defensive. He could not, he said, conjecture what kind of explanation they required of him if they were not satisfied with his published statements, and as to stopping the sale of the "Eye-glass," that was simply out of his power, the copies being no longer under his control. On the last day of February, 1512, he had received the last communication from the monks, in which they threatened, if he did not retract, to summon him before them. This, however, was a step which they did not yet think it prudent to adopt. Instead, they published with their own comments a list of the propositions from the "Eye-glass" which they wished Reuchlin to retract. These had been already submitted to him, without effect; but they were now printed and circulated in Latin, with a view of holding him up to the scorn of the whole Christian world, and, to give the greater authority to the work, it was dedicated to the Emperor. In the beginning of the following year, Reuchlin published his "Defence against his Calumniators at Cologne," which he dedicated to the same high personage, and in which he attacked his enemies with an indignation which they had certainly provoked, but which was by no means calculated to allay their bitterness.

Under these circumstances, the Emperor adopted a course which strikes one as singularly wise, and as a course which might be pursued with great advantage in many contro-

versies. He issued an edict imposing silence upon both parties. For a time some effect was produced. Less than a year, however, had passed, when it became evident that the Dominicans feared the Emperor as little as they feared God or the Devil, and that it would go hard with them before they would be baulked of their prey by either Emperor or Pope. On the 9th of September, 1513, Brother James Hochstraten, Doctor and Professor of Divinity, Prior of the Dominican Monastery of Cologne, and Inquisitor for the three ecclesiastical Electorates, cited Reuchlin to appear before him at Mayence, on the sixth day after receiving the summons. Ignorant, unscrupulous, of boundless audacity, and animated by the bitterest hatred of the new learning, Hochstraten was well fitted for the office which he filled; or, if anything was wanting, it was that the ignorance of this master of heretics was so profound, that he was unable to avoid sometimes falling into the grossest heresies himself. He was not, however, too formidable to be laughed at, and subsequently to his persecution of Reuchlin he became the hero of a story which Erasmus tells with evident glee. The Count of Nuenar had in vain endeavoured to prevail upon Hochstraten to retract some slanderous reports which he had circulated regarding him. Having used entreaties and conciliation to no purpose, he at length resorted to an expedient which has seldom failed in war, and which certainly was not likely to fail when brought to bear upon a fraternity of pampered monks. He stopped the supplies of the monastery. The monks were warned that until they expelled their Prior they must not beg upon any of the Count's estates or those of his friends; and when, in spite of the warning, they went upon their usual rounds, they found themselves rudely turned from the door. The cheese and the eggs which had hitherto been doled out to them, appeared no more on the table of the refectory, and Hochstraten, having in vain sought a refuge elsewhere, was at length compelled to capitulate and make a kind of clumsy apology. On the present occasion he was destined to find out that he had overrated his strength in venturing to attack a man of such high consideration as Reuchlin. Unable through infirmity to attend the summons within the short time specified, Reuchlin sent his attorney, who objected to the tribunal on the following

grounds :—that the Inquisitor was himself the prime mover in the project for burning the Jewish books, that he was animated by personal hostility, that he was a Low German, and therefore unable to understand the language of the accused who was a High German. These objections were of course pronounced frivolous; but the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, considering that it would be a disgrace to so renowned a city if a case of such magnitude should be despatched with indecent haste, now interposed and succeeded in obtaining a respite of fifteen days. During the interval Reuchlin arrived in person, accompanied by powerful friends; but Hochstraten, without waiting for the day of trial, issued a mandate to the preachers to proclaim to the people that every one having a copy of the “Eye-glass” must give it up on pain of excommunication. On the 11th of October, the day fixed for the sentence, everything was ready for a grand holocaust, when, just as victory seemed to be on the point of declaring for the obscurantists, a mandate arrived from the Archbishop requiring a delay of one month. Meantime Reuchlin had appealed to the Pope.

Hochstraten went off in a rage to Cologne, where he had the satisfaction of seeing the “Eye-glass” at length actually committed to the flames by order of the University. Nor would he consent to appear otherwise than by attorney before the Bishop of Spire, to whom Reuchlin’s cause was now committed by the Papal Chair. After he had been summoned repeatedly in vain, on April 24, 1514, sentence was given against him. Perpetual silence was imposed upon him and his party, and he was condemned besides to pay the costs of the process. Reuchlin was most honourably acquitted, and his “Eye-glass” declared free from heresy.

This sentence, however, failed to be decisive. The enemies of light insisted that the matter must be carried before the Pope himself. The Bishop’s verdict, which had been posted up at Cologne, was cut in pieces with a sword; and when Peppercorn, who was known to be the instigator of the act, was asked if he did not fear the papal censure, he had the impudence to reply that he should not have a grey hair the more on that account. The persecution of Reuchlin was continued more bitterly than ever. He was formally condemned by the Universities of Paris, Mayence, Erfurt and Louvain. He too, accordingly, was anxious for some

decision which it would be impossible to dispute, and he now again appealed to the Pope, with an entreaty that the process might be brought to a close. The Emperor supported his counsellor. He wrote to Leo stating that he considered it his duty to undertake the protection of a man so upright and so innocent, and begging him to impose silence on those captious theologians. Leo must have felt himself in a delicate position. His own sympathies as a man of literary culture would be with Reuchlin, and he entertained of course a proper respect for Maximilian; but then he feared the monks much more than he feared the Emperor. The natural course for a ruler of men to follow in such circumstances, is, it need hardly be said, to do nothing; and the supreme Pontiffs perhaps have never been behind the rulers of this world in that art. If the accused would only be good enough to die, that would be a ready escape from the difficulty; and there was no reason why he should not die, seeing that he was advanced in life and somewhat infirm. Reuchlin, however, did not die just then. Hochstraten, who had arrived at Rome provided with plenty of money, in which he reposed a not altogether groundless faith, pressed for a decision. At last, after a delay of two years from the time that the parties had been summoned, a commission consisting of eighteen members—all men of high position—was appointed. And on the 2nd of July, 1516, a written vote having been required of each member, a majority appeared in favour of Reuchlin, while the “Eye-glass” was pronounced a perfectly innocent and even edifying work.

Reuchlin's triumph ought now to have been complete. But Leo shrank from pronouncing the sentence which ought to have followed the vote of the commission. He issued instead a “*mandatum de supersedendo*,” which had the effect of deferring the sentence at his own discretion. Nevertheless, there could be no doubt which side had gained the victory. Hochstraten returned to Cologne, covered with disgrace, to seek consolation among the kindred spirits of the University, and revenge in publishing audacious falsehoods under the name of Apologies. Reuchlin was hailed as a hero by the friends of learning everywhere; and his triumph was celebrated by Ulrich von Hutten in a spirited poem entitled “*Encomium Capnionis*.”

Many were the pens that were set in motion by this great

controversy. Many were the literary efforts, good, bad and indifferent, which it occasioned. Some of these are almost forgotten. Some of them are perhaps not worth preserving. But there is one work which deserves to be read by every one who loves to see ignorance, bigotry and vice, satirized without mercy, and which, no doubt, will be read as long as the great heroes of the Reformation are held in honour. About the time that the persecution of Reuchlin was at its height, it was thought advisable to publish a collection of the letters which had been addressed to him by various eminent men, expressing their sympathy with him and their admiration of his learning and abilities. This was accordingly done, and the volume was entitled, "Letters of Illustrious Men" (*Epistolæ Illustrum Virorum*). Some time after, there issued from the press another volume, also a collection of letters, but apparently on the opposite side of the controversy, and addressed to Magister Ortuinus Grattius, Professor of *Belles Lettres* in the University of Cologne, and one who had acted a somewhat subordinate part in the persecution of Reuchlin. It would not have become the humility of a friar to claim the friendship of "illustrious" men, and it was a fitting rebuke to the favourers of secular learning that this volume was entitled, on the contrary, "Letters of Obscure Men" (*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*); and obscure they must have been, for assuredly nobody had ever heard before of "Magister Bernhardus Plumilegus," or of "Frater Conradus Dollen Kopffius," or of "Joannes Stramsfederius," or "Nicolaus Caprimulgus." Under such ludicrous names as these, a series of letters are addressed to Ortuinus in the most ingeniously bad Latin, but with a simplicity of manner that is not altogether without its charms. The respect in which he was held is shewn in the ridiculous gravity of the titles by which he is usually addressed, and the friendly relations in which he stood towards his former pupils appear from the cordial greetings heaped upon him, and the confidential tone which is sometimes assumed. The subject of these letters is usually some minor incident in the great warfare that is going on, in which the writer encounters a Reuchlinist, and of course comes off second-best, though without perhaps being aware of it himself. Sometimes some subtle question of divinity is raised, as whether it is necessary to eternal salvation that scholars



should learn grammar from secular poets, such as Virgil, Tully, Pliny and others, or whether it was a mortal sin to have taken off one's hat to a Jew, mistaking him for a Christian. The most amusing example of this kind is the well-known story, sometimes told of two Scotchmen, but here of two monks, one of whom finds a chicken in his egg. "Down with it!" cries the other; "if mine host sees it, you'll have to pay for it; the rule here is that nothing once put upon the table can be taken back, and the charge is the same for a chicken as for a hen." The monk did as he was desired, swallowing the egg, chicken and all. But it was not long before he recollected it was Friday, and then the question arose whether he had been guilty of a mortal sin. His companion assured him he had not committed any sin whatever, because until it is born the chicken is nothing but an egg. Cheese, he adds, and fruit peas and beans have often maggots in them, and yet it is lawful to eat them on Fridays; only greedy inn-keepers pretend they are flesh that they may ask more money. This reasoning, however, does not satisfy the conscience of our friend. Maggots, he thinks, come under the denomination of fish, but the young chickens in eggs are certainly flesh, because they have the body and members of an animal. The whole case, therefore, is solemnly laid before Professor Ortuinus. Nothing perhaps could play off the inconceivable ignorance of the monks more effectively than a letter in which it is shewn that Cæsar could not have written his Commentaries. The writer, who is a doctor of medicine, meets Erasmus at supper in Strasburg, and having been previously told that Erasmus was a proficient in every branch of knowledge, though he could not believe that such a little man knew so much, he came armed with some very difficult question in his own science. The conversation turning upon "poetry," the host began to praise Julius Cæsar both for his writings and his achievements; whereupon our physician said, "As you have begun to speak of poetry, I cannot any longer remain silent, but I tell you plainly I don't believe Cæsar wrote the Commentaries, and I prove my statement thus: Whoever is constantly engaged in war and other laborious occupations has no time to learn Latin. But Cæsar was always engaged in war and the most laborious occupations; therefore he could not have been a learned



man or know Latin." When he had said this, and a great deal more which he omits, because "the moderns love brevity," Erasmus laughed and made no reply. And so, having thus conquered him on his own ground, he found it unnecessary to put his medical question, "because I knew that he would not know it, since he did not know how to resolve that argument in poetry, and yet he was a poet himself."

The first volume of this clever production appeared in the year 1516, and consisted of forty-one letters, to which an appendix of seven more was added in the second edition. The next year this was followed by another volume, consisting of seventy letters. The work was received with a tumult of applause. As Sir Thomas More said, it pleased everybody—the learned by its wit, the unlearned because they took it for earnest and fancied there was nothing ridiculous about it except the style. What a pity it seems that so much good ridicule should have been wasted upon people whose stupidity was so extreme that they actually did not know when they were laughed at. The author of the satire was studiously concealed, but little doubt was felt that the valiant and learned knight Ulrich von Hutten had at least a considerable share in it. Erasmus speaks of three authors, but does not give their names. The criticism of modern times seems to have settled conclusively that most of the letters of the first part were the work of Crotus Rubeanus, that Hutten was largely concerned in the second part, and that Hermann Buschius and the Count of Nuenar may also have lent their assistance.\*

While the epistles of obscure men have been somewhat neglected in the land of their birth, curiously different estimates of them have been formed by our own critics. According to Sir William Hamilton, they are "the great national satire" of Germany. "They are at once the most cruel and the most natural of satires." And he adopts the opinion of Herder that they "effected for Germany incomparably more than *Hudibras* for England, or *Garagantua* for France, or the Knight of *La Mancha* for Spain." On the other hand, here is what is said by the grave historian, Hallam: "Few

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\* See the exhaustive argument of Strauss in his *Life of Ulrich von Hutten*, Book I. ch. viii. ; also the more egotistical but not more satisfactory disquisition of Sir W. Hamilton in his "Discussions."

books have been more eagerly received than these Epistles at their first appearance in 1516, which surely proceeded rather from their suitableness to the time than from much intrinsic merit; though it must be presumed that the spirit of many temporary allusions, which delighted or offended that age, is now lost in a mass of vapid nonsense and bad grammar which the imaginary writers pour out.\* And in a note he remarks, that "in the mighty movement of the Reformation, the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* had about as much effect as the *Mariage de Figaro* in the French Revolution." Certainly it may be taking a joke too seriously to compare this *jeu d'esprit* to *Don Quixote*, but the joke is an excellent one notwithstanding. The value of most jokes consists in their "suitableness to the time," and though it may be a myth that Erasmus shook with laughter over the *Epistolæ* till he burst a tumour with which he had been troubled, we may be sure that he laughed at them much more heartily than it is possible for us to do. Still, one perceives that the chief merit in the work belongs to whoever conceived the plan and wrote the first half-dozen letters, and that once the example had been set it would not have been difficult to follow. One would soon fall into the peculiar grammar of the writers, and the invention, it must be confessed, is not great, such incidents as there are being usually suggested by the actual events of the time. But whatever be the merits of the German national satire, it is impossible that it should ever take the same place as the other great satires of the world, and that for two reasons—it is not in German, and it is not translatable.

A very few sentences must now suffice to bring the story of Reuchlin's life, as well as this already too long article, to a close. His few remaining years were not altogether free from trouble. Hardly was he permitted, until he passed from this world, to enjoy the fruits of his victory. It is, however, satisfactory to know that that victory was completed, on the material as well as the moral side, by the monks being compelled to pay all the expenses of the contest. Driven from Stuttgart by war, Reuchlin sought refuge in Ingoldstadt, where he resided for some time with the afterwards notorious Dr. Eck—surely not the most congenial

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\* Hallam's Lit. Hist., Vol. I. p. 297, ed. 1855.

society for such a man. In the year 1520, he was appointed by Prince William of Bavaria to give lectures at Ingoldstadt on the Greek and Hebrew languages, and the eager crowds which flocked to hear him may have been some compensation to the old man for the severe trials through which he had passed. He did not, however, long survive to enjoy the handsome income by which his labours were rewarded. He died of jaundice in June, 1522, having at least seen the dawn of that Reformation for which he had done so much unconsciously to prepare the way.

ROBERT B. DRUMMOND.

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### III.—LECKY'S HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS.

*History of European Morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne.*

By W. E. H. Lecky, M.A. London: Longmans. 1869.

#### I.

MR. LECKY has in this most interesting and valuable work attempted to accomplish a task which is so difficult as almost to be impossible. He has undertaken to discuss in less than 200 pages the whole controversy of the Intuitive and Utilitarian schools of philosophy, to write in connection with this a conspectus of the history of Morals during the first eight centuries, and to include the whole of this work within the compass of two moderate 8vo volumes. So far as success in so vast an undertaking is possible, Mr. Lecky may be said to have attained a considerable measure of success. His book is the work of an educated man of extensive reading and acute intellect. It contains a large amount of various knowledge, and shews much original thought and careful reasoning. There are few writers who have such a power of throwing light upon obscure questions, and putting life into the dullest subjects by happy illustration and judicious selection. Amidst many excellences, we think Mr. Lecky's chief merit as a historian is impartiality of judgment. Mr. Lecky has read too much not to be well aware of the diversity of opinion among the best thinkers

on all human subjects, and he has learnt the lesson which extensive reading ought to teach, but does not always teach. He is not cold and unsympathizing, but is capable of strong feeling, and cherishes an enthusiastic love of liberty, purity and enlightenment. To take one instance among many : there is no doubt on which side the author's sympathy is engaged in the combat between dying Paganism and rising Christianity. He feels keenly, as every lover of antiquity must feel, the melancholy decay of ancient Greek beauty ; he cries with the heart-broken Pagan,

“Thou hast conquered, O pale Galilean ; the world has grown  
grey at thy breath :  
We have eaten of things Iæthean, and fed on the fulness of  
death.”

He mourns over the destruction of the temples and statues of Ictinus and Phidias, the long sleep which entranced the philosophy and poetry of Greece and Rome. He is conscious of virtues in Seneca and Plutarch which are not to be found in Ambrose or Jerome. But he does not accuse Christianity of more than its share in a decay to which many other causes contributed ; he acknowledges the nobleness and beauty of the Christian ideal ; and, in spite of an evident preference of the classical civilization to the Christianity of the later empire and the barbarian kingdoms, he gives to both their due, and assigns to Religion its true pre-eminence over Culture.

But notwithstanding these and other great merits, we cannot but feel that the book is not what it professes to be. It is not a History of European Morals ; it is more properly a collection of materials for such a history. There is a want of continuity which detracts from the historical character of the work. The relation of facts to each other, though generally well conceived, is sometimes confusedly or obscurely stated. “History is not a mere succession of events connected only by chronology,” as Mr. Lecky admits ; but he handles a historical subject rather as if it were independent of chronology altogether. Here and there we find indiscriminate profusion of detail ; at other times a bare string of facts suggests and tantalizes. Some most important subjects are partly or wholly omitted—as, for instance, the influence of Roman law on the life of the

nations who came under its action ; the history of education ; the origin and growth of the spirit of chivalry ; the developments of different nationalities and the effects of different barbarian invasions ; the moral results of the concentration of intellectual life in cities ; the growth or decline in the dark ages of the virtues of sobriety, veracity and love of liberty.

These objections apply especially to the second volume of Mr. Lecky's work, which treats of the period from Constantine to Charlemagne. It is a historical sketch of a certain number of human tendencies during those centuries ; but it can hardly be called a History of European Morals during the rise of the barbarian kingdoms and the establishment of the Catholic organization. In particular, we cannot fail to observe the fact that national differences are almost ignored. There is some reason for this during the earlier stages of the Roman empire, when the imperial organization had in great measure obliterated national distinctions. But the feelings of nationality are not stronger in modern Europe than they were among the barbarian races who succeeded to the government of the West. One would think, for all Mr. Lecky says to the contrary, that monachism in England was precisely similar to monachism in Italy ; that North and South were alike possessed by the eremite frenzy ; that the arguments which could convert Ethelbert or Clovis would have convinced Constantine ; that the type of morality developed by Christianity among the descendants of the chaste Germans was the same as that which prevailed in the dregs of Romulus.

We have pointed out some of the most prominent defects of Mr. Lecky's History. They are for the most part faults of omission rather than commission ; but they seriously detract from the value of the book, and make it an unsafe guide for readers who are not already familiar with the subject. We cannot but regret that the author should have written only two volumes on a subject which Hallam himself could hardly have condensed into three. He appears to have undervalued the greatness and difficulty of the task before him, which would require the devotion of many years to bring it to a worthy completion. Mr. Lecky's readers would rather wait ten or twenty years for a complete work, than receive every two or three years instal-

ments of history which, interesting and instructive as they are, their author himself can hardly expect to live beyond his generation. Mr. Lecky's extensive knowledge and great literary power justify us in expecting from him a work which may take an honourable place in the literature of the age. But history cannot be written in a hurry ; and we cannot but feel that Mr. Lecky has not treated his subject with sufficient respect. There is in all branches of literature a tendency to produce too quickly : a writer who does not print something every two or three years is in danger of being forgotten in the "troublesome variety of books" of which Jeremy Taylor complained two hundred years ago. But the dignity of his subject should preserve a historian from too much haste ; and it is better for fame, if not for popularity, to produce one living book, it may be many years hence, than to be the father of many "dead books," as Mr. O. W. Holmes calls them. We wish Mr. Lecky a better fate than to be known as a writer for the ignorant and a client of publishers and lending libraries ; for he has in him the power, given to few, to become a really learned man, and to write some day a History which will deserve the name.

## II.

The first chapter of Mr. Lecky's first volume, entitled, "The Natural History of Morals," is a sketch of the history and an examination of the claims of the Intuitive and Utilitarian schools of moral philosophy. We question whether this discussion has any natural congruity with the main purpose of the work. It is a chapter out of a History of Philosophy, or rather a condensation of several chapters ; and Mr. Lecky might well have reserved for some more strictly philosophical work the consideration of topics which lie outside the main course of historical inquiry, and which cannot be exhaustively or conclusively treated within the limits of an introductory chapter. The opening sentence of the Preface clearly indicates the proper field of such a history as this : "The questions with which a historian of morals is chiefly concerned, are the changes that have taken place in the moral standard and the moral type." The author starts with an admission that the existence of some morality or other is acknowledged in action by all

societies of men. This is admitted alike by the intuitive and inductive philosopher. Why, then, is it necessary to discuss the original difficulty which lies at the threshold of moral philosophy, when all parties are agreed about the facts on which the history of morals is based? Moreover, we do not find that the doctrine of intuitive morality is constantly appealed to in the course of the history. On the contrary, there is hardly a page which might not have been written by an upholder of the utilitarian theory. The author appeals to utility as freely as Mr. Mill in all his works appeals to the sentiment of virtue. The fact is, whatever may be the true origin of the ideas of morality which are current among mankind, the question falls outside the province of the historian of morals. Morals were not invented in the reign of Augustus. It is clear that no society can proceed a step beyond the savage state without recognizing in its daily life ideas corresponding to the terms right and wrong, expedient and inexpedient, and the utilitarian philosopher would be the last to deny the practical distinction which these terms denote, though he would argue for a common origin. It matters nothing to Mr. Lecky's argument whether disinterested virtue comes from within or from without, whether the profession of the utilitarian philosophy leads to good or bad results, whether virtue is the end, or part of the end, of human action. The historian is concerned with the practical development or decay of moral ideas, not with the philosophical discussion of their origin.

We do not propose to follow throughout, the discussion contained in this chapter. Our object will be to point out briefly where Mr. Lecky does not do justice to the theory which he combats. He argues against utilitarianism with great acuteness, and with a grace of style which must win the most unwilling ears; but though he has set a strong array of reasons against the theory which he attacks, he has not met this theory on its own historical ground.

The inductive moralist professes to be able to trace the sense of obligation to self-regarding motives, enlarged and modified in the progress of time until little is left of the feelings which originally produced it. He justifies this theory by the results of observation. The examples of savage life, whether historical or contemporary, go to shew that



morality has no existence in the primitive state of mankind, which is one of selfishness, consisting, like that of the brutes, in simple pursuit of pleasure and avoidance of pain. It is true that this primitive condition nowhere exists in fact. The solitary has given way to the gregarious, the gregarious to the social state. But we may find instances among savages which bring us within a little of the earliest stage of development; and the more nearly we approach to this, the simpler is the code of morality. Chastity, honesty, humanity, have each or all of them no existence in this or that savage tribe; and the comparison of different developments of human society invariably shews the sense of right and wrong to be up to a certain point in proportion to the degree of social development. The utilitarian philosophy accounts for the progress of social development by the action of association. Society, in its most elementary state, compels some subordination of the pleasures of its several members to those of the whole. The habit thus formed and transmitted by inheritance and education assumes the form of a primary intuition, and resentment is felt against those who injure their fellows by "anti-social" conduct. Hence arises the feeling of justice by which actions are classified as virtuous or vicious, a classification continually extended, as with advancing civilization the dependence of man on man is increased. From the action of society in various ways, from imitation as well as from fear, from experience of the observance and the breach of moral rules, and from religious hopes and fears, a sentiment of aversion or attraction to vice or virtue is created which is a sufficient motive to action, and constitutes the sense of duty or obligation.

It is not, however, enough to prove that moral feelings may be accounted for by the action of association. The utilitarian claims also to be able to refer them to a constant standard, and to shew that in doing so he does no violence either to religion or morality. Mr. Mill has clearly shewn that in a theological point of view utilitarianism stands on as strong ground as any other system of ethics. The golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth is the perfection of all that the utilitarian desires to promote. Nor is utilitarianism incompatible with the love of God any more than the love of man; for the will of God must necessarily include the happiness of mankind,



and therefore in promoting human happiness we are promoting the will of God.

But theological considerations apart, the inductive moralist still professes to be able to solve the riddle of morality. He sets up a *natural* standard of morality. He maintains that their own happiness or that of others is the sole object of men's desire; that the distinction between virtue and happiness is illusory, virtue being desired as a part of happiness; that morality has always in the main been in accordance with utility, so that the permanence of this or that type of virtue may be seen to have been in proportion to its conformity with the one natural standard. He rebuts the imputation that his system substitutes calculation for sentiment, by explaining that the motive of action is sentiment; whereas calculation determines what sentiments are just or the contrary. And if this seems to create an inconsistency of means with ends, he justifies it by the fact that the intermediate processes of action are in most cases obscure, and that an end is seldom attained by being consciously aimed at. The utilitarian philosopher does not shrink from the paradox that disinterested benevolence has, or had once, its root in self-regarding motives; but he argues that to confound the two is to confound motive with its origin: the man who has ascended to a sentiment of benevolence has left the self-regarding motive behind; and the immediate motive of a benevolent action is a disinterested feeling of benevolence. A coat is not a sheep, though it once grew on a sheep's back. He allows virtue to be synonymous with enlightened self-interest. But this is only true when we are speaking of societies of men. The standard of self-interest, as it is generally understood, means the special transitory interest of the individual. The utilitarian understands the term in the larger sense in which it is co-extensive with the interest of society. The interest of society is the standard of individual virtue.

It is obvious that if all morality can be accounted for hitherto by the action of more or less enlightened self-interest, the presumption is that the standard of utility is the true standard. But it does not necessarily follow; and the proofs which the defenders of the theory bring do not rise beyond a high probability. All philosophers admit the general happiness to be a good; if it could be proved ex-

haustively that it includes all the objects of human desire, the utilitarian system would be without a flaw. It is not our business to prove or to disprove it; we only wish to point out that Mr. Lecky's arguments do not disprove it. He has written an able defence of the intuitive theory; and he has attacked the opposite theory on the *à priori* ground of immorality. But an assailant should attack on its own ground a system which claims to rest on an historical basis, to stand or fall by strict inductive tests, and to dispense with all *à priori* evidences. Mr. Lecky should shew that it is untrue before he accuses it of being immoral. He argues\* that utilitarianism is in direct opposition with common language and common sentiment. So is the Copernican system. It is absolutely no argument against a philosophical theory that it does not command the assent of those who have not thought about it, and the question whether notions of morality are intuitive or not, is certainly to be settled by inquiry, not by intuition. Even if we admit that the utilitarian principle may in some cases "lead to conclusions utterly and outrageously repugnant to the moral feelings it is intended to explain,"† what is this but to admit that progress in morality is possible? Was not the Christian religion outrageously repugnant to the morality of the Jew? and do not civilized customs shock the moral feelings of savages? Unless some standard or other be fixed, better than the floating prejudices which call themselves intuitive perceptions of morality, we cannot rise above the respectable conservatism of the Greek chorus:

*τὸ πλῆθος ὃ τι τὸ φαυλότερον  
ἐνόμισε χρῆται τε, τόδε τοι λέγοιμ' ἄν.*

But, after all, is it certain that either the utilitarian or intuitive theory goes to the root of the whole matter? Is not one and the other, like Plato's doctrine of Recollection, rather of the nature of a hypothesis than of a complete theory? It is the old story of the gold and silver shield. It is as if men tried to construct a plane mirror out of fragments of convex and concave glass. Each sort of philosophers puts together a mirror; but the one distorts by magnifying, the other by diminishing; and it is argued through the centuries which of the two is to be held up to Nature as

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\* Vol. I. p. 84.

† P. 50.

the true reflection of her face. What then? Are we to think that no philosophy of the origin of ideas is possible because all the efforts of thinkers have done little hitherto but illustrate ignorance? Is it not wiser to believe that the dogmatism of the professed inductive school will in time give way to a truer induction based on enlarged knowledge; and that mental and moral philosophy must look for their true development in the growth of natural science? No results arrived at by observation of mental phenomena can be trusted unless they will bear this test. It seems premature to debate the existence of innate ideas in the mind, when the ultimate nature of mind itself is discussed as the most doubtful of all questions, and philosophers are more careful to avoid the imputation of materialism than to discover whether the word has any meaning at all. Professor Stokes reminded his hearers at Exeter the other day that no advance of science has revealed the connection existing between the inorganic changes produced by light, heat, chemical combination, and the like, and the organic changes to which, involving as they do all these modes of matter, we give the names of life and growth. Are we, therefore, to doubt that such a connection exists? When the truth of this is established, it will be time enough to think of finality in sciences which deal with mental phenomena. All that the present age can hope for is to improve the methods of investigation and to promote the development of hypotheses. The systems of former philosophers are instructive even where they are not true, and bear the same relation to modern speculation as the ancient cosmical theories to modern science. The development of hypotheses necessarily attends the search after truth, and will aid, as it has before aided, the growth of science by supplying examples both to avoid and to follow. Until the ground is cleared by the advance of science, neither the utilitarian nor the inductive theory can claim more credit than belongs to a carefully considered hypothesis. It would be unreasonable to suppose that these two hypotheses have exhausted the methods of investigation, and that with the growth of science some new theory may not arise which shall be different from one and the other, and combine what there is of truth in each. The old battle of Nominalism and Realism will be fought again

and again by new combatants, under new names and with new weapons, until they are finally reconciled by the impartial and irresistible decision of inductive science.

### III.

In order to appreciate the condition of Roman morals at the time of the foundation of the empire, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the ordinary standard of society and that set up by the philosophical teachers of morality. It is a not uncommon error to suppose that maxims of philosophy were at that time tacitly accepted and practically disregarded by most people, in the same way as the teaching of the Gospel is now-a-days acknowledged by the world, which does not frame its conduct by the evangelical rule ; so that the modern distinction between the Church and the World in some sense existed then. There is no trace of such a state of things in what we know of the life of this period. There was no authorized Church teaching, no doctrine delivered *ex cathedra*, no prejudice in favour of a certain set of tenets. It would be unjust to deny that the two great schools of philosophy, or, at any rate, the Stoic philosophy, had an influence on society ; but their influence was rather deep than wide, appearing more in the writings of a few sages than in the life of the people. To a certain extent, this is true of every religion ; but one great difference between philosophy and Christianity lay in this, that philosophy set up no universal claim ; it never aspired to be the guide of any but the wise, or went into the high-ways and hedges to find disciples. "To the poor the Gospel is preached," appealed to the experience of the most worldly or profligate churchman or statesman in the most corrupt ages of Christianity. It would have been unmeaning or chimerical to Cato or Seneca, much more to Lucretius or to Horace. In pagan societies, thoughtful people employed their leisure in philosophic studies, virtuous people found their encouragement and example in the writings or oral teaching of this or that philosopher ; but the recognized morality was purely secular. The notion did not exist that goodness is something different in kind, and perhaps unfavourable to civil life. The tone of society in Rome under Augustus was not unlike that of Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici. Religion was not discredited as at the

court of Charles II. It was not set before everything as under Gustavus Adolphus or Cromwell. We can find no better instance of the virtuous Roman than Atticus. His biography by Cornelius Nepos is instructive as shewing how little virtue was considered sufficient by the Roman world. We read in the praises of his admirer nothing but the most commonplace kindness, probity, generosity, delicacy of feeling; nothing which recalls the sublime ideal of Plato, the true if not exalted morality of Aristotle, the practical piety and god-fearing virtue of Xenophon or Nicias. There is nothing in the character of Atticus which is inconsistent with complete selfishness: no trace of the religious spirit, no enlarged philanthropy or special purity of morals. His chief merits are fidelity in friendship and philosophic indifference; qualities which, we may observe by the way, are not much in vogue among modern religious moralists.

The writings of Horace may be taken as a fair test of the popular morality of his day. Cicero's life is a comment on the ethics of the philosophy which he professed. Both are alike removed from the stern and narrow Puritanism of Cato and the enlightened philanthropy of Marcus Aurelius. The religion of Cicero or Atticus was essentially a gentleman's religion; and in Augustus' days the common people were without a religion. The ancient Roman religion had almost died out: for the educated it had supplied a good foundation for Stoicism, for the uneducated it meant little more than reverence for the gods, patriotism, personal honour and domestic virtue. As the idea of patriotism disappeared by gradual dilution through the extension of the Roman franchise and the decline of political liberty, the conserving principle of Roman morals was lost; and the history of the empire is also the history of the decay of morality among the Romans. Patriotism could not exist under the empire. Easy communication with the most distant nations; the flow and ebb of Italian and barbarian legions; the introduction into the city of thousands of slaves, many of whom subsequently became Romans by emancipation; the circulation of Romanized freedmen in the provinces; these and other causes broke down the distinction between Roman and provincial, and completed the denationalizing work begun by the social war. Another cause which broke the pride of Roman nationality was the

depression of the old nobility by the civil wars, and the despotisms which followed them. The power which had been held by the great patrician and plebeian houses sank into the hands of freedmen and slaves, parasites and informers. Many old families became extinct. Others sank into poverty and indebtedness. The great offices of the state were gained by foreigners. The senate lost independence and dignity. The lower classes had no grave and august body to reverence; and thus the grand old Roman pride decayed, and with it the morality which was based on self-respect and pride.

Connected with regard for the old aristocracy was belief in the ancient religion. That religion, imperfect as it was, had consecrated with all its sanctions a few exalted forms of virtue. Filial affection, conjugal chastity, probity, honour, were names of things unfamiliar to the Athenian; to the Roman they were the verities of his faith and the guide of his daily life. But with the degradation of the nobles, the gods too were degraded. Leo X.'s cardinals and Louis XV.'s archbishops were not more openly unbelieving than Cæsar, Cicero and Antony, who held the highest offices of Roman religion. That religion was in great measure ceremonial; the priests were merely sacrificers or diviners, not professors of religion, as in the Christian churches; when they laughed at the gods, the laugh soon spread to the people; and with the reverence for religion disappeared the domestic virtues which were connected in sentiment with the protection of the household gods.

The two schools of Roman virtue were the farm and the camp. Owing to the confiscations of the civil wars, the rapid spread of conquest and influx of wealth during the century which preceded the Christian era, and other causes which are well known to students of history, the soil of Italy became gradually the property of monster capitalists, whose slaves cultivated it or left it alone, as the importation of corn made agriculture less necessary. The old yeomanry was extinct. Even in the days of Augustus, Horace could compare with the old-fashioned Ofella, cockney farmers, such as Alfius and Volteius. Cicero and his friends only played at being country gentlemen. Rich men beautified their country-houses with parks and gardens; but agriculture, as the serious business of the Roman citizen in time of peace, had gone by

for ever. That type of character had gone too which is specially favoured by the conditions of life of an independent yeomanry, which, if we believe Mr. Goldwin Smith, was once the glory of England, as it is now the strength of America. The "*rusticorum militum proles*" had become emasculate, and cared no longer to be citizens or soldiers.

Agriculture and war had thus lost their attraction. Trade was monopolized by Jews and Greeks. Politics were the dangerous luxury of a few. An active man might hope for some small place under government, or some petty provincial employment. But for the mass of the populace, the public distributions of corn and the private "*sportula*" of their patrons was enough to preserve them from want, while the games of the circus supplied them with continual amusement and excitement. The ancient relation of clientage, enormously exaggerated by the fashion of manumission, smoothed the easy descent, and for such a class of men the old self-respecting pride of morality was plainly impossible.

Mr. Lecky justly attributes much of the moral degradation of the empire to the passion for the games of the circus. We are, however, inclined to think that the evil effect of the games is commonly exaggerated. In the first place, the extravagance of spectacle which the games exhibited was not, as it would be in modern times, out of proportion to the luxury of ordinary life, but was of a piece with the prodigal magnificence commonly prevalent at the time. No society since the world began has been more extravagant in display than the wealthy Romans in the last century of the republic and the first centuries of the empire. Cæsar's Forums, the public buildings of Agrippa, Nero's Golden House, the baths, the basilicas, aqueducts and roads, were all in keeping with the private and public life of the men who used them; and the games were not more extravagant than the other displays of licentious power in which the empire exulted. Again, it is possible for one part of the moral nature of a man or a nation to be dormant without vitiating the healthy action of the rest. We must not forget that the moralists of the empire (with a few exceptions, among whom Seneca\* stands conspicuous) passed the games by unnoticed. They were under the highest patronage of the state and of

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\* Vol. I. p. 302.



religion ; and thus there was not in their case the slight discredit which attaches in Christian countries to the stage or the turf.

Mr. Lecky attributes the decay of gladiatorial shows entirely to the influence of the Church. There are, however, other causes to be taken into account, of which the most important is the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, which city, rising under Christian auspices, was never defiled by Pagan sacrifices nor the games connected with them. With the court went the prestige of the games, though they continued to be celebrated till the city was burnt by Alaric. Moreover, as the wealth of the empire diminished, so the splendour of the games decayed. Barbarian prisoners and wild beasts became scarce. Rome lost resources as well as political power by ceasing to be the capital of the world. The memory of her past glories preserved her from obscurity, but could not supply her with funds, or restore the brilliant society which had demanded and supported the magnificent spectacles of the Cæsarean court.

It is probable that the institution of slavery did more than any other single cause to lower the standard of morals at Rome. The records of our own East and West Indian possessions, of Spanish America and of the Southern States, afford instances enough of the degrading effects of slavery in its various forms and degrees. "In addition," writes Mr. Lecky, "to its manifest effect in encouraging a tyrannical and ferocious spirit in the masters, it cast a stigma upon all labour, and at once degraded and impoverished the free poor." Hence a want of honest occupation for the poor, and "an immense increase of corrupt and corrupting professions, as actors, pantomimes, hired gladiators, political spies, ministers to passions, astrologers, religious charlatans, pseudo-philosophers, which gave the free classes a precarious and occasional assistance ; and hence, too, the gigantic dimensions of the system of clientage." The Roman populace sank lower and lower into vice, until a state of society was produced, the profligacy of which can only be described in the language of those who lived in it, and which, for display and worthlessness, has never met with its parallel in the history of mankind.

In the midst of this corruption, like honey in the lion's



carcase, Stoicism was gradually perfected. Mr. Lecky's sketch of its progress and influence deserves as high praise as any part of his book. We only wish that here, as elsewhere, he had treated the subject with more regard to chronology, and had traced more clearly the development of the later from the earlier stages of this philosophy. He shews how the influence of Greek manners softened the rugged morality of the republican Cato or Brutus, and expanded it into the glorious humanity of Marcus Aurelius, whose life approaches as nearly to perfection of holiness as that of any of the crowned or tonsured saints who fill Fra Angelico's Paradise. Marcus Aurelius has been too much forgotten. His Meditations ought to be as familiar to modern readers as the Confessions of St. Augustine or the Imitation of Christ. But a cloud of Christian prejudice has overshadowed the fame of the godlike heathen, and his writings must always be out of harmony with the Catholic or Puritan spirit. There is too much pride of humanity and consciousness of virtue to attract men who have been used to cry *miserere mei* all their days, and have never learnt the lesson which Pascal teaches of the greatness of man.

It is certain that no religion except Christianity as Christ preached it has ever held up so lofty a standard of morality as Stoicism. No more complete system of ethics exists than that to which Seneca, Epictetus and M. Aurelius, contributed their writings and the example of their lives. Their teaching is not specially applicable to their own age or society. The Stoic morality is as fresh now as when it was first professed, because its doctrines rest on the bases of human nature and owe nothing to circumstances. No length of time can make obsolete such sayings as these: \* "To ask to be paid for virtue is as if the eye demanded a recompence for seeing or the feet for walking." "I know that my country is the world, and my guardians the gods." "He who seeks to please the gods must labour as far as lies in him to resemble them." And if we turn to the sublime and pathetic figure of the slave Epictetus, do we not recognize in his words a spirit like that of St. Francis? "What can I, an old man and a cripple, do but praise God?"

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\* Vol. I. pp. 205—208.

If I were a nightingale, I would discharge the office of a nightingale ; if a swan, that of a swan. But I am a reasonable being ; my mission is to praise God, and I fulfil it ; nor shall I ever, as far as lies in me, shrink from my task, and I exhort you to join in the same song of praise.\*

Since such was the flower which Stoicism bore, how came it about that so little fruit followed ? Stoicism was never able to influence more than a few noble spirits. It never did or could form a popular religion, in spite of the wishes of its professors. Several reasons may be given to account for this. In the first place, Stoicism had no theology. It was a sceptical, subtilizing religion. It was a morality without the sanctions of a creed. A religion which professed ignorance of the nature or existence of God, and was wholly uncertain about future retribution and the immortality of the soul, could not hope to take hold of the lower classes, whose superstition cannot be eradicated, but may be guided by religion. All successful religions have had compassion on human infirmity, and have admitted error and prejudice by the side of the truth which they have taught. Stoicism was contented with nothing short of perfection ; it pointed to ends, but did not supply methods. It was a haughty, fastidious, unbending religion, fit for gentlemen and philosophers, but supplying no nutriment to the grosser appetite of the common people. "Il faut," says Pascal, "pour faire qu'une religion soit vraie, qu'elle ait connu notre nature ; . . . elle doit avoir connu la grandeur et la bassesse de l'homme, et la raison de l'une et de l'autre. Quelle autre religion que la chrétienne a connu toutes ces choses ?"

An illustration of this may be found in modern times in the lives of Goethe and his imitators. The last thirty years of Goethe's life supply a perfect instance of sublime stoicism. To be in harmony with Nature was his end, and he attained to it ; but his example has remained barren, save that it has produced here and there an imitator who serves to shew that Goethe's philosophy is fit only for men like Goethe. Wilhelm von Humboldt's doctrine of self-culture verges close on a doctrine of selfishness ; and though it inculcates the calmest and purest virtue, it has not blood

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\* Vol. I. p. 260.

enough in it to give life to an enthusiasm. May we not say the same of Mr. Matthew Arnold's pleasant moonlight philosophy? His doctrine of light and sweetness is profitable for the times, and may save some of his readers from tumbling down the steep of vulgarity; but Hebraism has the stuff of a religion in it; and the hope of regeneration, if hope there be, lies rather in the religions than in the philosophies of England.

Other reasons may be multiplied to account for the failure of Stoicism. It provided no worship, no ritual, to supply the place of the ancient religion of the Capitol. Its professors made no attempt to create a brotherhood. Self-culture, the end of Stoicism, did not require an enthusiasm of humanity, and the Roman Stoics never displayed a proselytizing spirit. Stoicism acted from above; and no great regenerating force in human affairs has come but from among the people themselves. There have been enthusiasms of reaction which have had their inspiration from the upper classes, such as the revival of Catholicism in the sixteenth century, and the state of feeling which produces Restorations; but religious and political movements which have borne fruit have generally proceeded from the people. A successful religion must bear the imputation of vulgarity. Again, Stoicism had no saints and no mythology. Christianity added to the Jewish worthies a long list of heroes, and One divine figure more majestic than even Marcus Aurelius or Epictetus, in the devotion to whose Person lies the secret of the strength and vitality of the religion He founded, a secret which Stoical self-content could never learn. Stoicism, indeed, is based on pride, Christianity on humility. The self-sufficiency of Stoicism held out no comfort to those who were burdened by the sense of insufficiency. The doctrines of repentance and grace were not needed by the highminded Roman philosopher, but they were and are the comfort and stay of the miserable in all ages of the Christian Church.

“Like all great religions, Christianity was more concerned with modes of feeling than with modes of thought. The chief cause of its success was the congruity of its teaching with the spiritual nature of mankind. It was because it was true to the moral sentiments of the age, because it represented faithfully the supreme type of excellence to which men were then tending,

because it corresponded with their religious wants, aims and emotions, because the whole spiritual being could then expand and expatiate under its influence, that it planted its roots so deeply in the hearts of men."\*

It is doubtful, however, whether Christianity could have made its way in imperial Rome had it not been for certain causes exterior to itself which favoured its growth. Among these were the growth of the slave population, in whom more than in any other class the beginnings of the new religion are to be sought, the increasing influence of oriental speculation and Alexandrian mysticism, and still more of the oriental doctrine of personal prayer, which combining with a deep weariness and discontent of dying Paganism, sought an outlet, now in strange forms of barbaric religion, such as the worship of Serapis and of Mithras, now in the equally unfamiliar creeds of Jews and Christians.

It will be seen that Mr. Lecky does not attribute to miracle an important part in the conversion of the world.

"What is called the evidential system," he says,† "had no prominent place in effecting the conversion of the Roman empire. Historical criticisms were far too imperfect to make appeals to the miracles of former days of any value, and the notion of the wide diffusion of miraculous or magical powers, as well as the generally private character of the alleged miracles of the Patristic age, made contemporary wonders very unimpressive."

It is difficult to judge fairly what was the common belief concerning miraculous histories among those to whom the gospel was first preached. It is certain that the scientific mode of regarding them was unknown. In spite of their "seeking after wisdom," and despising as they had done for four hundred years the traditions of their mythology, the Greeks as well as the Romans had a wide belief in prodigies, astrology, omens and dreams. Pliny's absurdities shew the point to which natural science had attained. Not even the philosophers who denied the interposition of the gods had any conceptions of universal law, unless here and there the spirit of Lucretius was still living. Jews, Chaldæans and "mathematicians" were so plentiful in Rome, that many

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\* P. 413. Vide Merivale, "Conversion of the Empire," p. 114.

† Vol. I. p. 409.

edicts were passed against them. Elymas, we may be sure, was one of many who occupied, in an unscientific if sceptical age, the place now filled by clairvoyants and spiritualists. The spirit of wonder was not as yet sufficiently chastened by the spirit of inquiry to make men absolutely incredulous of a contemporary miracle. If a miracle is now-a-days alleged to have been worked in a French or Italian village, the story for the most part excites no lively interest or even curiosity, except among the ignorant and uneducated. The antecedent improbability of a miracle is felt to be so great, that few (at least among Protestants) will think it worth while to investigate the evidence in its favour. But at the time of which we are speaking, most men believed in magic and the government of the world by special causes; and miracle was considered as belonging to this class of facts, and capable of investigation on the same grounds. The acceptance or rejection of a miraculous story was therefore not so absolute as it would be among ourselves. Hence it follows that the evidential force of the Christian miracles was less either way than we ordinarily conceive; and, whether true or false, they are but one item in the sum of the influences which produced the conversion of Rome.

The question of the evidential value of miracles to contemporaries is clearly to be determined by different arguments to those which are to be employed in discussing their actual historical value. It is true that the miracles of this period belong to the most probable and circumstantial order, and that many of them are recorded by eye-witnesses. But such miracles are too common a phenomenon in religious history to form an exception to the ordinary rule. The test of modern feeling must be applied. It is clearly unreasonable to believe a fact which is alleged to have happened so many centuries ago, on evidence which would not make it credible now. It is impossible on logical grounds to affirm the miracles of St. Peter, and deny those of St. Francis Xavier or St. Francis of Assisi, vouched for as they are by contemporaneous authority. There is no fact in human experience more fully supported by evidence than the occurrence of miracles. It is idle to argue that the age of miracles is past, or that the conditions no longer exist under which they may be expected to occur. It is asserted on very strong evidence that they do exist. There is no essential difference between

the Lives of the Saints and the Mahometan hagiology. The saints of the Eastern Church work miracles like those of the Buddhist Church, and the form which miracles take is in exact proportion to the state of civilization in which they occur. The miracles recorded in each case become more rational and less superfluous and capricious, as the age in which they are produced becomes more enlightened. If we turn to a kindred subject, we shall find in the history of Witchcraft an instructive comment on the history of Miracle. Mr. Lecky, in his "Rationalism," has traced it with great care and knowledge from early times till the decay of the belief almost in our own times. In this case there is to be taken into consideration the additional fact, that stories of witchcraft were proved true by precisely the same kind and amount of evidence as would hang a man for murder in our own times. We have no reason to suppose that English judges in the reign of James I. were less skilled in interpreting evidence than they are now, or that juries were duller. The evidence which sent witches to the stake was unimpeachable on all rules of evidence. Yet we have no hesitation in denying their guilt, because the *à-priori* objection is felt to be absolutely insurmountable. We could wish that the author had drawn more decidedly the conclusion to which his arguments lead. But he has preferred to leave the ultimate question of miracles unsettled, and push his argument no further than he had already done in his book upon Rationalism.

#### IV.

In his treatment of the history of Persecution, Mr. Lecky steers a clear course between the exaggeration of ecclesiastical historians and the over-cautious criticism of Gibbon. Taking him all in all, Gibbon is perhaps the most impartial of ecclesiastical historians; but the necessity of making immense deductions from the statements of Christian writers sometimes led him into the opposite extreme; and as he elsewhere exaggerates the vices and undervalues the virtues of Christian heroes, so here he pares down the Christian martyrology to less than its true historical magnitude. According to Gibbon, the early persecutions were altogether unimportant. Christianity was too much despised to be seriously attacked by the power of the State. Here and there an irrepressible enthusiast was punished by an un-

willing governor ; but in the main the new religion was worked out without much help or hindrance from worldly authority. Mr. Lecky, in a detailed account of persecutions (more detailed, indeed, than is necessary to his purpose), points out that they were so capricious as to defeat their own object. The Church was purged, rather than weakened, by the defection of many whose love waxed cold. The salt of enthusiasm was seasoned with fire, which could scorch and blast, but was not hot enough to burn up and destroy. Persecutors, indeed, have seldom understood their own business. There have been few instances in history of well-conducted persecutions. Ill-timed clemency or a change of government has again and again frustrated plans of repression, and permitted the blood of martyrs to become the seed of the Church.

The failure of the persecutions had several important consequences. In the first place, the affectionate remembrance of the martyrs was the fruitful occasion of superstition. Miraculous legends grew up in plenty, whilst the tombs of the martyrs attracted round them an ever-growing extravagance of superstition, and helped to develop the Catholic cultus of saints, which, with all its beauty, is at best a substitute for a stronger and more manly religion. Again, it was only natural that three centuries of repression should have produced that severe and puritanical spirit, of which persecuted churches afford many examples. Those who had suffered for their faith could not but be jealous of its purity. The high consideration in which confessors were held intensified the reverence for orthodoxy ; and following out their belief to its logical conclusion, the Christians were not slow in acquiring more than the persecuting temper of their enemies. Theodosius deserved as ill of the Church as of the State, when he set his successors the evil example of enforcing Church decrees by the secular arm. The power of persecution not only impaired the moral influence of the clergy by mixing them up with the punishment of offenders, but helped to ingrain in them that illiberal spirit which crushed free thought through ten centuries, and labours unceasingly, alike in Protestant and Catholic countries, to crush it still.

Little is to be learnt from the history of morality in the Byzantine empire. That society furnishes but few examples



of heroic virtue or splendid vice. Good and bad are alike ignoble. Premature decay was, as Gibbon tells us, the constant condition of the Eastern empire. Nothing could have saved it from destruction, even in the first centuries of its existence, but the vitality of Roman organization, against which the vigour of the noble northern races was unable wholly to prevail. Morality had reached a stationary state, to which the history of Spain and Italy during the last three centuries in some degree furnishes a parallel. A dull despotism, administered by eunuchs and women, and guided by an illiterate but fiercely fanatical priesthood, made intellectual and moral progress impossible. The vices of the people, says Mr. Lecky,

“—were the vices of men who had ceased to be brave without learning to be virtuous. Without patriotism, without the fruition or desire of liberty, after the first paroxysms of religious agitation, without genius or intellectual activity, slaves, and willing slaves, in both their actions and their thoughts, immersed in sensuality and in the most frivolous pleasures, the people only emerged from their listlessness when some theological subtlety, or some rivalry in the chariot races, stimulated them into frantic riots.”

The Eastern Church had done its work. The apostolical churches of the East had nursed the infant religion—had translated the old Hebrew religious feeling into the current language of the imperial nations, and, whether for good or for evil, had erected into a passion stronger than patriotism or the love of virtue, the desire for purity of faith,—a passion with which it infected those nations which had no taste for theological subtleties. From the time of the early Councils, the Eastern Church is the more theological, the Western the more religious. Latin Christianity made current what the East originated. Western was incomparably more fruitful than Eastern monachism. The Eastern Church has made no step forward since Athanasius. The Western Church has progressed continually, never losing its hold on each succeeding generation. The West accepted, with little reluctance, the dogmas imposed by the East. With the exception of Pelagianism, Western heresies were more commonly concerned with points of discipline than with the abstruse questions of theological philosophy; and Pelagianism was wholly different in its origin and its aim



from the heresies of Arius, Nestorius or Eutyches. In these, no element of progress was concerned. But Pelagianism involved questions of the gravest importance to the well-being of society. The religious system of the middle ages, with all its vast influence on civilization and morality, could not have been developed out of Pelagianism, for the foundations of Pelagius' system were laid in the supremacy of the human will, and if carried out must have led to a state of theology in which ecclesiastical absolutism could have had no place. St. Augustine's influence on the history of the world is to be measured not only by what he created, but by what he averted also. It is indeed probable that Pelagianism could not under any circumstances have taken root in the Church at the time when it appeared, and we may freely admit that it was for the good of humanity that the Catholic system should prevail, even at the cost of originating and maintaining the scholastic theology. With all its errors and vices, Catholicism has saved the world. No other religion could have struggled through the darkness of the barbarian invasions, converted to its own uses the ancient faiths of the North, created out of Frankish clanship feudal chivalry, out of a blind and cruel nature-worship the faith of Alfred and Godfrey of Bouillon, and set up in the stead of that brotherhood of mankind which Rome under the Antonines had almost realized, the sublime ideal of the City of God.

Catholicism saved the world from worse barbarism than that into which it actually sank; but, as Mr. Lecky says, it was altogether unable to regenerate Europe. He discusses the action of the Church in propagating a respect for human life and a theory of universal brotherhood, in extending philanthropy and holding up before the eyes of men a lofty ideal of purity and charity.

"The high conception that has been formed of the sanctity of human life, the protection of infancy, the elevation and final emancipation of the slave classes, the suppression of barbarous games, the creation of a vast and multifarious organization of charity, and the education of the imagination of the Christian type, constitute together a movement of philanthropy which has never been paralleled or approached in the Pagan world. The effects of this movement in promoting happiness have been very great. Its effect in determining character has probably been

still greater. In that proportion or disposition of qualities which constitutes the ideal character, the gentler and more benevolent virtues have obtained through Christianity the foremost place.”\*

On the other side are to be set, above everything, the perverted ideas of morality caused by the rise of the great ascetic movement,—a movement which, in conjunction with the doctrines of exclusive salvation and eternal punishment, has produced more misery, and kept back the intellectual and material progress of the world more, than any similar cause in the history of mankind. Asceticism, like every great movement of human energy, has great merits to commend it. The sense of unworthiness, the need of self-discipline, the desire for purity, on which asceticism rested, were right and wholesome motives. We must admire the strength of will, the abhorrence of sin, the fervent piety, the saintly patience of the devotees of asceticism; but the fact remains, that the ascetic theory was able entirely to displace the order of human affections, to exalt selfishness into the highest excellence, to create a monstrous excess of spiritual pride, to discourage civil life, domestic virtue and intellectual activity, to substitute fanaticism for the love of truth, and credulous hysterical superstition for piety.

It is a melancholy thought that whilst the sublime virtue of Stoicism was unable to regenerate the world, Asceticism should have not only attracted to itself the thoughtful minds of many centuries, but have been accepted by secular opinion throughout the world as the only perfect form of religion. We have already adverted to some of the causes of the failure of Stoicism. Asceticism was recommended by its simplicity and its agreement with popular theological doctrines. Christianity had expelled or destroyed the philosophies which asserted the evil nature of matter; but their influence remained in another shape; and the noble Platonic doctrine of the subjection of desire to reason was distorted into a morbid hatred of the body and all its desires and affections. There has always been a tendency in religious minds to fix their attention on some one or other special dogma. Sometimes it is transubstantiation, sometimes exclusive salvation, sometimes adult baptism, assurance, conversion, detachment, devotion to

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\* Vol. I. p. 107.

this or that saint. Men oppressed by sense of sin or fear of punishment have always been willing to escape from responsibility and ensure their salvation by embracing some one simple course of action. Asceticism provided this, as it is now provided for those who seek it in submission to the Roman Church. The cause of the greater permanence of asceticism than of most other exaggerated forms of religion is to be sought in the unprogressive theology of the Western Church, which for centuries held up the same hopes and fears, and encouraged the same virtues or religious practices. But asceticism never prevailed so much among all classes in the West as in the East for some time after the Decian persecution. The cooler temper and stronger sense of the Teutonic nations preserved them from some of its excesses. The lives of the saints, it is true, are full of stories of extravagant mortification ; but they do not, except in rare instances, attain to the grotesque insanity of St. Simeon Stylites or St. Macarius.

Mr. Lecky has hardly done justice to the social effects of monasticism. He points out that the monks have received more praise than they deserve as the preservers of learning, that they were only less illiterate than the secular clergy and less immoral than the laity ; but he does not give them sufficient credit for their usefulness in maintaining, on the whole, the highest morality existing in the later centuries of this period, as being the best landlords and agriculturists of their times, as distributing charity, and supplying to some extent the want of hospitals and medical establishments ; above all, in doing all that was done in the dark ages, little though it was, for education.

It is easy to find instances of weak or perverted action of the Church on society. When the Church stepped down from her serene sanctuary to consecrate the warlike spirit of the Roman emperor or the Frankish king, it may be doubted whether more harm was done by this contradiction of her own principles, or good by the softening of the modes of warfare. The effect of church authority in supporting the despotism of sovereigns has had its worst development in later ages ; but the doctrine of obedience which grew up in the monasteries was not without its political influence in the centuries we are considering. But of all the charges which may be brought against the Church of the dark

ages, the heaviest in its consequences is the charge of having established ecclesiastical despotism and destroyed free thought. The history of these centuries is full of instances of spiritual terrorism exercised by the priests, who held in their hands the secret of a future life, and had the power of granting or refusing salvation to whom they would. Every one knows the shameful use made of this power to extort money and land from dying penitents ; nor can there be any doubt that the pains of purgatory, as well as the fires of hell, were used unsparingly as a means of bringing money into the coffers of the Church.

Mr. Lecky lays great stress in this work, as well as in his *History of Rationalism*, on the exaggeration of spiritual terrors by the mediæval clergy. He even speaks of the doctrine of eternal punishment as having exercised more influence on the world than any other religious doctrine of the middle ages. In this work, the author transfers his dislike to the doctrine of purgatory. He justly attributes to its prevalence many excesses of terrorism ; but it is too much to assert that the prospect of entering into purgatory was "assuredly never regarded in the light of a consolation." Doubtless in ruder ages the grossly material view of purgatorial fires inclined the penitent to dwell on the pains of purgatory rather than on the certainty of salvation reserved for those who were accounted worthy to enter the temporal and escape the eternal fire. But the teaching of the Church in all ages has been consistent. The Purgatory, as well as the rest of the *Divine Comedy*, is based on the teaching of Thomas Aquinas ; and the longings of Dante for the purification of fire are in perfect harmony with the burning desire of Gerontius. Vulgar minds then, as now, shrank from the thought of pain, and were ready to purchase at a high price any mitigation offered by the piety or policy of priests. But to deny the higher influences of the very noble doctrine of purgatory, would be to deny all spirituality to an age to which, with all its defects, the unseen world was more of a reality than it has been in any more enlightened but less religious century.

We need not hesitate to acknowledge that Christianity declined far below the high promise of its primitive days. The Church of the dark ages was corrupt, superstitious, even ferocious. The common morality of the clergy was

little higher than that of the laity. Monachism introduced new forms of vice. With the power of the clergy grew that pride and ambition which issued in the complete degradation of the mediæval Church. But the causes of this decline lay not so much in the doctrines and practices of the Church as in the vices of the society which Christianity was called upon to reform. When the missionary age was past and national clergies arose, it was inevitable that the priests should reflect the character of the society from which they sprang and in which they lived. We have only to read the catalogue of crimes which constitutes the history of the first centuries of barbarian domination, to be convinced that the barbarian nations were only capable of a barbarous religion. We may more justly admire the pliability of a religion which could inform with a measure of its own spirit the rudest ideas of virtue, than accuse Christianity of weakness and failure because it did not reproduce among the Goths and Saxons the saintly experiences of the Church of the Catacombs.

What, then, is the lesson to be drawn from the history of the action of Christianity on the declining empire and the rising nations? We need not search too curiously whether it failed or succeeded. Christianity gave light and peace to many human souls, if it could not raise the mass either of the corrupt Romans or the brutal Teutons out of their grossness. And with all its defects, it held up, and for ever holds up, one perfect ideal before the eyes of men, and created, as it still creates, beautiful forms of self-sacrifice, spiritual insight, philanthropy, purity, such as no other religion in East or West has ever conceived since the world began.

## V.

Mr. Lecky's chapter on the Position of Women illustrates the difficulties forced upon a writer who treats the history of morals from the intuitive point of view. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the subject is not in this case treated from the intuitive point of view. The arguments on which Mr. Lecky founds his praise or blame of this or that state of society are strictly utilitarian. He considers questions of sexual morality entirely as one or another state of feeling is likely to produce more or less happiness. In face of the utterly discordant ideas of different ages and

countries on this question, there is nothing left for the intuitive philosopher but to argue for a vague preference of chastity to incontinence, giving to either term the widest significance. Moralists who have started from the ground that chastity is absolutely good, have differed as widely as Gregory the Great from Cato. It is impossible to compare the morality of Athens with that of ancient Germany (if the picture given by Tacitus is at all trustworthy), without feeling that what was virtuous in one was not necessarily so in the other. We can no more blame Socrates for his visit to Theodota, than we can blame a Mahometan for marrying as many wives as he can afford to keep. The morals of Tacitus' barbarians, high and pure as they were, could not have existed at Athens,—at least, could not have regenerated Greek society any more than Stoicism could regenerate Rome.

We would gladly follow Mr. Lecky throughout his brilliant account of the changes in the condition and the morality of women from Nausicaa to Agrippina, from the Greek hetæra to the Christian martyr; but we must be content to refer the reader to the book himself, and pass on to the period which more properly comes under our consideration.

The condition of women in Rome was unusually free from social disqualifications. In ancient days, the functions of wives had been limited; their virtues were those of the household; yet even in the early times of the republic, women were held in higher estimation than among the Athenians or Spartans. The marriage formula, "uti tu Caius ego Caia," was the true index to the best form of Roman domestic life. The history of the commonwealth contains few notorious instances of female vice; and whether true or not, it is a significant fact that no divorce is said to have occurred at Rome for more than five hundred years, though the right of divorce had always belonged equally to men and women. One of the first symptoms of a change was the increasing frequency of divorce, which gave to marriage in great measure the character of a temporary engagement. "Octo mariti quinque per autumnos," was hardly an exaggeration, as Mr. Lecky's instances shew.

In the time of Augustus the simplest form of marriage generally prevailed, which gave women legal independence. Most married women had the right of possessing and be-

queathing property. Women never acquired the political rights of Roman citizens ; but in other respects the customs of the Roman empire gave them a position of dignity, and as near an approach to equality with men as they have enjoyed in any other period.

In a healthy state of society this liberty would not have degenerated into licence. Indeed, a large measure of liberty may be looked upon as essential to the progress of women from the state of tutelage. But "a vast wave of corruption had flowed in upon Rome, and under any system of law it would have penetrated into domestic life."\* Splendid examples, such as Helvia and the elder Arria, occur here and there. But they are scattered lights in the darkness ; and there can be no doubt of the excessive depravity of female manners under the empire. Setting aside special instances, we have only to read a satire of Juvenal or a book of Martial's epigrams, to conceive something of the vileness of a society of which such things could even be written. If we compare with these the satire of the Spectator, Fielding's works or Horace Walpole's letters, the pictures of life drawn in modern French novels and plays, or even in the memoirs of the Duc de St. Simon or the Comte de Grammont, we cannot doubt that the morals of Christian countries at their worst are far above the level of the morals of Rome in the early centuries of the empire.

The decline of wealth combined with other causes to check a profligacy which rested in great measure on idleness and fulness of bread. Stoicism had probably no extensive moral influence ; but Orientalism, teaching as it did the doctrine of sin and the necessity of personal religion, concurred with Christianity in raising morality. The Gnostic belief in the evil nature of matter coloured the tenets of the Roman philosophies and of the Christian Church, and commended itself to the minds of thinkers who saw the world around them plunged in gross sensuality ; and a natural reaction in favour of purity found its justification in the lessons of Alexandrian philosophy. Unchastity and concubinage were condemned. Even marriage began to be considered as an inferior state to celibacy ; and as the whole tide of Christian sentiment set in the same direction, both law and religion

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\* Vol. II. p. 326.



lifted up their voices to denounce the public indecency against which Pagan moralists had made a weak and insufficient protest.

One of the most important services rendered to women by Christianity was the religious consecration of marriage. Among the ancient Romans, marriage had always been honourable ; the more solemn forms of marriage were accompanied by religious ceremonies ; but the ritual was wholly of a mystical and archaic nature, and had neither sacramental character nor religious significance. Christianity raised matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament, and maintained consistently the unity of marriage and the obligation of chastity which it involved. That the early Christian view of divorce was ill-suited to the mixed conditions of social life may be admitted ; but there is no doubt that the severity of the Church's rule in all matters relating to marriage had a good effect on morality in ages when the priesthood not only rebuked the vices, but guided the consciences of entire nations.

Religious movements have always found in women useful proselytes and missionaries. The influx of oriental superstition carried with it a large number of female devotees. Many contemporary writers speak of the rage for Eastern religions which infected the ladies of Rome ; and among these both Judaism and Christianity attracted the devotion of many women of high and low standing. Christianity has at all times had a peculiar attraction for women. It has recognized more fully than any other the equality before God of man and woman, and the equal obligations of marriage. The records of persecution do not supply more names of men than of virgins and matrons ; and as the Christian women were foremost in suffering, so they were pre-eminent in the works of charity and mercy in which the primitive Church set an example to all later generations. Fabiola and Paula are not the only names which deserve the reverence of philanthropists.

“From age to age the impulse thus communicated has been felt ; there has been no period, however corrupt, there has been no Church, however superstitious, that has not been adorned by many Christian women devoting their entire lives to assuaging the sufferings of men, and the mission of charity thus instituted has not been more efficacious in diminishing the sum of human



wretchedness than in promoting the moral dignity of those by whom it was conducted.”\*

The high honour paid to the Virgin Mother of Christ did not rest on theological grounds only. It was also a natural homage to woman; a recognition of her influence, a consecration of her dignity. Round the Christian goddess gathered a crowd of lesser saints, who attracted the devotion and excited the emulation of many female worshipers. Female ascetics vied with monks and hermits in shewing forth the virtues of chastity and mortification; and whilst rejecting the duties which heathens assigned to wives and mothers, set up in their stead a different but hardly less beautiful and exalted type of female virtue.

Among the northern races, the position of women had always been higher and more natural than among the Greeks or Romans. “The woman,” says Mr. Merivale,† “was the associate of man in all his graver concerns; . . . she was his mistress, his priestess, his prophetess. She was the fountain of his religious life and spirit. She was the angel or messenger of God to him.” The purity so highly prized by the Germans was not a poetical fiction, but the experience of their lives; and if the romantic gallantry of the middle ages was the cause of vice as well as virtue, it rested on a foundation of purity which could only be found among the Teutonic nations. Christianity readily combined with manners so congenial to itself. Religious authority enforced customs already sanctioned by ancestral tradition, and the northern converts easily exchanged the worship of their Alruna prophetesses for that of the holy women of the gospel and the primitive Church.

It is but little to say that Mr. Lecky's work leaves off at an interesting point, for every part of his work is interesting. But we could have forgiven him, if here, as in some other places, he had exceeded the limits of his subject, and carried down to a later age the changes of opinion and custom with regard to women. The tone of his writing is enough to shew that his wishes are with those who look forward to a higher position for women than they have ever occupied hitherto, and who cherish a sanguine expectation of the time when, by the spread of education and the re-

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\* Vol. II. p. 386.† *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 150.

moval of disabilities, woman will take her place by the side of man—not, as now, a step behind him—preserving her own virtues and not leaving her own functions, but aspiring after more of the culture and responsibility which custom and necessity assign to men.

F. W. CORNISH.

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#### IV.—DR. ROBERT LEE.

*Life and Remains of Robert Lee, D.D., Minister of the Church and Parish of Old Greyfriars.* By Robert Herbert Story, Minister of Roseneath. With an Introductory Chapter by Mrs. Oliphant. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1870.

THIS book, both in its characteristic contents and the tone and manner of their illustration, labours under disadvantages which may hide from the English reader its deep interest and real importance. It indicates the breaking of the great wave of modern European thought through those ecclesiastical restrictions which have hitherto surrounded Scotland like the dark sea-wall of its own primeval crags. It shews the influence of that profound desire to widen the basis of Christian union which has sprung like a well of living waters, rather than been artificially sought, from the secret soul of our century, upon a nation accepting the most formidable theological restraints upon the free movements of its religious life. It reveals the slow but certain power of that enlightened method of biblical interpretation which has conquered Germany and shaken England, when engaged in conflict with the most tenacious literalists left in Christendom, to whom the name of scholars can yet be honourably applied. It records those baffled purposes and disappointed hopes which are the surest prophecies of a coming day. To understand Scottish theological and ecclesiastical controversies, however, demands that dry kind of hard work which tempts any but a true-born Scot to ask whether “the game is worth the candle;” and Mrs. Oliphant states the case with an amiable moderation when she remarks, “that it is difficult to convey any very clear idea

of the position of affairs to a larger world,"—Church politics being so much out of the ordinary course of life in any other country, but still retaining in Scotland so large a share of public interest, and, we may add, being yet regarded as exercising a determining influence upon man's everlasting destiny.

Mr. Story endeavours with considerable skill to remove the entanglement of technical difficulties surrounding the history he records ; and lightens the journey of the reader through his pages by a running fire of sarcastic comments, sometimes so bitter as to be rather amusing to an on-looker calmly surveying the struggle, than successful in winning sympathy. We do not wish to make an unfriendly criticism, for in its more important aspects the work is fairly and bravely written ; but the style sometimes appears more befitting the theological advocate passionately defending a beloved master before an assembly whose vote could determine his fate, than the biographer quietly and solemnly measuring the meaning and result of a life which has passed into the Silence.

To a Scotch reader, taking a different side from Mr. Story in questions of theological politics, many passages will be intensely aggravating. The "hits" right and left are "palpable" and cleverly planted, and will produce as many painful (although Mr. Story might urge not altogether useless and undeserved) feelings as their skill could claim for its reward. It is perhaps scarcely fair to cull specimens, since the provocation must be estimated in mitigation of the critical damages we might be disposed to award Mr. Story's opponents for assault and battery ; but an enemy might select very choice illustrations of the "odium theologicum" on the *liberal* side of ecclesiastical controversy. Some passages are strongly flavoured with the same condiments as the clerical novels of Mr. Anthony Trollope, and are without doubt admirable reading, although not possessed of power to heal the wounds of the defeated. Pages like the following surely belong to the novelist rather than the biographer.

"It sometimes happens in the physical world that an exceptional visitation affects the whole character of a season, and so stamps itself upon the memories of men that for a while, long after, they speak of that season as associated with the special

phenomena which marked it off from others. That, they will say, was the season of the great drought, of the dreadful floods, of the cholera, of the cattle plague, of the comet. Were we in like manner to distinguish the summer and autumn which followed the general assembly of 1860, we should speak of them as the season of Phin; meaning thereby that in the ecclesiastical firmament the star of Mr. Phin was at this time in the ascendant, and seemed for a short period to swell to the size of an orb of the first magnitude. Mr. Phin's injunction to be loyal to the Westminster Confession was on the table of every Presbytery; Mr. Phin's note of alarm was re-echoed in many a simple-minded country parish; Mr. Phin's policy was discussed in half the newspapers in Scotland; Mr. Phin's exuberant loyalty to the standards of the Church burst forth afresh at the Commission of Assembly in August, and with the cry, 'The word of God itself in danger,' stirred up the smouldering fires of the *odium theologicum*.\*

One opponent, a learned doctor of the "Free" Church, is described as "skulking off the field amid the laughter of every man who possessed common scholarship or common honesty;" to another is attributed an hallucination akin to that of the Roundhead General Harrison in Woodstock, who conceived that he was commanding a reserve of pikes at the great battle of Armageddon; while either Nature, which delights in blending in the affairs of men quaint elements, or high Art, which mingles the jest of the fool with the agony of Lear, is said to have contrived that the grave discussion upon freedom of worship in the General Assembly should be at its commencement irresistibly funny by giving temporary prominence to a "reverend comedian." Even bodily affliction, it is remarked, which frequently sweetens a sharp or acrid temper, failed to work an improving change on one of Dr. Lee's chief antagonists in the Presbytery.

"Men recovering after painful sickness their former powers of thought and work, often are moved to use these with a humbler and kindlier regard to the feelings of others, and a keener sense of their own unworthiness. That this happy result of corporeal suffering is not the universal rule, even among pious persons, was proved in the case of the Rev. Dr. Muir."

We regret that the life of one, himself a keen and eager

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\* II. 275, 276.

controversialist, should be told even with a slight tone of sarcastic bitterness. The forgiveness which a brave man craves from all his fellows as he passes into the unseen kingdom, and which falls upon his grave from those honourable foes who may have withstood him face to face in the battle of life, should touch with its own great tenderness the records of his days, and although it cannot tamper with the strictness of justice, can at least soften the fierceness of memory.

We admit to a large extent Mr. Story's plea, that he has not written for those who knew Dr. Lee as narrow-hearted men know their foes, and shewed him for long years only jealousy and enmity and dull resistance; and we know the intensity of the provocations received; but our criticism springs from the conviction that a large and generous patience, extending beyond the deserts of obstinacy and bigotry, will most clearly and surely infuse into the life and thought of the Church the idea of a nobler worship and the spirit of a more rational freedom.

The story of the "Innovations," so called (as Mrs. Oliphant remarks), with that somewhat grandiose nomenclature peculiar to the country, and which, being interpreted, simply means an attempt to introduce a modified Liturgy into the church of Old Greyfriars at Edinburgh, occupies a large part of these volumes. The guidance, direction and stimulation of the life of the Scotch Church, especially in respect to the reformation of worship, was, it is stated at great length and enforced with elaborate detail, the chief work in the latter part of the life of Robert Lee; and it was the institution of Common Prayer on which he had set his heart.

The meaning, however, of Dr. Lee's life and work will be lamentably misunderstood and misjudged, if he is even prominently regarded as a divine who would introduce a Liturgy into the services of his church. The question of a Liturgy was a side-issue, and the dust of the turmoil raised by its agitation obscured, often from friend as well as foe, the larger problems raised by the ministry of Dr. Lee within the Church of Scotland. Sometimes, indeed, his friends seemed to us to understand less clearly the meaning of the great preacher than his foes; and in their anxiety to sustain their position within the Church of Scotland, to have overlooked the essential and irreconcilable antagonism be-

tween the principles of a liberal Christianity and the definitions of the Confession of Faith.

As rigid an ecclesiastical spirit might be exhibited in contending for a Liturgy as in opposing its introduction. The controversy does not cover the ground of division between a Church cherishing a living faith in the constant dawning of God's light upon the unceasing centuries, and a Church abiding in bondage to mediæval forms.

A watchword is not a thought ; and the cry of "Liturgy" or "No Liturgy" depends upon the strength of local accidents rather than the stress of larger hopes. Had this solitary point been the only "note" of Dr. Lee's ecclesiastical existence, there would have been little to choose between his formalism and that of his opponents. His biographer claims a broader purpose for his labours :

"I do not think that since the Reformation there has been any Scottish clergyman suffered to end his course in the Church (not a few of her greatest men having been driven from her fold) who has had such high and statesmanlike ideas of what the Church should be, and might be, as Dr. Lee. Certainly no one, with such large and wide plans of progress and reform, has ever had his action narrowed down so inevitably almost to one point, and that in itself no vital point,—a trifling point, in fact, except in so far as it was the stronghold of a principle. But men have often had to fight for a great principle within a small area. Thermopylæ was a contracted battle-field. . . . Dr. Lee foresaw a day of

"New churches, new economies, new laws  
Admitting freedom, new societies  
Excluding falsehood ;"

and if amongst these the Church to which he had devoted himself, and which he served, faithful unto death, was to have no place and no name, he was resolved that the fault at least should not be his."\*

The truth being told in plain and intelligible words, the life of Dr. Lee is the life of a man who was essentially a heretic, alike by the peculiarities of his intellectual genius and the natural tendencies of his character, but who, in the first instance merely following step by step the career which opened itself before him, found himself crowned with those higher dignities of his Church which he could neither satisfy himself by wearing in peace or casting aside, and who therefore spent his days and wearied his soul in per-

petual struggles against the theological conditions and ecclesiastical surroundings of every position which he held.

We have in these modern days a new tragedy. It is not the tragedy of man contending against the ruthless destiny of the inexorable gods; it is the tragedy of man caught within the fine meshes of a net, woven from mingled theological and professional considerations, from which he is honestly unwilling to escape, but which he feels an impediment to the free activities of his nature.

Dr. Lee accepted office after office, each being subject to ecclesiastical limitations and conditions. He was minister of the church and parish of Old Greyfriars, Professor of Biblical Criticism, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, through no inevitable decree of fate and no necessity, physical, mental or moral. The world is wide and its occupations are many. The mere fact that a man holds such offices, it seems to us, takes away all ground of complaint and protest against those who challenge the soundness of his doctrine and the legality of his forms of prayer. If a man undertake theological responsibilities, his theology becomes, by that very act, a fair matter of debate; and those who question his orthodoxy are not altogether justly condemned as unreasonable bigots. As long as a Church possesses authoritative standards, without the acceptance of which no minister or elder can hold office within its boundaries, those who consider that these standards have been infringed do not exceed their duty in bringing the disputed thoughts or practices to fair and open trial. Under such circumstances, to ask an upholder of the Confession of Faith to be silent, is to demand that he should accept that free theory of a broad Christian Church which is most opposed to his own convictions, and to attempt to win debated ground without stating the issue or fighting the battle to its legitimate conclusion.

We do not question for a moment Dr. Lee's undaunted courage and unyielding honesty. He loved the Church of Scotland, and believed himself her true and faithful son. He protested, as publicly and firmly as we can protest, against the indignity of requiring from Christian ministers subscription to articles of faith.

"In these times no class of men can possibly have, or should have at any time, any real weight and authority in guiding opi-



nion, unless it occupy a somewhat independent position. Prisons and fetters are for the lawless and disobedient, for thieves and murderers, and all those abandoned classes who exist and thrive by injuring their neighbours and disturbing society. Christian teachers, we hope, do not deserve or need to be so guarded, confined and pinioned; they are not set upon perverting the truth, corrupting religion, seducing the people, so that they should be required by law to swear at the beginning of their professional life that they hold not only the great articles of the Christian faith, which are both simple and very few, but a positive and categorical opinion regarding many hundreds of propositions which they have not had time to weigh and study; much less that they should be required to swear that they will so think on all those points which they now are required to profess 'during all the days of their life.' For my part, I think too well of my professional brethren to believe that they need to be sent forth to preach and teach thus loaded with irons, being in a very different sense from St. Paul, 'ambassadors in chains.' In his case the body only was ἐν ἀλύσει, 'but the word of God was not bound;' the soul was free, also the tongue."\*

It is well and nobly said; but those who have already (in Dr. Lee's words) sworn what they will believe "during all the days of their life," have (we would submit) forfeited the right to condemn with any bitterness those who ask whether they have kept their bond. Presbyteries may be "meddlesome" in raising inconvenient questions, but they are perfectly justified by the laws of the Church. In reading the Life of Dr. Lee, however (although we have felt bound by our very regard for the loving care and reverence with which the author has told its tale, to indicate our objections to the tone of certain passages), the spirit of the more generous sympathy will guide to the truer interpretation. He believed in his heart of hearts that the Church of Scotland belongs, not to a sect, but to the nation, and that without Christian liberty there can be no truth and no Christianity within it, and endeavoured to harmonize its services with the progress of intelligence and the awakening of the conscience of mankind. It is our profound conviction that the task Dr. Lee undertook can never be accomplished by men who stand formally pledged to the creeds of the past, however largely they may modify their meaning

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\* Lecture on the Clerical Profession, II. 306.



or explain away the terms of subscription. The work demands not an Erasmus, but a Luther.

The statements in the Westminster Confession are so precise and logically consistent, that neither in the Church courts nor at civil law can they ever be held to cover divergences of thought kindred to those existing within the Church of England. The action of the ecclesiastical authorities is so direct and determined, that the larger thought needs but clear public statement to be at once crushed ; and the chance of educating the national life is lost by those whose only hope of success rests upon measures they can never venture to take.

Even Dr. Lee himself was persuaded by his friends not to publish some of his more important discourses, in the avowed fear that they would secure his immediate expulsion. In Scotland there is, we believe, a "vicious circle" preventing that reform of the Church from within for which so many good men pray. Reform depends upon the spiritual education of the people, and yet through the prompt action of ecclesiastical authorities that education can be checked by a condemnatory vote, easily obtained, whenever a preacher clearly states the results of science and the conclusions of criticism.

The very conviction, however, we hold of the hopelessness of Dr. Lee's task, makes us feel the more deeply the pathos and the dignity of his life.

Robert Lee was by birth a Borderer, and not a Scot, having been born, in 1804, at Tweedmouth, in the county of Durham. He was educated at the Berwick-on-Tweed grammar-school, and learned the craft of boat-building. Desiring a university education, and not having sufficient money to pay the fees and live, he built a boat and sold it, and with the price in his pocket started for St. Andrew's, where he went regularly through the usual eight years' curriculum required of candidates for holy orders, with considerable distinction. There is a plan of study in his diary which maps out his hours from 8 a.m. until 12 p.m. with a charming forgetfulness of the necessity of any meal but breakfast. In 1833, he became minister of a chapel-of-ease at Arbroath ; and an exceedingly pleasant picture of his life in that town is given by Dr. Stevenson, who, after having been defeated as a candidate for the same pulpit, was selected by a neighbouring congregation.

"There the results of our reading were discussed as if they had been common property ; plans of future study were projected ; grave consultations were held concerning our professional work ; . . . . while, finally, the rivalry which, as we well knew, existed between our respective congregations, our poor selves, our public appearances and deportment generally being the cause of it, furnished us with an inexhaustible subject of gossiping anecdote and goodhumoured raillery."\*

Tendencies speedily appear in the young preacher's career which shadow forth the characteristics of his future eminence. He ridicules with that keen, incisive criticism of which he became so consummate a master, those who had a dislike of practical appeals to their consciences under the veil of a professed desire to have nothing but "the gospel," "the sincere milk of the word," preached to them. In a sermon on Civil Government, he says :

"But some will say, Why discuss such subjects from the pulpit ? What have questions of civil polity, what have smuggling and defrauding the revenue, to do with the gospel ? I do not take upon me to answer this question. I send him who asks it to St. Paul, to learn from him why the Holy Ghost has spoken on this subject, which many think is no part of the gospel. . . . 'Owe no man anything.' This is another duty which many people would fain persuade themselves is no part of the gospel. For it is often easier to be high professors than honest men ; to make long prayers and pious speeches than to make restitution of unjust gains."†

One of the most curious facts in the religious history of Scotland is the suspicion which has occasionally appeared regarding the Lord's Prayer. The use of the Lord's Prayer in public worship has been considered a sign of the want of a fervent evangelical spirit. In a quaint old book, entitled "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence display'd" (1738), the neglect of the Lord's Prayer is frequently charged upon Presbyterian ministers. It is said that when the people were catechized on the principles of the Christian religion, they were found grossly ignorant ; for when they were desired to repeat the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, they replied they were above these childish ordinances, for if they believed in Christ they were certainly well. The absence of any allusion to the Calvinistic scheme

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\* I. 10.

† I. 14.

of grace in the Lord's Prayer sufficiently accounts for its disuse, and furnishes a curious argument against the creed which instinctively shrank from its holy touch. We find that so late as 1833 it was a rare formula in a Scotch church. A member of the congregation in Old Greyfriars narrates that, when he was taken as a boy to hear Dr. Lee at Inverbrothock, what impressed him most was the minister's copious reading of the Scriptures and his repeating of the Lord's Prayer, which this youthful worshiper had never heard used in any other church.

Certain stray thoughts appear in the young divine's notebook which have the seed of a growing life deeply hidden within them. Two natures, indeed, seem struggling for mastery over the preacher in his earlier days. Following the one, he would become a mystic, enwrapt in the enthusiasms of a piety which could believe as a tribute of praise rather than an act of judgment; following the other, he would become the keen satirist of any intellectual absurdities hidden beneath the veil of religious faith. Many passages shew the gradual triumph of the rationalist over the mystic.

"That orthodoxy has commonly been error is plain from this, that orthodoxy is another name for the opinion of the majority, and in religious disputes the majority has for the most part been wrong. Besides, orthodoxy does not always mean what the majority really believe, but only what the majority find it convenient to profess. It is a startling and an alarming fact, that so many of those men who have thought independently regarding the doctrines of Christianity, and whose abilities and impartiality entitle their judgments to respect, have formed what we reckon erroneous opinions regarding them—or, in other words, have been *heterodox*. This circumstance cannot but teach a lesson of circumspection and also of candour. Origen was as great a neologist as Strauss, quite as great as De Wette. Milton, Locke, Sir I. Newton, Chillingworth, J. Hales, Cudworth, were all unsound regarding the Trinity. Paley was so probably, and how many of the more learned and thoughtful clergy no one knows, as they had great and sufficient reasons for concealing such opinions if they entertained them."\*

In other passages he rebukes Protestant churches for refusing mutual communion and recognition; laments the

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\* I. 61, 62.

prevalent sensitiveness as to the orthodoxy of ministers compared with the callousness as to their spirituality; and declares that there never can be peace in the Church so long as different forms of church government are held as being of divine appointment, the *jure divino* Prelatists and the *jure divino* Presbyterians appearing men of the same class, subject to the same delusions, and both of them infected with the temper which that delusion creates. The writer's future adhesion to the letter of Calvinism becomes very doubtful, when we find him arguing that the consistency of theological systems, instead of being a powerful evidence of their truth, is a sufficient argument of their being ill-founded.

"For seeing only a part of the moral system revealed to us in the Bible,—a fact which no competent judge will question,—any system which harmonizes these parts so as to give them the completeness of a finished and consistent whole, must misrepresent the parts and force them into combinations not natural; as if a person should attempt to form a complete map when some of the sections into which it had been cut were wanting."\*

Removing from Arbroath to Campsie, Mr. Lee formed a most happy marriage, and his life is described as being singularly active, bright and happy, shining with a clear light of heart and intellect, full of well-done work and of kindly affection and friendship, with the sacredness of a real and quiet piety pervading all. He takes great pains with his preaching, so that, as one of his parishioners remarked, "You never find Mr. Lee *flat*;" arranges in a decent and solemn order the exercises of a weekly prayer-meeting; kindly troubles himself to write a long exposure of Mormonism for a poor member of his flock led away by its pretensions; and although he occasionally roused indignation by "falling foul of the Shorter Catechism" in the pulpit, and his criticisms on the Bible were pronounced "injudicious," yet his self-denying diligence and zeal gained general respect.

His sermons possessed that directness of speech which gives Scotch preaching its intense practical power, in spite of the theological technicalities both of language and thought by which it is commonly pervaded, and which often tem-

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\* I. 61.

pers the solemnity of religious exhortation with a strange mingling of sarcasm and humour. Mr. Lee, for example, once said, fixing his eye on a prominent member of his congregation who was dosing in the front gallery, "I am now coming to an important point, so I hope those who are sleeping will awake, and those who are awake will pay attention." He refutes some popular notions with a light spiritual banter, always a favourite weapon with him in debate. In a sermon on the "Necessity and Use of Good Works," referring to the notion that good works are chiefly valuable as the evidence of faith, he says :

"Faith is the opening of the eye of the mind to behold spiritual objects. Now would it not be absurd to say a man does all the actions which he performs (and which can be performed only by one whose eyes are open) in order to shew that his eyes are open? And if any one were to ask you why you walked about and worked at your employment, and read and wrote and did the other acts which no blind man can do properly, if at all, would you ever think of replying, 'I do all these things in order to prove that my eyes are open'?.....A man opens his eyes that he may see to walk and work. He does not walk and work to prove that his eyes are open. So the spiritual eye is opened, i.e. faith is given to the soul, that it may see to walk in God's command, and to work the works of God; but it is absurd to say that the use of the spiritual works is to certify the openness of the spiritual eye."\*

In the great Disruption controversy, Mr. Lee did not take a prominent part. He proposes to some friends in the ministry to consult and pray together regarding their prospects and duty; but their decision being already taken, they prove dubious of the efficacy of mutual prayer for further direction.

A letter written by Mr. Lee to a leading "non-intrusionist" contains some curious points. Nonconformists are accustomed to strengthen their faith and renew their loftier aspirations by appealing to the immortal memory of the Two Thousand who refused submission to the Act of Uniformity; Mr. Lee appeals to the same history to confirm his resolution to conform! There could scarcely be a better theological illustration of the proverb, What is one man's meat is another man's poison.

"I believe, and I say so from considerable observation of the opinions of various people, who naturally speak more unreservedly to me than they would do to a more determined partisan, that if you go out of the Church your honesty will be much less commended than the theory which drives you to such a course will be condemned. The whole Presbyterian and Independent ministers conformed to the Episcopal Church in England in 1662 except about 2000 (under one-fifth of the whole), and when the conditions imposed were palpable and grievous; and not more of the episcopal clergy were expelled and sequestered during the Commonwealth, the conditions being equally grievous and tyrannical."\*

Can there be a stranger method of deciding between conformity and nonconformity, than this arithmetical calculation? The "immortal Two Thousand" of nonconformist history, regarded as "*under one-fifth of the whole*," have their claims put out of court, and point a moral on behalf of more prosperous conformity!

Mr. Lee's comparative want of interest in the great ecclesiastical conflict of the century, appears to have arisen from a conviction that it did not reach the actual defects of the Church, and played upon the surface rather than probed the depths of its requirements. Those who most loudly demanded freedom, meant mere deliverance from a certain outward order of procedure, and not from the sectarian character and spirit.

"If it is the will of God that the Church of Scotland should now be overturned, I doubt not God has purposes to answer *which none of the instruments have in view*, and that another Church will succeed it founded on more comprehensive and catholic principles, of a less sectarian character and spirit, and better adapted to the present state of society and the wants of men. These defects in our Church are becoming more and more apparent; they are felt by many of the best ministers in the Church, and by more of the people, and they will prove fatal to the Church of Scotland at no distant day. . . . The discussions about spiritual independence have to many men, who have not yet avowed it, suggested that the Church of God has sinned in binding herself to relinquish her liberty to interpret the Word of God otherwise than as God himself shall give light, and that to cause her ministers to swear they will never hold or teach

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\* I. 35, 36.

otherwise than as they may believe when they swear, is to tempt them to swear they will refuse any new instruction God may give them; that they will be obstinately blind, and that the Church shall, century after century, refuse to become wiser or to understand the Word of God better than she did at a given period. And it excites my wonder that a Church can talk of spiritual independence in a trifle and deem it essential, when she has relinquished her independence in that capital and essential affair of the interpretation of the Word of God itself."\*

The debate between "intrusionist" and "non-intrusionist" failed to reach the soul of a man dwelling in his country parish among those larger thoughts and hopes which mingled with his deeper fears, and which the triumph of neither party could either satisfy or allay.

The disruption swept the Presbytery of Edinburgh of its most distinguished members. Chalmers, Cunningham, Welsh, Gordon, Candlish, Guthrie, threw their weight into the cause of the secession; and it became of singular importance to fill their places with the ablest men whose allegiance to the National Church remained unshaken. Mr. Lee was appointed to the church and parish of Old Greyfriars, and in 1843 took up his residence and work in Edinburgh.

When Mr. Lee commenced his famous career in Edinburgh, the more mystic tendencies of his nature had not been entirely subjugated by the keen strength of his satire, and his preaching was still tinged with what is popularly called "Evangelicalism," while he had a cautious aversion to several principles and measures which he afterwards adopted and advocated. A lady who valued his advice remembers being reproved by him in those days for reading "so ungodly a paper as the Scotsman," though the Scotsman was then, in point of piety, much what it was afterwards when Dr. Lee became a frequent contributor; and he was not prepared to accept a secular system of national education.

The character of his work in Edinburgh, however, was a natural growth from the previous stages of his life. During his Campsie ministry, his general reading had been large and varied. Of all men, a clergyman, we believe, should be the last to confine himself to merely professional litera-

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\* I. 38, 39.



ture. The prevalent notion that a preacher's duty regarding theological books is akin to a lawyer's duty towards the statute-books, is, we contend, a delusion. A Christian minister—we do not mean a mere popular preacher, but a man who can search the hidden springs of thought and conduct, and give worthy guidance amid the ebb and flow of human passions—must deliver his own soul from professional technicalities by frequent and earnest intercourse with the highest works of philosophy, poetry and science.

The bulky commonplace-books, bearing witness to a remarkable variety and amount of reading, shew the broad and generous culture from which the greatness of the Edinburgh preacher sprang. On a page by themselves, and prefaced with the title, "The Teachers," he has written the names of Bacon, Burke, Butler, Shakspeare, Milton, Locke, J. Taylor. From 1840 to 1843, his general reading included Coleridge, Thierry, Spenser, Clarendon, Cicero, S. Bernard, Justin Martyr, Whately, Neander, Bishop Bull, Ranke, Carlyle, Emerson; and his noblest preaching was pervaded by that spirit Milton indicates, when he writes, "I dare be known to think our sage and serious poet Spenser a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas."

For the first time in his life, Dr. Lee reads in 1845 a Unitarian book; and it is interesting for those who live among the intellectual surroundings of Unitarian churches, to note that an Edinburgh student and divine is upwards of forty years of age when he chronicles this event.

"I have been painfully and profoundly interested in reading the Autobiography of Blanco White, a most curious psychological study. I think it is most useful to consider the views of men like him; men, I mean, who have adopted views which the great body of Christians consider unsound and dangerous.....Have you seen Martineau's 'Rationale of Religious Inquiry'? It is rhetorical, but very clever and acute, and contains, in my opinion, much important truth. Blanco White set me to read him. I am ashamed to say it is the first Unitarian book I ever read, except White's Life and Tayler's Retrospect, though this last is not a Unitarian book, though written by a man who holds those opinions. May God guide us through this sea of notions! I verily believe, at the same time, that something may be learned from all men and from all parties in the Christian Church."\*

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\* I. 98, 100.

He turns to the study of German literature, and is absolutely and unaffectedly surprised to discover questions looked upon as settled among the most orthodox Germans, hardly known in Scotland as questions at all !

“Many years ago I got a friend to translate for me passages of Eichhorn’s Introduction, and what was my amazement to hear of the Elohist and Jehovistic documents, out of which the Pentateuch was composed, treated as admitted facts !.....The Rationalists are very wild probably, but they must be understood and answered. It will not do to answer them with exclamations of horror. My good old Professor Haldane had one comprehensive refutation of all their theories, or all he chose to notice, or all he knew perhaps—‘Absurd, absurd, quite absurd !’ He measured accurately the understanding of his students, for most of them appeared satisfied.”\*

It is almost needless to remark, as a comment on this passage, that the atmosphere of the Presbytery Hall did not suit Dr. Lee, and that he naturally found himself in tolerably constant opposition to the majority on all general questions. He almost comes to the conclusion that he should better consult his own dignity and usefulness and peace by going no more to Church courts than absolute necessity should demand.

“New experience again begins to convince me of what I felt so strongly in the Presbytery of Glasgow, that ‘defective sympathies,’ as Charles Lamb calls them, or hatred of party spirit, or a contempt and hatred for the conduct of men who are continually doing things from motives altogether different from those palpable,—that these causes, or some of them, render me unfit for Church courts, as one who cannot be led unless I think the matter right, and cannot lead those who are asking only for what is expedient.”†

And he records in his diary the resolution “to avoid as much as possible Presbytery and Church court business, which consumes much time and has little profit.” This resolution proved entirely vain. It was as impossible for Dr. Robert Lee to keep himself from the fray, as for Robert Burns to avoid song-writing. In the midst of the broils and fanaticisms and jealousies of the Presbytery, he stood up, the very genius of debate ; and with skill which never failed to find the weakest part of his opponent’s case, almost remorselessly played with his foes, and humoured and flattered

\* I. 99.

† I. 88.

them before driving them before him like chaff before the wind. In pure debating power, Dr. Lee stood unrivalled. He did not cast himself headlong upon the enemy's forces, but watched their movements and overwhelmed them at the moment and in the place where attack was least expected, and caused the most irritating confusion. He approached an adversary in debate, speaking in an artistically polished style, with a pleasant silvery tone; and when it seemed doubtful whether he was not going to breathe a quiet blessing and shake hands, struck him to the ground. Sometimes his speeches were so cunningly contrived, that the majority of the Presbytery hardly knew precisely where they agreed with him or where they opposed him, but were perfectly convinced that their purposes would be confounded if they voted with him.

Dr. Lee, moreover, possessed a formidable hatred of stupidity. It was the most difficult of all graces with him to be patient with dulness and unintelligent obstructiveness. Dr. Lee occupies among divines, in this matter, almost the place of Pope among poets. While the poet immortalizes the cave

Concealed from vulgar eye,  
The cave of Poverty and Poetry;  
Keen, hollow winds howl through the bleak recess,  
Emblem of music caused by emptiness;

the divine gives the following description of the audience of his fellow-clergymen it was his duty to address:

"I have lately made two speeches in the Presbytery. My power of speaking is, I think, improving, though still it has many defects. Indeed, the Presbytery is a bad audience in many respects—*impatient, prejudiced and narrow-minded in a high degree*. I speak of the members generally. And from this reason, as well as from the narrow and technical ground on which matters are commonly argued, it is one of the worst audiences."\*

It is touching to read the prayers in his diary for the grace of greater gentleness. In love he yearned to know the truth; but in the Presbytery it was hard to resist temptation. The following entry occurs March, 1854:

"Had a call from Lord Murray. He called to tell me plainly that my contempt for the clergy is too conspicuous in my preach-

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\* I. 104.

ing; and, in short, to hint to me, what I have indeed often myself been conscious of, that there is too much asperity and bitterness in my preaching, too much personality. 'Dull wasps sting,' as Lord Murray very wisely reminded me. Let me pay particular attention to this. It is indeed a sin that doth too easily beset me. And may God give me grace to imitate the meekness and gentleness of Christ!"\*

Dr. Lee was appointed to the Chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, and with solemn and noble prayer entered upon his duties (1847), noting among his private records that he must remember to be more earnest and frequent in prayer; to read the Scriptures with a view to edification; to be slow to speak and slow to wrath; to judge not, and to speak evil of no man; to labour with the students, to free them from superstition, fanaticism and bigotry; and to instil into their minds principles of true wisdom, piety and charity. As Professor of Biblical Criticism, Dr. Lee has exercised a deep influence over the younger generation of Scotch clergymen; and if biblical criticism, as distinguished from systematic text-quoting, should again become a science in Scotland, his labours must be recognized as enforcing its possibility and guiding its spirit. He broke down the carefully contrived isolation in which the Bible has been kept in Scotland, so that scarcely any comment but one endorsed by a native divine has been known in the pulpit or the congregation; and familiarized his students with the larger results of European research. The wise and courageous frankness with which Dr. Lee conducted his class through modern controversies upon the exact nature and authority of Scripture, the scorn of intolerant restraints which he breathed into their souls, and the devoutness with which he tempered criticism, will largely sway the religious future of Scotland. Addressing his students on preaching, he remarks, "A grand rule is, Be yourself; but you must fairly bring out yourself, and, what is more, you must have a self to bring out;" and to render a clergyman an independent man was the prayer of his heart and the effort of his life.

Undoubtedly thoughts arose within him, "stretching before and after," which obscured at times his intellectual position both to himself and those who hung upon his words.

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\* I. 206.

There is scarcely a more touching passage in spiritual autobiography than that describing the idea of heaven, which haunted the great Scotch preacher, engaged in controversies on the right hand and the left.

"My idea of heaven is freedom from *doubt*, a state in which we can inquire without suspicion, remain ignorant without apprehension, and reason without danger of making shipwreck of our faith. In this world, inquiry is the parent of doubt or unreason, and both pay dreadful penalties and expose us to frightful dangers."\*

And again, commenting on the words, "I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better:"

"The greatest miracle of Christianity is perhaps the *faith* of its Founder and of his apostles. Well may he be called 'the author and finisher of the faith,' for such consciousness of the existence, presence and goodness of God was never. This is perhaps the centre of Christ's character. This gives it its wonderful purity, elevation and power. Wonderful, too, is that saying of Paul, 'I have a desire to depart,' &c. We look at the things not seen. This is a characteristic of Christian knowledge. Probably this assurance is worth all the sufferings which any martyr ever endured in this world. For of all the miseries we are called to endure, to many the bitterest is darkness of the future. *Doubt* is worse than poverty and death itself; for, indeed, doubt is that cloud which casts its own sombre hue upon all things. *Every man has his own idea of heaven. My idea of heaven is deliverance from doubt.*"†

Dr. Lee's public career in Edinburgh was one long struggle with the thrones and dominions, the principalities and powers of the very Presbyterian world to which he belonged; and his firm assertion of the ecclesiastical position and pretensions of the Church of Scotland rather sprang from a dread of submitting the results of inquiry to the verdict of a crowd, than from any claim of divine authority on its behalf.

He supported the abolition of university tests. Do not (he asked) the tests keep out many that are Christians? Do they not let in many that are not? Where, then, is the use of them as securing a religious education? He was strongly in favour of a secular system of national educa-

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\* I. 282.

† II. 52.

tion ; and in his examination before the Royal Commission, the following characteristic dialogue took place :

“Do I understand that you would not approve of any system for teaching religion by which the scholar would be punished ?—I should be sorry to whip a child in connection with religion, unless it were for violation of a moral law.

“Do you think the historical parts of the Bible would be learned by a number of young children, without some means being taken for the purpose if they failed to do so ?—I should rather they did not know the historical parts of the Old Testament than be whipped in connection with religion.

“Is it a fact that the Shorter Catechism is taught more by whipping than any other branches of instruction ?—*Much more, because it is much more difficult to learn than anything else that man can conceive.*”

He determined to secure the introduction of the organ into the Church ; and for the first time in the history of the Established Church in Scotland, since 1638, employed it in religious services. As the result of Dr. Lee's courageous “innovations,” organs are coming into use throughout the Established churches, though still forbidden among the “United Presbyterian” and the “Free” churches of the country.

When Lord Palmerston rebuked the Edinburgh Presbytery for requesting a Fast-day during the cholera, by advising them to clear those haunts of disease which, if suffered to remain, would “infallibly breed pestilence and be fruitful in death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation,” Dr. Lee delivered a course of sermons, maintaining at once the uniformity of the laws of nature as the great argument for the unity and perfectness of God, and the duty of prayer as a law of the spiritual world, which does not enable man to suspend the laws of nature, but leads us to observe and study them, and renders us so docile that we may obey them.

He did not mingle addresses to the Father with addresses to the Son, in the same act of worship according to the common habit of preachers ; but esteemed it out of place to address prayer to Christ instead of to God *through* him ;\* and thus rendered the general tone of his devotional services

widely different from that which satisfies orthodox Trinitarianism.

In his weekly discourses he pointed out the errors pervading popular and prevalent interpretations of Scripture ; admitted the correctness of many of the Unitarian criticisms on prophecies ordinarily supposed to refer to Jesus Christ ; remarked on Paul's disappointed expectation of the second coming of the Messiah as an argument against the literal infallibility of the narrative ; detailed the discrepancies between the conclusions of modern science and the Mosaic cosmogony ; advocated the opening of Botanic Gardens on Sundays ; and generally prophesied at large against the most determined prejudices of a Calvinistic nation, employing as his favourite weapon a subtle satire, which at times made some of his hearers feel as though they were witnessing the exercises of a skilful swordsman, keen and eager in attack, and recovering guard the moment he had struck his blow.

The preaching of Dr. Robert Lee at Old Greyfriars in some measure accomplished for Scotland the work effected by the publication of the "Essays and Reviews" in England ; his name was known in almost every hamlet from the Hebrides to the Tweed ; and either dreaded as a witness to the work of Satan bringing confusion on these latter days, or quoted with pride and hope as a sign of the speedy overthrow of tradition, and the deliverance from prison of them that are bound.

The general course of Dr. Lee's preaching, as manifested both in the selection and treatment of his subjects, was, we believe, more prominently a challenge to the convictions of others, than a clear development of the positive principles of even a liberal Christianity. He felt too keenly the antagonism existing between modern thoughts and ancient theological formulæ, and was too quickly alive to the bitter suspicions surrounding his career, to be able to dwell very quietly and constantly upon the divine simplicities of that common faith underlying the disputes of Christian men. We are convinced that this is the inevitable result of the position he occupied. The teacher who holds office under no restriction of human creeds, is far more disposed to follow the course of holy thought and to avoid an excess of controversy, than one who, while supposed to be specially



protected from any danger of going astray, chafes against restraint, and leaving unembraced no opportunity of traveling along forbidden paths, is compelled to justify his wanderings both to himself and others, as well as to enforce the sanctities of his faith.

One of the most important proposals made by Dr. Lee in the Church courts, was to relax the stringent subscription to the Confession of Faith required from the elders. Any one becoming an elder is required to testify his belief in the whole doctrine of the Confession, and many good and intelligent men in consequence refuse the office, although members of the National Church. It was impossible for Dr. Lee himself to obtain fitting elders for his own church, since those who supported his position the most zealously, utterly refused to give the requisite dogmatic pledge—a fact of profound significance in its bearings upon the attempt to put “a piece of a new garment upon an old.” Fifty-four elders of Paisley petitioned that those persons who, though believing in the great leading doctrines of the Cross, yet cannot honestly subscribe every section and chapter of the Confession, might accept office in the Church.

This movement was led by Dr. Lee and was hopelessly defeated, although the chances of reforming the Church from within largely depend upon it. In Scotland, we have the patent fact—many good men among the laity will not subscribe that which is required of the clergy, and do not therefore enter the General Assembly. The General Assembly as now constituted excludes those by whose votes alone reform can be accomplished; a free Christian movement must therefore, we earnestly submit, be sustained outside of existing organizations, before there can be any justification for the hope that they will submit to its influences.

From Dr. Lee's earliest days he had been impressed with the necessity of introducing a more reverent order with the worship of the Church, and cherished strong attachment to catholic and venerable forms of prayer. After studying the Liturgical literature of the Latin and Greek Churches, especially the oriental Greek Liturgies collected in the great work of Renaudot, and the more important Presbyterian forms, Dr. Lee prepared a volume of Prayers, and introduced them into the services of his church.

A tedious and angry controversy at once arose within the ecclesiastical courts. Dr. Lee appealed to history to prove

that there was no law against a written form,—that John Knox himself employed it, and that it continued in use many years after his death,—and conducted his case with a consummate skill worthy of a larger issue: his opponents replied by the simple determination that there should be no change in the usual services of the Church. It proved almost impossible to draw up “deliverances” sufficiently definite to check the use of Dr. Lee’s “Order of Prayer” in his own church. If prayers were not to be printed, could they not be written? If they were not to be written, could they not be learned by heart and repeated? What law could prevent the members of a congregation from having printed copies of prayers, which the minister did not read, but *repeated* from memory? Could the law interfere with a minister’s writing a prayer in his study and learning it, or stop him from repeating it on any Sunday he chose? The weary dispute went on through innumerable debates, and the net was drawing itself closer and closer around the hunted victim, until no doubt remained that at the next General Assembly his escape would prove impossible, and a directly adverse vote close the long struggle.

By a strange fate, giving a solemn and a tragic end to a drama which had been far smaller in its incidents than the genius of its chief actor might have justly claimed in his dealings with the affairs of men, on the very day before the meeting of the Assembly (1867) at which judgment was certain to be pronounced against him, Dr. Lee, when riding through Prince’s Street, was seen to reel in his saddle and then fall to the ground. He had been struck with paralysis, and never recovered.

Can anything be more touching than the heedlessness of Presbyteries and Assemblies which fell upon the strong man, smitten on the eve of battle?

“When the Assembly was sitting, Dr. Lee was allowed to know nothing of what was going on; indeed, *he seemed indifferent to it*. Assemblies, even the most august, are apt to look very insignificant to a man lying on the ‘low verge of life.’ I saw him after its deliberations were over, and he made scarcely any reference to them, but seemed chiefly occupied with the thought of his own inability to do his wonted work. ‘I am thinking of how I am to get rid of these offices I hold,’ he said, speaking with some little difficulty.”\*

During the last few years, bitter family afflictions had fallen upon Dr. Lee. Child after child had "gone before;" and now, after a few months of quiet rest, brightened by hopes of renewed work, he was gathered to his children.

The struggles of a lifetime were thus finished, not in the hour of victory, but on the eve of inevitable defeat; and the alternative between submission to the Assembly and expulsion from the Church would have been practically presented to Dr. Lee, had he ever returned to his old place and faced again his inveterate antagonists.

The question, What did the life of Dr. Lee accomplish? comes therefore upon the reader with peculiar power and pathos.

Considered under one aspect, the tale of Dr. Lee's life might point a satire more bitter than any keen and subtle utterance of his own against the works and ways of presbyteries. A preacher, with a certain natural genius for the preacher's work, refined as well as strengthened by liberal culture, learned in scripture and fervent in prayer, whose intellect could dissect a superstition to its uttermost point of weakness, and whose quick moral discernment could never harmonize neglect of human duties with possession of the grace of God,—fought for years merely to obtain permission to *read his prayers* in his church services! Was *that* a question upon which it was worth while to lavish endowments so exceptional and so precious?

Under another and more genial and generous aspect, the very failures of Dr. Lee give grave meaning and noble worth to the record of his ministry. The lesson to the Church from his wearily disturbed and anxious career, is grander than any personal peace the success of his plans could have secured. The life of Dr. Lee, as it is now written, will stand as a solemn protest against the whole system of attempting to confine the religious history of a nation within the narrow boundaries of obsolete forms. It was not that Dr. Lee was surrounded by an exceptional band of reactionary divines, so that the moral of his life is simply a rebuke of bigotry; but that the constitution of the Church he formally accepted was opposed to the thoughts he would diffuse, and the very services he would fain render became, by inevitable necessity, the accusations against him.

Once again, as a hundred times before, has the ecclesiastical system which holds Scotland in its bondage, restrained

the noblest Christian activities of a man who might have strengthened the feeble minds which trembled before him, and brought spiritual light to those dark places where a suspicion of heresy is enough to cover and conceal a multitude of virtues.

As we close these volumes and sadly remember that the ministry of Robert Lee was a struggle against Presbyteries and Assemblies, we long and pray with intenser earnestness for the coming of that day when the life of a Christian minister shall be unrestrained by petty restrictions of human device, and the Church of the Lord Jesus be the home of the thoughtful as well as the refuge of the weary.

HENRY W. CROSSKEY.

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#### V.—A LEGAL INQUIRY INTO THE LIMITS OF CLERICAL BELIEF.

BEFORE the Reformation, no test or subscription was required from the English clergy. An oath against simony guaranteed the purity of their motives in undertaking their work, and an oath to render "true and canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors in all things lawful and honourable," pledged them to its due carrying on; but no precautions were taken against offences more subtle and fatal than either cupidity or insubordination. Nor, indeed, were false doctrine, heresy and schism, sufficiently formidable to demand such a course. Thought, Satan and the printing-press, were as yet asleep, and Catholic unity, unlike modern theology, knowing no "dangers," required no "safeguards."

With the Reformation came another era. The inventors of the new faith valued their Protestant right of private judgment far too highly to allow others to share its possession; and carefully preserved their dogmatic treasures, though, it must be confessed, in somewhat earthen vessels. To extinguish any lingering belief in the Pope's authority, an oath repudiating it and declaring the King to be "Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England," was imposed on all ecclesiastical persons. This oath of supremacy

soon found its way into the Ordination Service, where, under different forms, it remained until a recent statute, made in pursuance of the recommendation of the Commissioners, enacted that it should be administered before, and not during the service. The establishment of a new dynasty having thus laid the foundation for changes, a Liturgy was next introduced, to supersede as well the ancient uses of Sarum, York, Bangor and Lincoln, as the more novel and diverse modes of worship that had begun to supplant them,\* and in its adoption was enforced by stringent penalties.

Thus far had parliamentary and regal authority gone ; but the clerical mind sought a more direct and more general method of discomfiting misbelievers, and the ancient plan of subscription was revived. It was a time-honoured institution : at the Council of Nice, such of the returning Novatians as were received into the clergy had been required to testify by subscription that they would conform to the practice, constitutions and decrees of the Catholic Church.

So, in 1551, Cranmer, assisted by Ridley, produced as a counterpart to King Edward's (second) new Liturgy, the first draft of the Articles, which they submitted to the other prelates. The document received corrections from the hands of Latimer and Hooper, Poynt and Coverdale, and lesser authorities, and was approved by Convocation. In 1553 it was published, and episcopal authority compelled the clergy to read and adopt it in the presence of their flocks. During the reign of Mary it of course fell into abeyance ; but when Elizabeth succeeded, her attention was again drawn to it. Yet, though the Prayer Book was at once restored by statute, Parliament did not interfere in favour of the Articles. They were, however, revised and adopted by the Convocation of 1562 ; a body of 117 divines, many of whom could with difficulty write, and several of whom appeared and voted only by proxy, the very casting vote that decreed the retention of Saints' days in the Liturgy being so given. In 1571, a further revision by Convocation of the Articles took place ; and then by the stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12, their authority

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\* The Sarum use was generally adopted in the province of Canterbury ; that of York throughout its own province ; South Wales followed the use of Hereford, and North Wales that of Bangor.

was established on the legal foundation whereon it still rests. Every clergyman by this Act is obliged to sign the Articles, "which concern the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments," upon his ordination, and to make a public declaration of assent to them upon entering on any preferment. It does not, however, seem to have been stringently enforced, and in 1593 we have Bishop Bancroft complaining that between the bishops' reprehensible love of harmony, on the one hand, and the "obstinacy and intolerable pride" of those who scrupled to subscribe, on the other, "subscription is not at all required, or if it be, the bishops admit them so to qualify that it were better to be omitted altogether."

It will be observed that this statute requires subscription only to such of the Articles as concern matters of faith (which Bishop Gibson in his *Codex* considers to be those numbered I.—XVIII. and XXII.—XXXI.); but after it had been in force for fourteen years, Archbishop Whitgift put forth a series of eleven "Articles touching preachers and other orders for the Church," by which he required of all who should execute any ecclesiastical function, a declaration (amongst other things) that they "allowed the book of Articles of religion . . . and believed *all the articles* therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God." So stringent a requisition naturally produced much opposition, especially as it was made on the sole authority of the archbishop, unsupported by Royal or Parliamentary warrant, and uncountenanced by Convocation.

When the Hampton Court Conference of 1603 had broken up, the demeanour of James I. towards its Puritan members had destroyed the last hope of a re-union of the Church. The bonds at which so many had rebelled even during the lax administration of Elizabeth's reign, were henceforth to be drawn tighter. Convocation met and put forth a series of canons, in which Archbishop Whitgift's requirements as to subscription were repeated; and though these canons have never received the assent of Parliament, they were confirmed by letters-patent from the King, and have in consequence authority over the clergy.\* I have said that Arch-

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\* The ratification of these canons by the Crown rendered them, like any other command of the King, binding on the clergy in all matters falling within the limits of his personal authority as Head of the Church, whatever these

bishop Whitgift's requisitions were repeated, but they were indeed extended; the new subscription included not only "the Articles being in number nine-and-thirty," but also the Ratification; and the language of subscription was, "for the avoiding of all ambiguities," changed from the simple "consent and subscribe," to "I willingly and ex animo subscribe." The remainder of the declaration which Whitgift had imposed, being the assertion of the King's supremacy, and an avowal "that the Book of Common Prayer and of ordering of bishops, priests and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God," was also to be included in the subscription.

The 40th canon imposed an oath against simony on all persons admitted to ecclesiastical benefices.

Thus matters continued until, amidst the tumults of the Great Rebellion, the Prayer Book was abolished and penalties imposed upon its use. The attempt to substitute a Presbyterian Church and directory proved abortive, and the absence of legalized religious teaching gave scope for the propagation of all the varied opinions that necessarily sprang up in an age when men's minds were stimulated to an unprecedented activity, and all their divisions and disputes hinged on religious controversy. Heresy spread apace, and the first English congregation of Unitarians assembled round the pulpit of Biddle. The gentlemen whose education had been completed by continental travel, according to a custom prevalent in Charles's reign, had applied to the criticism of more sacred doctrines the logic with which diivnes armed them on their departure against the seductions of Romanism; and had returned to England filled with the bold denials of the Italian freethinkers.\* Now opened an opportunity for the dissemination of their scepticism: and the names of the first English Deists, Herbert, Harrington and Hobbes, are linked inseparably with the Revolution period.

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limits may be. Beyond this, as in questions relating to Church property, they bind neither the clergy nor the laity. The pretensions of Convocation to legislative powers, enabling it to add to or alter the ancient canon law of England, which binds all subjects, were exploded by the decision of Lord Hardwicke in *Middleton v. Crofts* (Strange's Reports, II. 1058). On the authority of the canons of 1603, see *Bishop of Exeter v. Marshall* (Law Reports, Appeal Cases, III. 17).

\* See a curious passage in *An Account of the Growth of Deism in England*; London, 1696; an ironical pamphlet.



The return of Charles II. inaugurated a new era, and promised the restoration of definite state teaching. The Savoy Conference failed in its purpose of effecting such a revision of the old ecclesiastical documents as should satisfy tender consciences and promote peace and unity ; and they who were in authority, smarting from their recent struggles, were little anxious for any such results. The old chains were to be refitted and heavier links annexed. By the Act of Uniformity (13 and 14 Charles II. s. 6—which does not extend to the Isle of Man), every clergyman then holding or thereafter entering on a benefice\* required to make public declaration before his flock of his “unfeigned assent and consent† to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer.” The 8th section of the Act requires from every person in holy orders a promise to “conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established ;” and the 19th compels all lecturers and preachers to declare before the Bishop their “unfeigned assent to” the Thirty-nine Articles, and to preface their first sermon by “publicly and openly declaring assent unto and approbation of” the Book of Common Prayer, which they were also to do upon the first lecture-day of every subsequent month.

Men who had lived in the bracing atmosphere of the Commonwealth soon felt themselves ill at ease in this dogmatic hothouse ; and the remonstrances of the Puritans outside the Church were echoed in nobler language by the Latitudinarians within. The aggressions of James II. served for the moment to unite all Protestant Englishmen in resistance to Popery and arbitrary power ; and the truce seemed to warrant a hope that the law’s charity might be extended to the new dimensions of the Church’s. The opportunity was not lost. Lord Nottingham introduced into the House of Lords “A Bill for the uniteing their Matyes Protestant Subjects.” In its original form it closely resembled one that

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\* The technical meaning of this word is far wider than its popular one. Canon lawyers speak of the Popedom itself as a benefice.

† Much ingenuity has been spent in distinguishing the meanings of these words, and some insist that by *assent* is meant an act of the understanding, and by *consent* an act of the will. But they are synonymous. Old Acts of Parliament are expressed indifferently as being made with “the assent,” “the consent,” “the assent and consent,” of the Lords and Commons.

had been drawn by Sir Matthew Hale in 1668, but in the course of the Lords' debates it underwent great changes. A provision dispensing with the re-ordination of Presbyterian ministers, and one which charged parishes to provide black gowns for ministers who should not think fit to wear a surplice, were struck out; and the declaration which it was proposed to substitute for the various forms of subscription required from the clergy was entirely re-cast. The tendency of this latter change was, however, in the direction of laxity; for whilst the first form of the declaration "approved of the doctrine, worship and government of the Church of England," the second substituted the wider, "I submit to the present constitution of the Church of England."

The Bill also contained clauses which rendered optional the use of the surplice (except in cathedral and collegiate churches and royal chapels), the employment of sponsors and the signing of the cross in baptism, and the posture of kneeling at the Eucharist. Had the Bill become law, it would no doubt have restored to the Church by far the greater portion—Calamy himself says two-thirds—of the Dissenters. But Convocation stood firm; and the clergy in judicial blindness cast away their last chance of annihilating an enemy whose power, then but yesterday legalized, has now grown to an equality with their own, and threatens daily to uproot it. The Bill was rejected, and passed so utterly from sight that, till its recent publication in facsimile by the Clerical Subscription Commissioners, only one copy of it survived, the copy deposited by its author among the records of the House of Lords.

Fruitless as their efforts proved to be, we must not pass unnoticed the Feathers' Tavern petitioners, who in 1772 agitated for the substitution of a declaration of faith in the Bible, in place of the existing subscriptions. The House of Commons rejected the petition by a majority of more than three to one. The only apparent result of the movement was the secession of some of its leaders to the ranks of Dissent. It may be questioned whether on the whole much was lost to the interests of theological inquiry by this defeat. The principle of scientific investigation is inconsistent with the imposition of any limits on its exercise, and their comparative laxity is a matter of indifference. Moreover, the terms in which the proposed subscription would probably

have been couched, and the jealousy with which the clergy would have clung to the book that had now become their only creed and code, would have greatly altered the cautious and moderated tone in which the Church had hitherto spoken of the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures, and consequently the liberty of criticism popularly allowed to her clergy, and secured to them in our own day by judicial decision.

Our historical summary has now shewn us that the limits of clerical belief are determined by three authorities :

1. The Articles concerning faith and doctrine, as imposed by 13 Eliz. c. 12.

2. The Prayer Book and the whole of the Articles, as imposed by the canons.

3. The Prayer Book and the whole of the Articles, as again imposed by the Act of Uniformity.\* (I disregard, as

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\* It is not clear how much is involved in this imposition of the Articles, the 33rd of which commits the subscriber to *some* belief in the Homilies, but does not specify how much authority is to be attached to them. Lord Coke thought they were to be subscribed as unreservedly as if they had been included in the Articles: and Dr. Lushington, in the *Essays and Reviews Case*, says, "The Homilies are a standard of doctrine by virtue of the 35th Article of Religion." If Coke be right, heavy indeed is the burden which subscription imposes, the burden of adhesion not only to the Thirty-nine Articles themselves (with, as Archdeacon Paley says, their "two hundred and forty distinct and independent propositions, many of them inconsistent with each other"), not only to the three Creeds, which they declare are "thoroughly to be believed," but also to a bulky volume which hardly one of the subscribers has ever read. No wonder that divines have pleaded for a laxer interpretation. Thus Bingham (Works, ed. 1726, II. 753) says, "If assent and consent, indeed, signified that we believed the Homilies to be free from all manner of mistakes, I do not see how any man could fairly assent to them. . . . But if assent and consent be taken, as it ought to be, only for a declaration that we believe the Book of Homilies to be a book that contains wholesome and sound doctrine, then assent and consent may be given." And Bishop Overall boldly says, "The authors of the Homilies wrote them in haste, and the Church did wisely to reserve authority of correcting them and setting forth others; for they have many scapes in them in special, though they contain in general many wholesome lessons to the people; in which sense our ministers do subscribe unto them and no other." Bishop Montagu (*Appeal*, ch. xxiii.) refused to "admit the Homilies as the public dogmatical resolutions confirmed of the Church of England," in that they contained "doctrine to be propugned and subscribed in all and every point as the Books of Articles and Common Prayer have," and insists that "they seem to speak somewhat too hardly, and stretch some sayings beyond the use and practice of the Church of England." And Bishop Bull (*Exam. Censur. Animad.*, xxiii.), with Archbishop Laud, Bishop Burnet and many others, advocates the same laxity of interpretation. So Sir H. J. Fust, when deciding in *Brecks v. Woolfrey* that the Church alloweth prayers for the dead, says, "Supposing the composer of the Homily had been of opinion that such prayers were unlawful, it is not to be necessarily inferred that the Church of England adopted every part of the doctrine contained in the Homilies" (Curteis' Reports, I. 901).

irrelevant to our present purpose, the oaths and declarations relating to canonical obedience to the bishop, simony, and the Royal Supremacy.)

None of these three authorities bound the Irish clergy; but the Irish Act of Uniformity (17 and 18 Car. II. c. 6) contains provisions similar to the English one which had preceded it by about four years, and the Irish canons of 1634 require from all persons received into the ministry, or permitted to preach, a subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles—though they substitute for the English form the milder words, “receive and approve them”—and a promise to use the form of Liturgy which is comprised in the Prayer Book, and no other. No statute analogous to the 13 Eliz. was ever passed for Ireland, and consequently no public reading of the Articles was required from clergymen on presentation to a benefice. Other statutes, however, imposed an oath to instruct parish children in the English tongue (28 Hen. VIII. c. 15), and a declaration against Transubstantiation (3 W. and M. c. 2), both which were unknown in England.

Thus things stood when a Royal Commission to inquire into the laws of clerical subscription was issued in February, 1864. Their recommendations were embodied almost without alteration in “The Clerical Subscription Act, 1865,” 28 and 29 Vic. c. 122. By this statute, those provisions of the Acts of Elizabeth and Charles II. by which, as I have shewn, subscriptions were required, were repealed; and for the various phrases of assent which they had imposed, the following single declaration was substituted:—“I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said Book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.”

This declaration must be signed by every person (1) before ordination as priest or deacon; (2) before institution to any benefice, or licence to any lectureship, preachingship or curacy; and it must be read aloud in the presence of the congregation by every person (1) instituted to any benefice

with cure of souls, or (2) licensed to any curacy, on the first Sunday of his officiating in his new church.\*

The only effect of this Act is to consolidate the subscriptions required from the clergy, and to provide that, as they are all intended to impose the same obligation, they shall all be expressed in the same terms. Some members of the Broad-Church party have interpreted it as doing more than this, and have hailed with joy the new liberty which they suppose it to accord to them. They are delighted to find themselves no longer required to express "unfeigned assent and consent," or to declare that the Prayer Book "containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God." Were it not unkind to dispel any happy delusion, one might ask if they really intend the new "assent" to be otherwise than "unfeigned," or consider that a book whose "doctrine is agreeable to the Word of God" can contain something contrary to the same; or, supposing it to do so, if they could then conscientiously assent to it and promise to use it in prayer?

Moreover, whatever relaxation of the terms of subscription the Act might confer, it can in no way affect the legal liability of the clergy for promulgating heresy. Subscription is an act intended to bind the subscriber before the tribunals of honour, conscience and God; but it creates no obligation enforceable against him by human law; and if he can convince himself that it is an empty form, his opinion must be judged by ethical and not judicial standards. As far as the law is concerned, he may entertain what heresies he will, if he but lock the secret in his breast; and all devices for interrogating him on the subject have been condemned and abandoned. But if he publish his views to the world, he at once exposes himself to punishment. His accusers have their choice of proceeding against him (1) under the general ecclesiastical law, as in Canon Oakeley's and Dr. Rowland Williams' cases, in which case they will be saved the trouble of pointing out what particular Article is infringed by his heresy, and the Court have an uncon-

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\* In the former case the presentee is also required to read aloud the Thirty-nine Articles before making his public assent, but it is not explicitly required (as it is in the case of the curate) that he make it "at the time of divine service." The statute appears to require no public declaration from lecturers, in place of that formerly imposed by the Act of Uniformity.

trolled discretion as to the mode of punishment ; (2) under 1 Eliz. c. 2, s. 5, for "preaching, declaring or speaking anything in derogation or depraving of the Book of Common Prayer, or anything therein contained, or any part thereof," in which case he may be tried by a judge of assize and imprisoned ; (3) under 13 Eliz. c. 12, for "advisedly\* maintaining or affirming any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to any of the Thirty-nine Articles, and, when convened before the Bishop, persisting therein," under which statute Mr. Stone was deprived in 1808, and Mr. Heath in our own day.

No doubt, judges will always, like Sir William Scott,† refuse "to be minute and rigid in applying proceedings of this nature ; for if any article is really a subject of dubious interpretation, it would be highly improper that this Court should fix on one meaning, and prosecute all who hold a contrary opinion ;" and, like Dr. Lushington,‡ consider that if the obnoxious doctrine "has been held without offence by eminent divines of the Church, then, though perhaps difficult to be reconciled with the plain meaning of the Articles, still a Judge in my position ought not to impute blame to those who hold it. That which has been allowed or tolerated in the Church ought not to be questioned by this Court." Moreover, the opinions of other divines, though thus admissible *for* the accused, cannot be received *against* him. "It has been said that this volume has been censured by the whole Episcopal Bench. Be it so. I cannot accede to the argument that the mind of the Court should be influenced by that circumstance. Individually, I should receive with the highest respect the opinion of the Right Rev. Prelates ; as a Judge, I can be guided by nothing but judicial authority. This is not a Court of Divinity, but of Ecclesiastical Law."§

Yet the Court must interpret the Articles according to

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\* i. e. "deliberately," as opposed to a casual expression dropped inadvertently. The only other statute in which the word is used is that of Wm. III. against freethinkers. See *Burder v. Heath*.

† *Procurator-General v. Stone*. Haggard's Reports, I. 424. The Privy Council cited and approved this dictum in the Gorham case.

‡ *Heath v. Burder*. Moody's Privy Council Reports, xv. 46.

§ Dr. Lushington, in *Bishop of Salisbury v. Williams*.

their plain meaning,\* and if the clergyman has infringed that meaning, must censure him without reference to any considerations of policy or principle.† Subscription is not, indeed, an often-repeated burden, nor on the one or two occasions of its being made does it contain any promise of future belief. The Anglican divine has not, like the preachers of Methodism, to renew his professions of orthodoxy annually; or, like the students of the Dissenting Academy of which Dr. Priestley tells us, “besides giving an ‘experience,’ to subscribe assent to ten printed articles of the strictest Calvinistic faith, and repeat it every six months;” or, like Scotch ministers, and even elders, to regard “every proposition in the Westminster Confession as being founded in the Holy Scripture, and promise to adhere to the same persuasion to their lives’ end.” Subscription finally made, they are thenceforward free to believe as they will, if only they will believe silently.‡ But the burden of silence is

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\* The plain meaning is often hard to discover, as two important instances may shew. Rogers, the first commentator on the Articles, says in 1585, when discussing Art. III. (*As Christ died for us and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into Hell*), that “Hell signifieth the terrors and torments of body and soul which Christ suffered.” But as considerable discussion arose upon the meaning of the word, and the construction which regards Hell as equivalent to Hades gained ground, in his edition of 1607 he advocates no particular view, though he condemns several, but says, “In the interpretation of this Article there is not that consent as were to be wished...Till we know the nature and undoubted sense of this Article and mystery of religion,” &c. Again, in Article II., he condemns those who say “that Christ as well in his divinity as in his humanity suffered for mankind; an error of Appollinaris of old, and of Islebias and Andreas Masculus of late years,” referring to Magdeburg, Eccl. Hist. Cent. 4, cap. 5, and Beza, Ep. 60. Yet Hooker tells us, and the wording of the Article seems plainly to imply, that the sufferings are to be attributed to the compound person of Christ; and he adds that Cyril held that to deny that very God died was to deny the faith (Eccl. Pol. Bk. v. 260, 263). Rogers’ book was esteemed of such authority that Archbishop Bancroft ordered a copy to be bought for every parish in the province of Canterbury.

† In fact, as Paley says (*Defence of Bishop Law*, p. 17), “Two or three men betwixt two and three centuries ago, fixt a multitude of obscure and dubious propositions, which many millions after must bring themselves to believe before they be permitted to share in the provision which the State has made (and to which all of every sect contribute) for regular opportunities of public worship, and the giving and receiving public instruction.” Dean Tucker explains the reason thus: “The principle of toleration did not originate from divines and philosophers, but from tradesmen and mechanics; and mortifying as the conclusion is, I fear it must be acknowledged that the idea of being a consistent Protestant never entered into the head of any man for upwards of seventy years after the Reformation” (*Letter to Dr. Kippis*).

‡ This is no subtly dishonest interpretation. Dr. Randolph, backed by the authority of the University of Cambridge, advocated the retention of subscrip-



laid upon them, and until their orders are removed by the Church that imposed them, there it must remain. No man who finds his dearest pleasure in the exercise of thought, and his noblest work in the communication and exposition of its results, will readily consent to bear this life-long yoke. It may well be that the law must place some limit on the forms of national worship; but if the theologian's investigations are fettered, the discovery of theological truth, one great object of religious establishments, is at an end. Such limits must be unknown in a truly National Church, for they would prevent it from embodying all the religious thought of the present, as well as from forming the religious thought of the future. But, alas! the idea of such a Church seems farther from realization than ever. The relations of Church and State are now tangled in a knot so hard to untie, that our empiric statesmen prefer to cut it, and forget the worthlessness of a divided cord. The union of Church and State may end, but the religious nature of man will endure; it will still hunger for food, and wherewith will the sects feed it? Each sect sprang from some momentary reaction against a prevailing evil: the Independents revolted from hierarchical power, the Methodists from clerical worldliness. Each sect crystallizes around the idea for which it was founded, for whose protection it is content to live on, reckless of the world without, which moves on recklessly of it. Is it with these barren specialities that our children shall be fed, or the poor who are the children of all of us? We demand for them a religious teaching as real as the life they live, as broad as the world they live in. Such we have hitherto found only in National Churches. We have seen theology studied scientifically and tolerantly, studied with profit and result, only in England, Holland and Germany. America, however fertile in ecclesiastical forms and politics, of varying merits as to practicability and morality, has given us no new religious idea except Spiritualism; and never did an exception more convincingly prove the rule.

We refuse to secularize education or to limit the authority of the State—the collected intellect of the community—

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tion expressly on this ground, that (pp. 10, 11) it binds "no man from impartially examining the Word of God, nor from altering his opinion if he finds reason to do so," but only requires him not "openly to maintain his new opinion."

to the least important parts of life. The State provides a standard of weights and measures for those who may need it; it collects statistics—nay, it observes the stars and chronicles the tides—lest the ignorant of this rank or that trade go astray; and shall it withhold its guidance and deny its aid in the only sphere of things through which all its citizens must pass, the sphere in which truth is hardest to find, and error most seductive? We would infringe no liberty and impede no sect. We seek not to impose our belief on others, as we refuse to be pledged to it ourselves; we leave it with the human mind from which it sprang, confident that they shall be matured and purified together. But we refuse to leave those who are not the property of any sect to the sport of chance, of every spiritual influence, good or bad, that may blow upon them. We must teach them; we cannot teach them without a religion; we cannot teach them all religions, and leave them to select their favourite; our only course is to teach them the best that as yet our best men know. By a National Church—a body of men employed in the discovery of religious truth and the teaching of what has been discovered—and by it alone, can we do this. It, whilst the sects are working only for the preservation of their respective theories, will labour for the triumph of science and the development of the whole soul of man. Under its guidance, life shall regain the unity of purpose it has lost, and religion, henceforth in harmony with all our aspirations, mingle with every detail of the day. We shall find our theology in the universe and not in a sheet of paper; we shall no longer hold our life and age so cheap as to ticket them profane, whilst we mark off other ages and histories as sacred. We will live in the world's free atmosphere, amid all the germs of life that float there, and rear in it a religion which, based on science and ethics, shall be as certain and as universal as they.

But even if our hopes be disappointed, if Ultramontane influence or American example prove too strong for us, if the precedent of Ireland be applied to England and Scotland, if the property of the nation pass away to aid sectarian uses or lighten class burdens, it shall be our consolation that we at least were not faithless to the cause of knowledge, treacherous to the poor and ignorant.

COURTNEY KENNY.

## VI.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *A New Translation of the Psalms, with a Plea for Revision of our Versions.* By the Rev. R. Cunningham Didham, M.A. Part I. Psalm i.—xxv. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

THE Rev. R. C. Didham has been "led to the labour of revising our versions of the Psalms, by the urgency of our crisis. I had with others taken our Authorized Version as little short of the impress of the Almighty. . . . From this apparently happy dream I was awoken by that heresiarch of our age, Colenso, supplemented by Stanley, &c. &c., his disciples. They had attacked our versions as if Divine writ itself," &c. "It is verily annihilation to the Faith, in these days of laxity, and removal of all landmarks, to endeavour to make a Translation of the Divine Writings full of corruptions and absurdities our standard. . . . This mode of answering might do for a well-constituted Church, upheld by the powers of the State; but for the maintenance of the Divine Word, with our hedges broken down and the State dead against us, wolves of every hue nourished and cherished by the State itself, never!!!" The animus of this passage makes it unnecessary to quote more from the Preface. To shew up the ludicrous, slovenly and barely intelligible style of the writer I am not inclined, except in so far as the above citations supply a slight indication of it. I would rather see what good the writer has achieved, when goaded by the stimulus of Colenso: though he might not be pleased to hear that he was only following the "heresiarch's" wishes—that his "Pentateuch" might have sufficient weight to call attention to the subject, and force those who claim any acquaintance with the Scriptures, or who have any doctrine of infallibility or self-consistency to support, to see that there are objections to be met; out of which discussions truth was sure to be gained in the end.

But Colenso would, and I certainly do, complain of the indecency (no milder term can express my meaning) of which he is guilty who avows in the Preface that the new version shall above all things be strictly "Churchy," and restore peace, not by refuting the heretics, but by reading a different Bible from theirs. After implying that Colenso

had read the Bible in English, and founded his arguments on the English version (which is directly contrary to the fact), and then shewing up the manner in which that was made, he speaks of the original Hebrew, treats it as if it were utterly unknown and had now for the first time to be conjecturally explained by reference to allied dialects, and brings forward the Arabic for this purpose, going so far as to say, "It is incredible that any scholar, otherwise than in a whisper, will now maintain that the Arabic is not the key to the Hebrew; for his credit sake he dare not put it in print." Our author's expressions are certainly strong, but only in proportion as his ideas appear to be confused. In what sense is the Arabic to be a key to the Hebrew? When does the latter require one? In nine cases out of ten the word has never died out, and the Rabbinical meaning is the old Hebrew meaning also. Hebrew never died away altogether, but the meaning of certain words was gradually modified, precisely as in the case of the ancient and modern Greek. In other cases the explanation is from Hebrew itself, various derivations from the same root having defined relations to the root or to one another. Only in a small percentage of cases, therefore, is it necessary to look beyond the Hebrew itself for an explanation. I should not have enunciated so very obvious a proposition, but that I find Mr. Didham's notions on the subject to be far different. Verse 6 of the first Psalm is a typical instance of his procedure. Objecting (on *doctrinal* grounds!—"as Jehovah knows the way of the wicked as well as [that of] the righteous") to the verb in "the Lord *knoweth* the way of the righteous," he proposes to treat Hebrew as Arabic, invests the ordinary Hebrew verb *to know* for the nonce with the sense of the Arabic verb of similar sound, and then translates, "Jehovah lays up the way of the righteous." He should have proceeded in the opposite order, and instead of *first* asserting without proof that "the Arabic is but a dialect of the Biblical Hebrew," and *then* finding cases like the verb *to know* and *to lay up*, ought to have learned from these very verbs *not* to regard Arabic as a "mere dialect," and therefore not rely on it so much as a means of interpretation. Mr. Didham is on false ground throughout, and so the less said about a production which could not but be faulty the better. His authorities are all old, if not

antiquated. What strength does he gain by quoting from Dr. Adam Clarke, "It is allowed among learned men that where a word occurs not as a verb in the Hebrew Bible, its root may be legitimately sought in the Arabic"? It *may* certainly under certain circumstances; but suppose it occurs in the far earlier Rabbinical Hebrew, Chaldee or Syriac, is one to set these aside, and rush to the Arabic by preference? As to the translation, which makes microscopic changes and counts them all up at the end, it would be well if Mr. Didham (1) had perceived that there is a definite article in Hebrew, which must be recognized; (2) had not used the *ellipsis* in the most extraordinary, and to me unintelligible, sense; (3) had not given to the future or imperfect tense a future meaning where that is against the context, as in Psalm ii. 4, though not in v. 2; (4) had better understood the context, as in Psalm xxiii., where Jehovah being in v. 1 the Shepherd, the speaker in verses 2—4 speaks as a sheep, of being allowed to *lie down* in pleasant pastures, and led besides quiet waters (so that there is no need of his monstrous interpretation from the Arabic, "He has *satiated* me in grassy places"). I turned at once to the crucial text, Ps. ii. 12, and find the old "Kiss *the Son* lest he be angry," without note or comment, although *bar* is not Hebrew at all for son, and if it were would be impossible here, because it has neither article nor possessive suffix. I would recommend to Mr. Didham Hupfeld's "Psalmen," which gives an excellent conspectus of all translations worthy of notice; but as he never quotes any German writer, and seems to know of nothing that has been done since Gesenius (and of him only his Lexicon), I cannot expect the recommendation to be heeded. And, finally, I confess that I despair of one who on Psalm xviii. 13 ("Jehovah also thundered in the heavens: Thus did the Most High present Himself in behalf of *His Word*"), notes, "*His Word*: sense missed in both our versions: if applied to the Son, *as must be maintained by us* [why?], the Heb. *kol* here is 'word' and not 'voice.'"

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2. *De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo Apostolo allegatis scripsit A. F. Kautzsch.* 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1869.

Dr. Kautzsch gives carefully all St. Paul's quotations from the Old Testament, with the corresponding Greek

version and the original Hebrew, noting all varieties of reading, and discussing the mode of quotation, with a view to settle the question whether they were taken from the Hebrew or the Greek. The result is, that in the vast majority of cases the passages are quoted from the Septuagint, sometimes loosely and apparently from memory, but more frequently very exactly, and in a large number of these cases agreeing very closely with the Hebrew. In two passages quoted from Job, Paul's citation entirely abandons the Greek, and agrees with the Hebrew, which makes it very probable that the apostle knew nothing of a Greek version of this book. This small and careful summary will prove very useful to investigators of the interesting question, how, and how much, the apostolical writers knew of the Hebrew Scriptures. It treats only of Paul, and excludes the Epistle to the Hebrews.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

### 3. *Contemporary German Theology.*

These two works upon religion,\* the one by a German, the other by a Dutchman, deserve, both from the importance of the subject of which they treat and the great ability with which it is handled, to stand at the head of our list. The first work, by a rising *savant* of the modern liberal school, a school which acknowledges the merits of Ferdinand Christian Baur and his disciples without accepting many of their conclusions, supplies a very valuable critique of former theories of the nature of religion, finally adopting important principles from all, and a most admirable summary of the conclusions of modern science and erudition as to the history of the religions of the world. While differing very materially from the author's conclusions upon various collateral questions discussed in the first volume, we have read it with great interest, and have gathered from it many suggestions for which best thanks are due. On some of these questions our author is admirably clear and decided,

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\* Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte dargestellt von Otto Pfeiderer. Erster Band: das Wesen der Religion. Zweiter Band: die Geschichte der Religion. Leipzig. 1869.

Die Religion. Von Cornelius Wilhelm Opzoomer, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Utrecht. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Dr. Friedrich Mook. Elberfeld. 1868.

as, for instance, the origin of man, or the doctrine of original sin ; but on others he is not free from the inconsequentiality which hampers so many of the modern school of German theologians. Of the second volume we speak with more unqualified praise. It contains the results of latest inquiry ; it presents these results in a most interesting and suggestive form. We have no book in our language upon the history of Semitic and Egyptian, Aryan and German, Greek and Roman, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan religions, at all to be compared with this. We have no doubt but that theological and philosophical students will give the work a hearty welcome, which it deserves.—The second work treats this great subject, not critically and historically as the first, but with more original philosophy. It exhibits all the clearness and thoroughness which distinguish the inductive school, of which school the author is a renowned leader. The negative part of the book is powerful and conclusive ; there is no escape from the force of our author's reasoning against the possibility of demonstrating the existence of God, the freedom of the will, the absolute nature of evil, and miracles. The positive part, however, is much weaker. The nature of religion is conceived far too intellectually. "Religious faith is nothing else than the acknowledgment that God rules, and that He is wisdom and love. Religion is only the state of feeling in which a man finds himself as soon as he is deeply possessed of this faith." We object to such a definite and narrow definition of religious faith. The world will soon be irreligious if religion is to be so restricted. But while differing from the author in this respect, his book deserves to be widely read. It is clear, earnest, eloquent, learned, and goes straight to the heart of the deepest questions that now agitate men's minds.

Two more volumes,\* the one by a German and the other by a Dutchman, and both liberals again. Herr Wittichen,

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\* *Der geschichtliche Character des Evangeliums Johannis in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge. Eine kritische Untersuchung von C. Wittichen. Elberfeld. 1869.*

*Das älteste Evangelium. Kritische Untersuchung der Zusammensetzung, des wechselseitigen Verhältnisses, des geschichtlichen Werths und des Ursprungs der Evangelien nach Matthäus und Marcus. Von J. H. Scholten, Professor zu Leyden. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Dr. Ernst Redepenning. Elberfeld. 1869.*



without any theological prepossessions, arrives at two conclusions: first, that the fourth Gospel is mainly unhistorical; and, second, that it is by the apostle John, written not in Asia Minor, but in Syria, and between 70 and 80 A.D. It would require much more irrefragable proof than our author can bring to enable us to accept both of these conclusions. We have carefully examined the proof that is alleged. The learning, the acuteness, the calmness of the little book are to be commended; but the effect on our mind is exactly the reverse of that which so much care has been taken to produce. Four strong positions in favour of a later non-apostolic authorship this new defence of the Johannean authorship has been unable to take,—the anti-judaical tone, the Alexandrine prologue, the three years' ministry in Judea chiefly, and the spiritual eschatology.—Professor Scholten appears in the field with a new examination of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, and maintains the priority of Mark, after it has been given up by Keim and other modern critics. Whether he establishes this point, we do not presume to say, and only add that some of his arguments are used, apparently with as much force, by his opponents to support the priority of Matthew. In the case of each Gospel, Scholten separates the unhistorical and mythical parts of the narrative from the historical. He gives no historical worth to the miracles. He classifies them as mythical, apocryphal, symbolical. After the separation of the miraculous element from the narratives, he finds a large, firm historical residuum, much ampler than Strauss. He concludes that the *λόγια* of Papias form the basis of the Gospel of Matthew, and his *λεχθέντα καὶ πραχθέντα* the basis of the Gospel of Mark. The time when these two Gospels took their present form is left undetermined, but they must have existed as we have them in the middle of the second century. The work is concluded with a chapter on the result which this critical examination yields as to our knowledge of the Christian religion. The author thinks we have a much firmer historical foundation for the life of Jesus and the nature of early Christianity than many suppose. But we cannot feel the same certainty and assurance on some points as he appears to do. Is it made out that people did not look on Jesus as a miracle-worker? Is it made out that "Jesus was the great thaumaturgus in

the moral world, the son of man who was also son of God, whose mighty spirit has renewed the world and reconciled it with God, and who remains for all who hunger after righteousness the true bread of life"? Is there any playing with words in this closing sentence of the book?

From the department of Church history a small batch.\* The first of these works reached a second edition the same year it was published. This uncommon fact in the case of an ecclesiastical history is explained when we state that the book meets a great want, and, on the whole, meets it not unsatisfactorily. Richard Rothe gives it his warm praise, and the whole liberal press of Germany have greeted it with a hearty welcome. It is written in a lively, interesting style; it contains a vast amount of information. We find it a little too sketchy; and here and there it presupposes too much knowledge of the subject in the reader's mind. Its spirit is very catholic, the author belonging to the semi-rationalistic school. Two mistakes in the section on the English Church ought not to have been repeated in the second edition. The *low* church is called the *law* church, and Rowland Williams is converted into Rowland *Hill*. Some errors ought not to have occurred at all. It is not true that the tendency to split up into parties is on the increase amongst the Baptists. Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge are still obliged to subscribe. Gladstone's *Kirchentitelbill* is an error for Church-rate Bill. But it is a useful book; at present almost indispensable.—No space need be wasted in commending Neander's Lectures on the History of Ethics. It is a subject attracting ever greater attention. However much one may differ from Neander, he was too learned and

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\* *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte seit der Restauration von 1814.* Von Friedrich Nippold, Privatdocent der Theologie an der Universität Heidelberg. Zweite revidirte Auflage. Elberfeld. 1868.

Dr. August Neander's Werke. Neue wohlfeile Ausgabe. Geschichte der christlichen Ethik. Herausgegeben von General-Superintendent Dr. Erdmann. Berlin. 1869.

Richard Hooker von den Gesetzen des Kirchenregiments im Gegensatze zu den Forderungen der Puritaner. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der anglikanischen Kirche und Theologie im sechzehnten Jahrhundert von Dr. Karl Heinrich Sach, Kün. Oberconsistorialrath u. Prof. der Theologie. Heidelberg. 1868. London: Nutt.

Englische Reformatoren und Märtyrer in Biographien. Von J. F. Mürdter. 2 Bände. Heidelberg.

too catholic to permit our libraries to be lacking in any of his works. This volume is very cheap, only half-a-crown. The last two little works are very good for their purpose, but do not much concern us. The examination of Hooker's great work is thorough. One small error the author may be glad to correct. St. Paul's Cross was not itself a church. The lives of our reformers and martyrs are simply and fully written.

Of these sermons,\* Rothe's only are likely to interest Englishmen. As the earlier productions of the illustrious theologian, they have a peculiar interest. They are always beautiful and tender, earnest and devout. And written before his mind had attained freedom from the fetters of orthodoxy, they strikingly exemplify the difficulties and struggles of such noble souls as still think and speak in chains. The beautiful sermon on the restoration to life of the widow of Nain's only son, is full of pathos, striking thoughts, devout feeling, but the literal miracle disappears in magnificent idealism. The editor has prefixed a most interesting sketch of Rothe's life.—The two sermons by Nippold, the author of the work on Modern Church History, do not merit many words. They seem to have been published to shew that a man can be semi-orthodox in "godless Heidelberg." It has puzzled us to know what the author is theologically.—On the other hand, Dr. Romberg's sermons are no "uncertain sound." He is a genuine Wittenberger, a sound Lutheran, a decidedly conservative politician, endowed with considerable power of illustration and language.

This work† commends itself for its comprehensiveness, accuracy, learning, advanced views, catholicity and fairness, and great cheapness. It contains the gist of most subjects that are theological, or refer to theology, and in every case

\* R. Rothe's nachgelassene Predigten. Herausgegeben von Dr. D. Schenkel. Erster Band. Elberfeld. 1868.

Aus Gethsemane. Drei Predigten gehalten im Universitäts-Gottesdienst zu Heidelberg von Friedrich Nippold. Elberfeld. 1867.

Von Advent bis Ostern. Acht Predigten aus der Amtsführung zu Wittenberg von Dr. Romberg, Oberpfarrer und Superintendent daselbst und zweitem Director des evangelischen Prediger-Seminars. Wittenberg. 1869.

† Theologisches Universal-Lexikon zum Handgebrauche für Geistliche und gebildete Nichttheologen (A—K). Elberfeld. 1868.

mentions the best books where fuller information is to be found. We hope the enterprising publisher will be rewarded by the large sale of this really useful work, which will cost when completed only fifteen shillings.

Our last heap\* contains good and bad in great variety. The first volume itself is very mixed. But some of the lectures are very interesting and instructive. Lovers of German literature will select those on *Walter von der Vogelweide* and *German Heathendom's own Confession of its Deficiency*. Others will be attracted by the names of Krummacher and Hundeshagen. The main fault of all the lectures is that they are apologetic.—We could not give our children the volume by Pastor Evertsbusch, because it is orthodox; and we do not think English girls in any case would like it.—Dr. Schenkel's periodical deserves high praise. His name guarantees liberality, and the very large circulation the publication enjoys testifies to its interesting character. It gives original articles on theological subjects, and supplies an amazing amount of ecclesiastical news. Like all German ecclesiastical periodicals, it is too contentious and bitter to please sensitive and catholic minds. The tale of the Fall of Jerusalem is interestingly and instructively told by Herr Albrecht.—Oberlehrer Kalcher seems to be an honoured pedagogue in Wittenberg. We should be sorry to let our children receive instruction from his two books. If Wittenberg and Berlin prescribe the religious teaching of German children, no wonder the liberals in the house of representatives get infuriated with the Church.

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

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\* Vorträge für das gebildete Publikum. Vierte Sammlung. Mit Beiträgen von Disselhoff, M. Frommel, Kälschner, Herbst, Hundeshagen, Jäger, Kähler, &c. Elberfeld. 1867.

Lebenweihe für Jungfrauen. Von St. Friedr. Evertsbusch, evangel. Pfarrer in Lennep. Elberfeld. 1867.

Allgemeine kirchliche Zeitschrift, herausgegeben von Dr. Daniel Schenkel. 10 Jahrgang. 1—3 Hefte. Elberfeld. 1869. •

Der Fall Jerusalems. Fürs evangelische Volk dargestellt von A. H. Albrecht. Heidelberg. 1868.

Das Bibellesen in der Volksschule von K. Kalcher, Oberlehrer, Wittenberg. 1868.

Das Kirchenlied. By the same author. 1869.

4. *Miscellaneous.*

The days of allegorizing the Song of Songs\* are apparently not yet passed; for Professor Noack, though far from regarding it as a Messianic prophecy, is equally determined to find in it something more than "a mere love-song," and accordingly attempts to shew that it is an historical allegory, the hidden meaning of which, however, was even in very early times completely lost. He rejects the ordinary interpretation of the title "Song of Songs," and sees in it only an indication of the composite nature of the poem,—a song consisting of several songs. These songs, five in number, refer to the events of Sennacherib's and Esar-haddon's reigns, as they affected the hopes and the condition of Israel. They are distinct but connected compositions, and embrace a period of twenty or thirty years. The bride is Samaria, and the royal lover, who is identical with the shepherd (ποιμὴν λαῶν), is the Æthiopian opponent of Sennacherib, king Tirhakah or Tarragah. To establish or illustrate these conclusions, the poets from Joel and Homer down to Motenebbi are laid under contribution; but it is especially the Hebrew prophets, and amongst these, as might be expected, especially Hosea, who are called on to give assistance to Professor Noack in his very arduous undertaking. The volume contains, besides the exposition of the author's theory, a clear account and often very acute criticism of the principal speculations which have preceded his own; and also a restoration of the Hebrew text, with a translation and a very elaborate philological and exegetical commentary. Some idea of the metamorphosis which the poem undergoes in its reduction to its "original form," may be gathered from the opening words. Our Authorized Version (in accordance with the Masoretic text, and following the LXX, Vulgate and Luther) has, "The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's. Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." Our author (who, by the way, gives a weird appearance to his Hebrew text by always printing it in Roman type) reads, "Schîr ha-schîrîm ascher, l-schelmah jiss agenî mi—n<sup>e</sup>schigath fihû. A song of songs will I sing, so that

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\* Tharragah und Sunamith. Das Hohe Lied in seinem geschichtlichen und landschaftlichen Hintergrunde. Von Ludvig Noack, Professor an der Universität zu Giessen. Leipzig. 1869.

he may arm me with the weapons of his might." Few will be so far repelled by Professor Noack's conclusions as to deny that his volume is full of learning and ingenuity, and perhaps fewer still will be so far taken captive by his learning and ingenuity as to adopt his conclusions ; indeed, the author himself, in a somewhat apologetic preface, admits that his interpretation can only be regarded as an hypothesis.

Dr. Schenkel's well-known work on the Life of Jesus\* has recently found an English translator and publisher, both of whom have done their work well. The anonymous translator has not quite escaped the awkward expressions and half-comical turns of language which are almost inseparable from a translation from the German ; but, generally speaking, he has preserved a pleasant, flowing style, quite English and always intelligible. As editor he has (perhaps intentionally) preserved the references to the Old Testament as he found them, thus throwing out the English reader now and then by giving a reference to a Psalm according to Luther's verses, which follows the Hebrew where our Authorized Version departs from it. Otherwise the references are exceptionally correct. With regard to the work itself, its general object is pretty well known, viz., to give a purely historical (i.e. historically explicable, at once *human* and *adequate*) view of the character of Jesus. From this point of view, Dr. Schenkel at once strikes out all accounts of miracles connected with the nativity and of the appearances of Jesus after his crucifixion. Accepting the second Gospel on critical grounds as the most historical, he follows it very closely, step by step, up to the departure of Jesus from Galilee for Judea, adopting, however, the story of the finding of Jesus in the temple from Luke, and that of the marriage feast at Cana from John, and inserting the account of the "sermon on the plain" from Luke vi. 20—49, after Mark iii. 19. From Galilee to Jerusalem, and during the first part of the stay in Judea, Luke and John, but especially Luke, are followed ; and thence to the close Mark resumes the lead to some extent ; but the other evangelists are frequently called in, and John especially is

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\* A Sketch of the Character of Jesus : a Biblical Essay. By Dr. Daniel Schenkel, Professor of Theology in the University of Heidelberg, and Kirchenrath in the Grand Duchy of Baden. Translated from the Third German Edition. London : Longmans and Co. 1869.

often made the chief authority, though not in matters of external history. From first to last, Matthew is treated as of hardly any authority when at variance, actually or implicitly, with Mark or even Luke. From these sources, Dr. Schenkel has given a harmonious and consistent account of the ministry of Christ from his baptism by John to his death. He has brought his materials into an intelligible connection of sequence and development, without resorting to arbitrary criticism or violent exegesis; a little gentle pressure is all he allows himself to apply to the evangelical records as a general rule. In spite of this, however, the work is, in some respects, a disappointing one. There is no great power or originality in the delineation, and the masterly essay on the life of Christ which is *wanted*, which forms the introductory chapter, raises our expectations beyond what the work itself can gratify. In his treatment of the miracles especially, Dr. Schenkel occupies no clearly defined position. From his *historical* standpoint he rejects all miracles strictly so called; but his close adherence to the evangelical narrative compels him to accept much that is usually regarded as miraculous. The cures effected by Jesus he refers to moral and psychological agencies purely human, whilst he explains away by various devices the records of his action on inanimate matter. At Cana, Jesus perceived that the wine would run short, and so took steps to secure a fresh supply, which arrived just in the nick of time. On the stormy sea, his calmness inspired the disciples with fresh courage. In the wilderness, "in the grace and power of his words, eating and drinking were forgotten. He had fed them bountifully with the heavenly bread" (this, too, though he rejects Ewald's similar interpretation of the miracle at Cana almost contemptuously); *besides this*, however, we are told he had obtained a supply of material bread for them. The barren fig-tree he explains (as Woolston did) as a parable, represented afterwards as a fact. Of the raising of Lazarus he adopts Renan's second version—that it was Lazarus of the parable. Lastly, he tells us it is an undoubted fact that the tomb of Jesus was found empty on Sunday morning; but he offers no explanation of the fact, either human or divine. In spite of these defects, however, the work is both interesting and valuable in a high degree. The picture of the constant struggle in Jesus' mind during



the early part of his ministry, caused by his horror of degenerating into a mere wonder-worker, on the one hand, and his irresistible desire to alleviate human suffering, on the other, of his intense desire to make his preaching more prominent than his healing art and to escape applications for help in this last direction, is finely and powerfully drawn. On the whole, Dr. Schenkel's work gives an intelligible and consistent idea of the life and work of Jesus, and will probably do good service, both here and on the continent, in helping to put the great question of evangelical history on its proper basis. The criticism which forms the foundation on which Dr. Schenkel builds is remarkably clear, and it would be difficult to find a more instructive and lucid essay on the first three Gospels than is furnished by the first of the Critical and Historical Illustrations appended to the volume.

M. de Pressensé's "*Early Years of Christianity*"\* is a sequel to the same author's work on "*The Life, Work and Times of Jesus Christ*," and is to be followed by another, entitled "*Martyrs and Confessors*," treating of the conflict of the Christian Church with Paganism, besides a concluding volume on the history of Christian thought and doctrine during the same period. The present volume is not a mere translation from the French edition, but the presentation of that work in a considerably altered form. We cannot say that it quite fulfils the ambitious promise of the eloquent Preface, to repel the attacks of scientific criticism by carrying the war into the enemy's country and vanquishing opponents on their own ground; though we fully believe the author's statement that his book has been inspired by his own deep and absolute faith in the divinity of Christianity. In repelling the pretensions of the Roman Church, however, he seems to us much more successful. The book is the result of great learning well applied, and has evidently been, moreover, a labour of love; but, though well and eloquently done, it is not work of a kind that has never been attempted before. Those who are already earnest believers in Christianity will read it with approval and delight, if not always with absolute and entire

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\* *The Early Years of Christianity.* By E. De Pressensé, D.D. Translated by Annie Harwood. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

concurrence ; but it does not deal with the fundamental difficulties of the profoundest scepticism. We are inclined to think, even, that an intelligent and thoughtful reader who was wholly new to the subject, would rise from the perusal of this book with an impression that much of it was rhetorical, rhapsodical and mystical, rather than clear and convincing. The author assumes as his starting-point the historical truthfulness of the Acts of the Apostles, and the authenticity and credibility of most of the reputed writings of Peter, Paul and John ; and thus does little more than add another to the numerous tribe of commentators on assumed works of writers assumed to be inspired. He recognizes no essential difficulty in ascribing both the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel to the apostle John, regarding the former as the production of his manhood, shortly after the exciting period of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the latter as the calmer retrospect of his declining years. We willingly admit that the author, though uniformly conservative in defending the main positions of Protestant and Presbyterian orthodoxy, is nowhere uncandid or intolerant, and presents the doctrines he upholds in their least offensive and most conciliating aspect. We may add that the various illustrative notes display great clearness and force of statement and accuracy of learning, and are free from the somewhat sentimental inflation of the body of the work. In them he appears to us to deal successfully with the cold and far-fetched criticisms of Baur and his school. We are often presented with original suggestions of much interest and value. For example, he ably discusses the probable authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he ascribes to Apollos. His quotations also from ancient writers, both sacred and profane, are often most happily introduced. The incoherent dreams which he exhibits in his account of some of the heresies in the early church, set off by contrast the simplicity and beauty of the truth as it was in Jesus. Did our space permit, we could easily give extracts from the work which would make our readers desirous of perusing the volume for themselves ; but we must content ourselves with the assurance that they will find it abounding with interesting matter, often most forcibly and happily expressed. We may add that this English translation reads with all the ease and freedom of an original composition.

In the preface to his "Institutio,"\* Dr. Grimm describes his work as intended to supply a want still existing amidst the multitude of summaries and epitomes of dogmatic theology, of a book, accommodated to the reasonings of the present age, written in an easy and intelligible Latinity, and fitted to help the studies of the inexperienced, and to refresh the memories of more advanced students. From our cursory examination of it, we should suppose it well calculated to serve these purposes, in a country where even ecclesiastical Latin is familiarly read; where the *tironum studia* are such as would slightly stagger many who amongst us are pleased to call themselves "theologians;" and where the amount of knowledge expected to be at the fingers' ends of divines by profession passes our wildest dreams. Such a work might serve, in Britain, as handbook for a teacher of theology, but we have as yet few students who could use it as their *conspectus* or *vade mecum*. A few passages which we have noted shew that the writer is, in the great questions, abreast of his age. With respect to the orthodox theory, of a perfect religion revealed to the first parents of mankind, he says,† "History, which in this matter is our sole authority, teaches that human culture, although it may at one period retrograde in one nation, yet on the whole advances from insignificant beginnings to higher degrees of perfection; whence is conjectured with the highest probability that the first men, though innocent, lacked every kind of culture." On p. 29, with respect to the religion of nature "which is acknowledged by the sacred writers, the orthodox," he says, "deny it and deny it again. Yet upon its foundations and highest notions all positive or historical religions lean." If we had any "orthodox" readers, we should recommend this to their consideration, as also the terms in which he speaks of a certain learned and forgotten Töllner, as "among the first to teach what at present all theologians with any freedom of mind, whether rationalists or supernaturalists, agree in, that the Holy Scriptures are not, but contain, the word of God." Concerning the Trinity he is not orthodox.

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\* *Institutio Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Evangelicæ Historico-Critica.* Scr. C. L. W. Grimm, Jenæ. (Historical and Critical Introduction to Protestant Dogmatic Theology. By Dr. C. L. W. Grimm, Prof. Theol. at Jena.)

† P. 9.

"Although that most thorny doctrine, utterly void, too, of all moral and religious fruit, the Church theory of the Trinity, is *toto cœlo*, severed not from the meaning only, but also from the letter of Holy Scripture; still, so often and with such emphasis are God the Father, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit, mentioned together in the New Testament, that it is beyond all doubt that the New Testament writers intended to embrace in this triplicity (*ternio*) the sum and chief heads of the Christian cause."\*

There are many more extracts, short and long, whereby might be shewn how far the voice of educated German theology is from agreeing with the full cry of British orthodoxy. We add one—in its native garb—not solely as a specimen of easy and perspicuous Latinity, but because it is in such utter contradiction with Liddon's Bampton Lectures, the last word of Anglican dogmatic: "*Orthodoxa theoria de Θεανθρώπῳ insuperabilibus premitur difficultatibus.*"

Mr. Ainslie's translation of the New Testament† is made from the text of the Codex Sinaiticus, as published by Tischendorf in 1865. It is consequently hardly to be described as "from the Greek Text of Tischendorf," by which is usually understood the text formed by that editor, on a due collation of manuscript and other evidence. Tischendorf's last edition of the Greek text is, indeed, as yet incomplete, the first volume only, containing the Gospels, having been published to the present, or a very recent date. The fact that Tischendorf is now engaged on this new edition may be taken as shewing that he himself is not fully or finally satisfied with the Sinaitic text, from which Mr. Ainslie has translated. His new edition rejects several of the most singular readings of that text, and in this respect, of course, Mr. Ainslie cannot be said to be his representative. This is the case, for example, in John i. 18, and in Luke viii. 40. In the former, Tischendorf (1869) has retained the common reading, *νῖος*, instead of *θεός*, and in the latter, *αὐτόν*, instead of *τὸν θεόν*—in both cases leaving the Sinaiticus. From these instances we may reasonably infer that the editor's maturest judgment will be

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\* P. 233.

† The New Testament: translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf (8vo, Lipsia, 1865). By the Rev. Robert Ainslie. London: Longmans. 1869.

similarly shewn in later books by a preference for commonly accepted readings.

Meantime we are left to the conclusion, not unfamiliar to biblical students, that the oldest MSS. do not necessarily and as a matter of course contain the most genuine or admissible readings. A MS. of the fourth century, for example, if there really be one so old, as Tischendorf thinks of his Sinaiticus, may have been more carefully written than one of the fifth or sixth; or it may have been purposely altered in places by the copyist, in order to make it agree more exactly with what was in his time understood to be orthodox doctrine. A younger MS., again, may have been carefully transcribed from one much older than itself, and now no longer in existence, and may therefore be really nearer to the authentic text than another which appears to us to be a century or two older. We may add, therefore, we do not think any great gain arises from adopting the text contained in the oldest attainable Greek MS. as the basis of an English version, unless, at least, other considerations tend to give it value. In the case of the Sinaiticus, do such considerations, in certain cases, sufficiently exist? We apprehend *not*, but the contrary. We have not space to enter minutely upon the subject; but it would appear that these or similar reasons have had weight in the critical judgment of Tischendorf himself, who accordingly, as we have said, in his latest and still incomplete edition, shews himself willing to deviate from the Sinaiticus, where it is not duly supported by other evidence.

Mr. Ainslie's translation of the Sinaitic text will no doubt be a useful help to the English reader. Along with the revision lately published by Dean Alford, and the edition of the English common version by Tischendorf, it puts the student in possession of a very valuable body of critical materials. We observe, however, a little unsteadiness in the translation. Why, for example, in Luke viii. 40, render "the God," when the same words are usually and rightly rendered "God" by Mr. Ainslie himself? Is it not most probable that the transcriber who altered *αὐτὸν* into *τὸν θεόν* meant by the latter GOD in the ordinary sense of the term, and discloses his own belief that Jesus Christ was looked upon in that light by the people who were waiting for him? So in Acts xx. 28, in the word "saved," instead of the more

literal *acquired* or *obtained*. There appears to be no necessity for this change, which hides the figure of the original, and would lead a reader unacquainted with the latter to think that the Greek word here is the same which occurs so often elsewhere, and is usually rendered by the word "saved," as in Matt. x. 22, xiv. 30. Uniformity in rendering, we are aware, is not always attainable, but it should not be needlessly departed from.

Mr. Ffoulkes has published two more of his singular and able pamphlets;\* the second of which, "Is the Western Church under Anathema?" has little interest except for Catholic readers. The other, however, "The Roman Index, and its late Proceedings," couched in the form of a Letter to Dr. Manning, contains a very remarkable account of the train of events which followed upon the publication of Mr. Ffoulkes' *first* Letter, "The Church's Creed or the Crown's Creed." For the separate links of a very tangled chain, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself; but we cannot forbear to single out for notice the embarrassing, not to say degrading, position in which a learned and intelligent Roman Catholic like Mr. Ffoulkes finds himself as soon as he ventures to publish any opinions or conclusions which are not acceptable to his ecclesiastical superiors. Mr. Ffoulkes seems to have fancied that his difficulties would be met, not with the iron hand of authority, but with the soft, perhaps yielding, touch of explanation: he cannot understand why, when he asks for the solution of an *historical* problem, he should be accused of *theological* unsoundness: he is surprised to find his work condemned by the Roman Index, without any opportunity of self-defence being afforded him: he is entangled in negotiations for a retractation, which he is himself resolved shall retract nothing, while the Archbishop desires that it should at least appear to retract everything. At last, after months of correspondence, interviews, messages, misunderstandings, the attempt at reconciliation finally breaks down, and by formal mandate of the Archbishop of Westminster, Mr. Ffoulkes

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\* The Roman Index, and its late Proceedings: a Second Letter to the Most Rev. Archbishop Manning. By the Author of "The Church's Creed or the Crown's Creed." London: Hayes.

Is the Western Church under Anathema? &c. &c. By E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D. London: Hayes.

is denied absolution. To an outside observer, the meaning of the whole transaction is perfectly plain. Mr. Ffoulkes is a sincere and devout Roman Catholic—but he wants to be a Roman Catholic on Protestant principles. And rather than have him thus, the Church will not have him at all.

Of course, Archbishop Manning, in his Pastoral Letter on the Papal Infallibility,\* makes no allusion to so small a matter as Mr. Ffoulkes and his historical heresies; but, for all that, it is instructive to read the pamphlets in conjunction. The reader feels that with a prelate so utterly devoted to Rome, so eager to sacrifice his historical judgment, even his very individuality, at the shrine of Papal despotism, any fair inquirer like Mr. Ffoulkes has no chance. The Pastoral Letter, in its bold defiance of logical maxims and its audacious pretence of historical investigation, is a singular example of the length to which Ultramontane theory may carry one who begins his Catholic career with the enthusiasm of a convert.—We may mention in the same connection a volume of a very different kind,† in which, under the form of an autobiographical narrative, “Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood” are contrasted with “Ten Years in a Catholic Convent”—very much to the advantage of the latter. In the Protestant sisterhood, all is disorder, dissension: in the Catholic convent, there is only regularity, harmony, peace. The story is told in a lively fashion: many of the persons intended to be described are concealed under very feeble disguises: and in its former part at least, the work ministers largely to the prevailing appetite for ecclesiastical scandal. But the writer forgets that her work can have no real value or lasting effect so long as it is anonymous and preserves even the slightest appearance of fiction. Real names, accurate dates, circumstantial narrative, which, if not true, afford at least the opportunity of refutation, are essential in such a case to influence. Revelations which affect not only system, but individual character, should be made explicitly or not at all.

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\* The Œcumenical Council, and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. A Pastoral Letter, &c. By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London: Longmans. 1869.

† Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood, and Ten Years in a Catholic Convent. An Autobiography. London: Longmans. 1869.



We pass almost from pole to pole of the theological world to recommend to our readers Mr. Kenrick's most interesting "*Memorials of the Presbyterian Chapel, St. Saviourgate, York*,"\* in which he traces, "from the origin of Nonconformity to the present time," the apostolical succession of learned, pious and painful divines who have ministered in that sanctuary. To those who know Mr. Kenrick, or claim a share in the many memories which gather round the venerable chapel of which he writes, it is not necessary to speak in praise of this pamphlet; but it would be an instructive subject of study to some who are apt to think that religion in England has no history, except in connection with the National Church. We may be mistaken, but we cannot help thinking that the lesson of outspoken theological honesty which this record of obscure conscientiousness is so apt to teach, is precisely that which at the present moment the Church of England most needs to learn.—We must also, though in but a single word, direct our readers' attention to Mr. R. Martineau's *Inaugural Discourse at Manchester New College*,†—at once worthy of the acknowledged learning of the author, and of the Chair of Hebrew Language and Literature which he fills.

Mr. Mackay's work‡ consists of preliminary essay and translation. The essay fills two-thirds of the volume: it treats of Greek ideality; of Greek morality, under various aspects; of Greek education by elementary maxims, by special legislation, by the agency of the sophists, by the drama; and of Plato and Aristotle as moralists. The whole is interspersed with references to things as they exist in this land at the present moment; and the references are by no means far-fetched or ill-timed. Mr. Mackay says a great many very wise things, but nearly always in a round-about and awkward way. As a sample, and quite a fair one, of the general style of the essay, here is his account of

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\* *Memorials of the Presbyterian Chapel, St. Saviourgate, York, from the Origin of Nonconformity to the Present Time.* By John Kenrick, M. A., F.S. A. York. 1869.

† *The Roots of Christianity in Mosaism. An Address, &c.* By R. Martineau, M. A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

‡ *Plato's Meno: a Dialogue on the Nature and Meaning of Education. Translated, with explanatory Notes and Introduction, and a Preliminary Essay on the Moral Education of the Greeks,* by R. W. Mackay. Williams and Norgate. 1869.

Plato's "Love:" "'Love' is an apt expression for the free moral disposition whose sentiment is over-mastered and directed by some object internally recognized as having a legitimate claim to its enthusiastic allegiance." We are led to regret that Mr. Mackay did not stick to his first intention, and give us simply a rendering of the treatise by F. Jacobs. Readers who take up the book for the sake of getting at the *Meno* in an English form, will have reason to thank Mr. Mackay for a very careful and readable translation. It is not so small a thing as it may seem to add, that the peculiar Socratic humour is preserved with some success in the English rendering. If Mr. Mackay in subsequent editions will publish his translations and his essays in separate volumes, it will facilitate our desire to approve and disapprove his works by wholes.

With the exception of the concluding article on "National Loans," which appeared in the *National Review*, the various papers in Mr. Newman's volume of "Miscellanies"\* are now published for the first time. It commences with "Logical Fragments," selected from a complete treatise on "Ancient and Modern Logic," elaborated from a course of lectures delivered and printed many years ago, which the author was deterred from publishing by the appearance of Mr. J. S. Mill's work, though differing from him on some fundamental points. These Fragments will well repay perusal, and will make the thoughtful reader regret that he cannot study the whole work, though he may not always read with full assent. In the Fragment on the Confusion of Verbal with Real Truth, for example, the author seems to us to have overlooked the point of one of his illustrations:

"Treason never prospers: where's the reason?"

Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason."

Surely this is not a tame truism or verbal juggle, but an epigram, implying (whether truly or falsely) that there is never any moral difference between suppressed treason and successful revolution.

These are followed by four striking and interesting lectures on Poetry, in which we are old-fashioned enough to see with pleasure the high rank accorded to the poetry of

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\* *Miscellanies*: chiefly Addresses, Academical and Historical. By Francis William Newman. London: Trübner.

"our British Homer," Sir Walter Scott. Then comes a series of seven lectures on the Chief Forms of Ancient Nations, in which (to skim the contents here and there) the author expresses his disbelief in race as determining national character; gives a very striking picture of the wonderful attainments of the ancient Egyptians in science and art; shews that commerce is most lucrative between nations both of which are civilized; condemns and shews the necessary perishableness of a military despotism like that of Alexander; ingeniously places slavery on the same basis as cannibalism; interprets Pontifex as equivalent to Pompifex, or a Conductor of Processions, which he thinks a more probable interpretation than the accepted one of Bridge-builder; compares the empire of ancient Rome to our own rule in India; deploras the fall of Carthage; and defends Tiberius against the malignity of Tacitus. These lectures are succeeded by a defence of Carthage against the accusations of hostile historians. Then comes a fragment on Liberal Teaching of Mathematics, in which he well remarks that "the great aim here, as in all education, is not to communicate mere results, but to impart a power." Then follows an admirable lecture (delivered to a Ladies' College) on Elocution as a part of general Education, a subject which all who are acquainted with the author's own elocution will be prepared to find him well competent to treat. The following observation is suggestive: "Science may cultivate the Understanding and the powers of pure Reason; but only Literature, teeming with moral thought, can cultivate the Sentiment." The whole volume is a healthy stimulant, being the production of accomplished scholarship, an independent and fearless judgment, the clearest and frankest thought, and a pure, high moral tone. It abounds with forcible and felicitous expressions, as, for example, where he speaks of "loans contracted by a private chat between a minister and two or three money-lenders, to whom it would be absurd to *impute* patriotism." Occasionally there is wit, as where he illustrates the policy of the Roman Senate when Hannibal entered Italy, by comparing it to "a sphinx moth, which persists in killing and eating up smaller insects while an anatomist is cutting out his stomach." Our very narrow limits permit us only thus briefly to indicate the quality of the volume, which we

heartily hope may meet with such a reception as to induce the author to publish further selections from the materials which he intimates that he has in store.

"The Education of Girls"\* is a republication of two lectures delivered by the author, the first in London in 1864, and the second in Manchester in 1866, and long out of print, with copious additions in the form of notes. The little book bristles with quotations almost as thickly as that much larger book, Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, indicating on the part of the author diligent and vigilant reading, a most retentive memory, and a well-stored commonplace-book. The quotations are strictly appropriate to the points which they are adduced to illustrate, and many of them are exceedingly apt, forcible and pithy; and of course the production of so many concurring expressions of opinion from various quarters, tends to strengthen the author's position by shewing how far he is from being singular or Quixotic in his views. But perhaps the effect upon the reader is that the treatment of the subject is laboured and encumbered rather than cogent. The author seems deliberately to gather from all available sources, far and near, insulated fragments of glittering material, instead of bearing our convictions and sympathies away with him by the impetuous flow of continuous reasoning and single-hearted earnestness of purpose. At the same time we feel bound to declare that in each of the lectures the author states his case with the utmost fairness and completeness. We do not see how any of the positions for which he contends can reasonably be disputed, and his rebukes of the coarse and sneering tone of the *Saturday Review* are grave and just. We cordially recommend the little book as a most instructive and suggestive manual for general perusal, and earnestly hope that it may accelerate the manifest approach of the much-needed reforms for which it pleads.

Mr. Hemans' "History of Mediæval Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy,"† written in continuation of his volume on "Ancient Christianity and Art," does itself disservice

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\* The Education of Girls; and the Employment of Women of the Upper Classes educationally considered. Two Lectures. By W. B. Hodgson, LL.D. Second Edition. London: Trübner and Co.

† A History of Mediæval Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy (A.D. 900—1350). By Charles L. Hemans. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

by the form in which it appears. Printed abroad, probably in Italy, it not only has an outlandish and unpleasant look to English readers, but is full of stupid *errata*. When once this disadvantage, however, is got over, the reader will find Mr. Hemans' volume an excellent companion of intelligent Italian travel. His plan is, in alternate chapters, to narrate the ecclesiastical events of a century, and to describe the monuments of art by which they are illustrated ; and if his artistic are more interesting than his historical sections, the fault may partly lie in the monotony of miserable intrigue and violence which characterize the annals of mediæval Rome, and the necessity under which Mr. Hemans has placed himself, of compressing a very varied story into a comparatively narrow space. He is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and still sufficiently in love with Papal religion to give an appreciative estimate of its better aspects. Of Italy at large, but especially of Rome, he speaks with the large and minute knowledge which only comes of repeated and patient investigation ; while his descriptive style often brightens into a vivid picturesqueness, to which his narrative is a stranger. We cordially commend the work to all who feel an intelligent interest in the Christian Art of Italy.

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# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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## I.—THE APOSTLES' CREED.

*Le Symbole des Apôtres.* Par Michel Nicolas. Paris. 1867.

*Histoire du Credo.* Par Athanase Coquerel, Fils. Paris. 1869.

WE are frequently reminded by some modern prophets that this is a critical age. The first intellectual duty is doubt; the one unpardonable sin is credulity. The scientific conscience finds no merit in belief on slight evidence, knows no enthusiasm in belief against the evidence; and whatever presents itself for acceptance, is compelled to vindicate its right to be enrolled among the essentials of faith. And although the theologians have not yet succeeded in establishing their basis in universally felt facts of consciousness, they are at any rate awakening from the sleep into which they have been lulled by the voice of authority, and are attempting to set their house in order, since they will have some other temple than the pure and faithful heart. It is a singular sign of the weakness of orthodoxy that it should be still incapable of realizing faith without dogma, and yet should stake its existence on the simultaneous belief in contradictory propositions; and while professing to possess the only remedy for the scepticism of the nineteenth century, should have nothing better to offer than a protest against the heresies of the fourth. Compelled, however, at length to consider the insecurity of her own condition, the English Church would fain strengthen herself by surrendering indefensible positions, that she may concentrate her forces, and perhaps rally some fresh support, to preserve the achievements of the past, and, if possible, win new triumphs for the future. Meantime the modern spirit has so far invaded her domain, as to insist on sub-

mitting her dogmas to a searching historical analysis ; while from another side her right to impose dogmas at all, whether true or false, is vigorously attacked. But whenever any one more wise and far-seeing, or more tolerant and genial, than the rest, has recommended some relaxations of church doctrine, his advice has always been met with the not unnatural but plaintive utterance, "Where shall we stop? We must draw the line somewhere."

There appears to be a growing disposition to adopt the Creed, "commonly called the Apostles' Creed," as the limit of concession. It is the sole test of membership of the Church of England as required in the Baptismal Service and the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. More than two hundred years ago, when Cromwell desired to construct a National Church as comprehensive as possible, Baxter and Owen and other divines were requested to define the essentials of faith. Baxter proposed as the basis of the enlarged Church, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. The Independents, however, generally held Calvinistic doctrines, which were unfavourable to toleration within the same Church, and the aspirations of Cromwell remained unfulfilled. It is possible that two centuries may have taught orthodoxy charity, and given priestcraft wisdom. There is nothing necessarily everlasting about a hierarchy ; and an establishment is not by any means self-existent. With their political *raison d'être*, however, we are not now concerned ; but on the supposition that a National Church would be justified in going to the Apostles rather than to Athanasius for its statement of the essentials of Christian doctrine, it may be worth while to ask whether even this concession would suffice. Does the Apostles' Creed offer a suitable basis for comprehension? Can it really claim the authority, if not of apostolic origin, at any rate of being a faithful representative of apostolic teaching?

It is perhaps an evidence of the docility of believers, that it has never occurred to them to compare the Credo with the Testament, by way of seeing whether "it may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture."\* It appears at the first glance to err alike by excess and defect. When

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\* Articles of the Church of England, Art. 8.



Jesus committed his spirit to his Father, it was at least a strange response to that last act of trust, to send him down to hell. The parable of the Prodigal Son does not make the Church the sole dispenser of the forgiveness of sins. The Sermon on the Mount leaves no room for the saints' works of supererogation. Paul's emphatic declaration that "flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God," is not entirely in harmony with the assertion of the "resurrection of this flesh."\* And John offers the "life everlasting" on other terms than the holy Catholic Church. Nor are the omissions of apostolic doctrine less significant. Nothing is said of the nature or character of God, that He is "spirit," "light," "love." No word gives any hint of the meaning or purpose of the life and death of Jesus, the circumstances of which are enumerated in such detail, and the clause in the ancient Coptic version, that "he died for our redemption,"† has dropped out. The Holy Spirit has fared still worse. It has lost its importance as the great influence "purifying our hearts by faith," and a cold mention of it replaces the glowing consciousness of Paul, and the calm contemplation by John of its sanctification through the truth. The doctrines of repentance, regeneration, justification, which occupied so large a place in the apostolic preaching, have entirely disappeared; Messiah's reign, the end of the world, the judgment, are no longer close at hand, but appear indefinitely postponed; and although Jesus had declared that he had other sheep not of this fold, a jealous hierarchy would permit none to find everlasting life save "through the holy Catholic Church."‡

These surprising divergences from apostolic doctrine may well throw some doubt on the authority and dogmatic value of the Creed "commonly called that of the Apostles."§ And this authority is reduced to a minimum when the history of the Creed is examined; when it is found, for instance, that it was entirely unknown during the first and second

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\* Aquileian Creed. Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 26.

† Nicolas, p. 328.

‡ Carthaginian Creed. Heurtley, p. 42.

§ So the 8th Article; but the Liturgy, less ingenuous, boldly calls it "the Apostles' Creed," and no doubt produces in most minds the impression that it really is a trustworthy statement of the teaching of the Twelve, if not actually drawn up by them for the primitive Church.

centuries, and only makes its appearance during the second half of the third; that it was never received in all the churches at once; that for many ages its form was continually changing; that it grew up by the accretions of centuries out of the need of guarding the ignorant faithful against successive heresies, and subsequently became the depository of legends and speculations which captivated the popular imagination; that, in short, however, interesting it may be as an abstract of the history of doctrine, it has not the smallest claim to represent anything else than the imperfect Catholicism of the era at which it was completed, namely, the end of the sixth century. The growth of the Creed has been recently examined with great minuteness by M. Nicolas, in his essay entitled, "*Le Symbole des Apôtres*;" and his results have been stated with almost too much breadth in a more popular form by M. Coquerel, in a series of *Conférences* before his former catechumens. His "*Histoire du Credo*" is, in fact, a charming set of vignettes of ecclesiastical history; and we are grateful to him for the picturesqueness with which he has invested an otherwise somewhat unattractive subject; nor will we complain if this picturesqueness be occasionally gained at the expense of relevancy. It may be worth while to reproduce some of the facts which render the development of the Apostles' Creed so interesting and significant.

The tradition that the Creed was composed by the Apostles after the ascension, when they were all full of the Holy Spirit, before they separated to preach the gospel to all nations, affords a curious instance of the growth of post-apostolic legend. It is not heard of till the end of the fourth century, more than a hundred years after the first appearance of the Creed itself; unknown at Jerusalem in the church which in its first days witnessed the inspired contributions of the Apostles to this rule of faith, it turns up in Milan and Aquileia, and half-a-dozen versions distribute the clauses among the Twelve in different ways; in consideration of the dignity of Peter, the first is always assigned to him, and with a simple sarcasm the only other about which they are agreed is, that Thomas contributed "the third day he rose again from the dead."\* The legend

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\* See the various forms given by Heurtley.

appears, in fact, to have arisen from a misconception of the meaning of the title, *Symbolum Apostolorum*, by which Ambrose of Milan was the first to designate the primitive Creed.

Nor, even if an apostolic origin be denied to it, can it be referred with any probability to the succeeding age. Had the Creed been then extant, it is quite incredible that it should not have been quoted, nor should we find the leaders of the Church, Ignatius and Irenæus, Origen and Tertullian, for example, expressing themselves in varying language about the "rule of faith." It is of course true that there are passages in their writings which offer striking analogies to the Credo; but the diversities are nevertheless so great, and the omissions so conspicuous, as to justify the assertion that while they represent a common type of tradition, that tradition was not yet permanently fixed in an authoritative Creed.

The fact is, that not till the middle of the third century is there any clear indication of the symbol. Even then it does not seem to be by any means universally known. It appears in one form at Antioch, in another at Carthage, in a third among the Copts; nor does it claim to be apostolic, but is simply mentioned by Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248—258) as "the symbol with which we baptize."\* Here is the real clue to its origin and primitive use. From the end of the third century it served as a profession of faith to the catechumens, who were either taught to recite it just before baptism, or gave in their adhesion to its contents when interrogated on its various articles by the officiating priest. During the week which preceded the two chief festivals of the Church, Easter and Pentecost, at which the sacrament of baptism was administered,† the candidates assembled alone each day for instruction in the mysteries of the faith into which they were to be initiated. The Credo was recited aloud and explained clause by clause; but it was strictly forbidden to commit it to writing. The frequency with which this injunction is repeated, even by those Fathers of a later age who, like Rufinus and Augustine, habitually violate it in the copious expositions and homilies which they have left on this subject, leads us to

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\* Ep. to Magnus, lxxvi.

† Tertullian, de Baptism. xix.

seek in some more ancient usage the explanation of a custom so vehemently insisted on and so ill observed.

It is probably to be found in the circumstances accompanying the first diffusion of Christianity, which had no place among the religions permitted by the State, and consequently exposed its professors to the risk of an information being laid against them before governors, who did not generally err on the side of toleration. This necessarily impressed a certain secret character upon its simple rites, which was not dropped when they began to attract the attention of persons who had not formally attached themselves to the new sect. When the common meal with which the Lord's Supper had been at first associated, was suppressed, in consequence of the scandalous excesses into which communicants were sometimes betrayed, only those who had received baptism were permitted to assist at that memorial thanksgiving which was the highest act of Christian fellowship; and even the catechumens, who, said Gregory of Nazianzum, "were only in the vestibule of piety," were compelled to withdraw. Moreover, as M. Nicolas observes, the mania for secret societies was one of the maladies of the time. The second century witnessed the latest effort of an expiring Paganism to retain its hold over the people and infuse some energy into exploded faiths, by the revival of the ancient mysteries, or the introduction of more extravagant foreign rites. The votaries of Demeter and Proserpine, of Dionysius and Aphrodite, were rivalled by the wilder, madder devotees of Isis and Mithras, Attis and Cybele. No country from Britain to India but threw in some new element to the existing chaos of beliefs; and to outsiders the Christian *gnosis* appeared little better than the astrology of the Chaldeans, or the hidden and sombre cultus of the Gauls. Philosophy and faith were not unaffected by this rage for mysteries. The Neo-Pythagoreans had elaborated their secret doctrines; and even the stiffness of Judaism had so far yielded to the prevailing tendency as to admit within itself in the community of Essenes an organization which aimed at securing, through a long course of discipline and training, direct and intuitive knowledge of divine things. The perversions of this aspiration when transferred to the Christian scheme, gave rise to the strange developments of Gnosticism, and without doubt re-acted on

the church, and impressed upon its higher rites, the sacraments, a character of exclusiveness and secrecy. The language of the Pagan mysteries was freely applied to the Christian, and the neophytes were charged to keep a jealous silence concerning the process and formula of initiation. This "symbol of purification," as Origen terms it, continued to be most carefully guarded; whoever learned it otherwise than through an appointed minister of the church, would be inevitably overtaken with extraordinary and supernatural chastisements; the catechumen who should receive it from a simple believer would be seized with frenzy, while for his rash informant there was reserved a traitor's condemnation. And though with the diffusion of Christianity this passion for mysteries at length died of inanition, yet the practice to which it had given rise was still kept up; and if the shade of Clement or Origen would have been astonished to hear Augustine declare to his catechumens that there was nothing in the symbol he was about to teach them which they had not already learnt in the Scriptures and ordinary instruction of the Church, Augustine would have been in his turn no less amazed to learn from them that there was an exoteric and an esoteric Christianity, "milk for the babes, but meat for the full-grown, milk the catechetical instruction, and meat the mystic contemplation, the flesh and the blood of the Word, the comprehension of the divine power and essence."\*

What, then, was the formula of initiation at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third? Tertullian (of Carthage, A.D. 150—220) informs us in terms obscure and enigmatical enough, yet still sufficiently clear to enable us to collect with some precision what was the practice of the Carthaginian Church. "When we are going to enter the water," he says, "but a little before, in the presence of the congregation, and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel. Then, when we are taken up [as new-born children], we taste first of all a mixture of milk and honey, and from that day we refrain from the

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\* Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, v. 10.

daily bath for a whole week. We take also, in meetings before daybreak, and from the hand of none but the presidents, the sacrament of the Eucharist, which the Lord both commanded to be eaten at meal-times, and enjoined to be taken by all alike.\* What "the Lord has appointed in the Gospel" is doubtless the formula at the end of the Gospel of Matthew,† which we know to have been in use, for instance, in the Eastern Church in the time of Justin Martyr (about A.D. 150), who however, in the account he gives of the ceremony of baptism,‡ makes no allusion to any disowning of the devil, or "any ampler pledge." What was, then, this ampler pledge? Tertullian himself informs us elsewhere, that "after the pledging both of the attestation of faith and the promise of salvation under the sanction of three witnesses, there is added of necessity mention of the church; inasmuch as wherever there are three (i.e. the Father, Son and Holy Spirit), there is the church, which is a body of three."§

What were the circumstances, then, under which a fourth term was added to the Gospel formula, so that the believer professed his faith in "the Father, in the Son, in the Holy Spirit, and in the holy Church"?

In the absence of any authoritative rule, the church was torn by dissensions of nearly every kind. During the second century, Christianity had to contend almost for its very existence with a most deadly enemy, which, while professing to accept and teach its doctrines, succeeded in depriving them of all reality and genuine worth. With no fixed canon of scripture, believers were left to choose or to reject whatever books, and even passages, they pleased. Instead of order, there was confusion. Unrestrained impulse had developed nothing but chaos. Unlimited freedom meant unlimited heresy. The gift of the Spirit had produced discord instead of harmony; and in vain the disciples cried out, "Who will shew us any peace?" It was imperative that the voice of the Church should be heard above all the clamour of rival sects; she had faithfully maintained the apostolic traditions; she alone was able to enforce the true faith. The multitudinous heresies of the second century

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\* Tertul. de Corona, § 3.

‡ Justin Martyr, First Apology, lxi.

† Matt. xxviii. 19.

§ Tert. de Baptism. vi.

provoked the addition of the term "holy church" to the original baptismal symbol, and subsequently caused the expansion of those terms which were the chief subject of dispute between the Church on the one side, and the Gnostics and schismatics on the other.\*

Had the Credo been originally composed with a view of presenting a statement of Christian doctrines, it is not unreasonable to suppose that at any rate the most important of them would have been mentioned. How great the lacunæ are has already been pointed out; and the cause is not obscure. What gave rise to no heresy and provoked no dispute, needed no protection on its behalf to guard the faithful against the heretics. Cyril of Jerusalem described the symbol as "a weapon against heretics, Jews, Samaritans and Pagans;" Augustine called it "a preservative against the poison of the serpent."† Hence we are not surprised to hear that the four terms of the Credo have been very unequally developed, and that only the Holy Spirit remains in its original simplicity. The doctrine of the creation of the world by

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\* We are disposed to think that this expansion took place at a rather earlier period than M. Nicolas is quite ready to allow. It is possible that the eminent critic has not kept quite clearly apart the profession of faith which was made at baptism by the candidate, and the official formula with which the "sealing act" was administered. The *formula* remained that of the Gospel of Matthew, unchanged. But the *profession of faith* which became finally known as the Apostles' Creed, had even in Tertullian's time, we believe, been augmented by other additions besides the fourth term of the Church. The concurrence of so many rules of faith as expressed by teachers so different as Ignatius and Irenæus, Tertullian and Origen, points already (as, indeed, M. Nicolas has remarked), to a general diffusion of certain types of doctrine, and also of *certain formal statements of it*. These were clearly polemical in their nature, as was the case originally with the Credo. But there appears to have been no other occasion on which they could have been made use of for the instruction of believers, if not at baptism. "Faith," says Tertullian, "has been tied to the necessity of baptism." "Grant that in days gone by there was salvation by means of bare faith, before the days of the passion and resurrection of the Lord. But now that faith has been enlarged, and is become a faith which believes in his nativity, passion, resurrection, there has been an amplification added to the sacrament [i.e. of faith], viz., the sealing act of baptism; the clothing in some sense of the faith which before was bare, and which cannot exist now without its proper-law." (De Baptism. xiii.) It is not perhaps unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that of the faith thus amplified and indissolubly connected with baptism, some formal statement was made: this (including the mention of the Church) was the "ampler pledge," and took at first in each church the simplest form of the rule of faith which a common tradition had, with many variations, generally diffused: subsequent effort was directed to its unification and its development: and the result was our modern Credo.

† Quoted by Nicolas, p. 153.



God the Father was not of special importance in the Christian scheme ; but one half of it was denied by those Gnostics, on the one hand, who saw in creation only an organization of an eternally existing chaotic matter ; and the other half by those, on the other hand, who conceived the universe to be the work, not of the Supreme God, who was spirit, and consequently incapable of touching a thing so base and vile as matter, but of an inferior artificer, removed by many emanations from the Most High. Either of these theories cut away the popular Christian doctrine at its base, the one by referring creation, and with it man, simply to the operations of a lower God ; the other by limiting the power and imposing conditions on the action of the Supreme Deity. Curious is it, too, that this article, common enough in the creeds of the East, was not introduced till the end of the sixth century to the notice of the West.\* Gnosticism, powerful and active enough in Egypt, in Syria, in Asia Minor, never succeeded in taking root in Rome, and was unknown in Africa. On the other hand, an interesting example of the polemical purpose of the Creed is to be found in the form this article assumed in the fourth century in some of the Italian Churches, which had been disturbed by the singular development of the Unitarian tendency under Noetus and his followers, who maintained that "the Father and Son were one and the same Being, styled by different names, according to the vicissitude of times."† To prevent the horrid consequences of this doctrine, that the Father had visibly appeared in the human form of Jesus, had been tempted, had undergone the passion, and been slain, the first clause of the Creed ran thus : "I believe in God the Father Almighty, *invisible and impassible*."‡ When this heresy passed away, the need of contradicting it likewise disappeared ; and when the followers of Augustine inserted into the Creed his commentary on the term "Almighty,"—"Creator of all things visible and invisible,"—it gradually acquired acceptance, and at the end of the seventh century was generally admitted in its present form.

But it was round the person of Christ that the contro-

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\* At least in its present form. Heurtley, xxviii., quoted from a *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, Codex Bobiensis.

† Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies*, ix. 5.

‡ Creed of Aquileia, Heurtley, p. 26.

versies of the second and third centuries raged so fiercely : and hence it is the second term of the original formula which has received the greatest expansion. He is called the "only Son," for the Gnostics would have it that he was but one of many emanations of the supreme God ; and in some creeds (and probably this is the oldest form) he is described as "our only Lord," inasmuch as he was not the only heavenly being for whom they claimed allegiance. But what need to confess that he was "born by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary"? A considerable portion of the oldest branch of the Church, the Jewish, faithful to their earliest and simplest traditions, persisted in regarding him as "a prophet mighty in deed and word," ignoring a miraculous conception or divine parentage. But at least there was no doubt that "he was crucified,\* dead and buried." Faith in a God with a body, in a suffering, in a dying, in a buried God, some might glory in : to others it was an unspeakable scandal. These were only appearances, not realities : the Divine Spirit had taken a man's form, but his flesh was delusive ; and the heavenly Christ had dwelt in it alone, without the partnership of a human soul. Not so, said the Constantinopolitan and Jerusalem creeds ; "he was made flesh, and made man."† But assuredly the celestial emanation had undergone no agony, and must have parted company with the man Jesus under the olive trees in Gethsemane. Or he was miraculously substituted for Simon of Cyrene, and actually helped to bear the cross on which he was to have suffered, while an innocent foreigner took his place. No, declared the Church, "he was crucified, dead and buried." The interval of three days was insisted on to give more certainty to his death. At other times, acutely remarks M. Coquerel,‡ his resurrection is much harder to believe than his death. At this epoch it was precisely the reverse. But in order to give the resurrection as material a character as possible, it was added, that "he ascended into

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\* The mention of Pilate, otherwise singularly *malapropos*, was no doubt inserted to fix the date approximately, and perhaps to give an air of greater reality, by additional details. M. Coquerel (p. 14) quotes the German proverb, "Er ist dazu gekommen wie Pilatus in's Credo." The French proverb has a slightly different sense : "On ne parle d'un tel qu'à sa honte, comme de Pilate dans le Credo."

† Heurtley, p. 119, *σαρκωθέντα . . . καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*.

‡ P. 57.

heaven, he sitteth at the right hand of God, whence he will come to judge the quick and dead." These ideas, borrowed from Judaism, so intimately connected with the primitive Messianic expectations, were the furthest possible removed from the spiritual conceptions of the detested Gnostics; and the idea once boldly proclaimed of a bodily resurrection was extended from the person of Jesus to all his disciples. It is not a little significant to compare the use ordinarily made in modern arguments of the resurrection of Jesus with such an appeal as this of Justin Martyr:—"Why do ye longer endure those unbelieving and dangerous arguments [probably of the Gnostics], and fail to see that we are retrograding when we listen to such an argument as this, that the soul is immortal, but the body mortal and incapable of being revived? For this we used to hear from Pythagoras and Plato, even before we learned the truth. If, then, the Saviour said this, and proclaimed salvation to the soul alone, what new thing beyond what we heard from Pythagoras and Plato and all their band, did he bring us? But now he has come proclaiming the glad tidings of a new and strange hope to men."\* In vain did Clement of Alexandria represent the future deliverance of the soul from the fetters of the body as the object of the most ardent desire of the truly wise man.† In vain did Origen plead for the spiritual body of Paul, which would be susceptible only of inward punishment.‡ Justin had already declared that "man made in the image of God is of flesh; is it not absurd, then, to say that the flesh made by God in his own image is contempt-

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\* De Resurr. x.

† Stromata, iv. 4.

‡ It may be interesting to offer a specimen of Origen's mode of interpretation:—"We find in the prophet Isaiah, that the fire with which each one is punished is described as his own; for he says, 'Walk in the light of your own fire, and in the flame which ye have kindled.' By these words it seems to be indicated that every sinner kindles for himself the flame of his own fire, and is not plunged into some fire which has been already kindled by another, or was in existence before himself. . . . When the soul has gathered together a multitude of evil works, and an abundance of sins against itself, at a suitable time all that assembly of evils boils up again to punishment, and is set on fire to chastisements: when the mind itself, or conscience, receiving by divine power into the memory all those things of which it had stamped on itself certain signs and forms at the moment of sinning, will see a kind of history, as it were, of all the foul, and shameful, and unholy deeds which it has done, exposed before its eyes: then is the conscience itself harassed, and pierced by its own goads, becomes an accuser and witness against itself."

ible and worth nothing? . . . . And shall not God be able to collect again the decomposed members of the flesh, and make the same body as was formerly produced by him?"\* And Tertullian boldly asserted that the body, being created after the image of God, could rise no other than it was put into the ground.† There were of course difficulties in the way, and Justin anticipated that while the lame and one-eyed would rise lame and one-eyed, they would be healed at the appearance of Christ; while Augustine maintained that infants and old men would rise, the former what they would have become, the latter what they had already been, at maturity! It was the reaction of this passionate materialism against the spiritual tendencies alike of Christian and heretical Gnosticism, which produced the description of the events of Christ's life, and the assertion of the resurrection of the flesh.‡

This tendency further contributed to obscure that influence of the Holy Spirit which had been so important a feature of primitive Christianity. Beyond the bare mention of it in the Credo, nothing is said about its operation, and whatever may have been its functions, the part it plays in the Christian life is entirely suppressed. The fact is, that the two great subjects of speculation and practical interest were the person of Christ and the Church. How the faithful must be governed, was quite as absorbing a question in the West, as what they must believe. Successive heresies forced men's attention to the one; successive schisms developed the hierarchical response to the other. The outburst of Montanism, with its doctrines of the immediate influence of the Spirit, was merged in the Unitarian heresies of Praxeas and Caius: and though it continued not without its influence in maintaining strictness and stress on external rules of piety, nevertheless it yielded before prevailing ecclesiastical principles. There was an astonishing disproportion, which

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\* Justin, *De Resurr.* iv.

† Tert. *De Resurrectione Carnis.* lii.

‡ In the version used in the Baptismal Service of the Anglican Church, the article runs, "the resurrection of the flesh;" but in the "Order for Morning Prayer," it is, "the resurrection of the body." The Nicene Creed has more vaguely, "the resurrection of the dead." All the English creeds down to 1543 have "the flesh." The "body" first appears in the version in the "Necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man: set furthe by the Kynges majestie of Englande," 1543. Heurtley, pp. 82—101.

increased with successive ages, between the fading impulse of Christian life, and the increasing metaphysical passion for intellectual definitions ; and the power of organization which was pre-eminently characteristic of the West, rapidly subordinated to itself the primitive idea of a universal Christian priesthood. It was in Africa that the hierarchical tendencies of the Church were developed with especial vigour. It was there that Tertullian first signalizes the addition of "the Church" to the baptismal formula. Origen, whose liberal spirit had betrayed him into many unorthodox though charitable notions, had already, it is true, with a curious inconsistency, formulated the doctrine, that "outside the Church no one is saved ;"\* but it was reserved for Cyprian of Carthage to complete the dogma of the unity and exclusiveness of the Church. The rage for mysteries, moreover, greatly aggravated the vicious distinction between the laity and the priesthood, and of course contributed to throw added power into the hands of the latter. The claims of Cyprian had already found opponents when the Decian persecution broke out, and the bishop yielded to the persuasions of anxious friends and withdrew into retirement. His somewhat weak conduct had perhaps a pernicious influence upon his flock, many of whom surrendered their Christian profession, consented to burn incense to the statues of gods and emperors, and take meat that had been offered in sacrifice. When the persecution ceased under Gallus, these "lapsed," as they were called, succeeded in gaining re-admission into the Church through the intercession of the martyrs. Cyprian, however, who had been scandalized at their offence, was still more scandalized at the ease with which it was condoned. His opposition to their return to the privileges of believers provoked the secession of a considerable party under Novatus and Felicissimus, who chose a new bishop on their own account. But when the same difficulty turned up at Rome, and the presbyter Novatian preferred against his bishop, Cornelius, the charge of undue severity, Cyprian relied on his episcopal authority, and granted re-admission to the "lapsed," urging that the Church had power to forgive sins. It was, probably, to this remarkable man that the hierarchy of Africa, and ultimately

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\* *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.* Homil. iii. in *Joan.*, quoted by Gieseler.

the Church of the West, owed much of the astonishing development of its power. It is in his writings and those of his friends who come under his influence that we meet for the first time high-sounding phrases about "the dignity of the holy Catholic Church," "ecclesiastical majesty," "the authority and powers of the priest." In order, however, that the influence and rule of the Church over men's lives should be maintained, it was essential that it should keep within its bosom even those who had been guilty not merely of treachery to their faith under specially trying circumstances, but of any gross and flagrant offences. The followers of Novatus, accordingly, who were in opposition, enlarged their ground, and one of their number, Bishop Acesius, maintained at the Council of Nicæa, that "it was not fitting that those who had sinned with those sins which the sacred Scriptures call unto death, should be afterwards thought worthy to partake of the divine mysteries; but that they should apply themselves to repentance, and await the hope of forgiveness, *not from the priests*, but from God, who alone is able and has power to forgive sins." To this the emperor Constantine replied, "O Acesius, set a ladder, and do you alone climb up to heaven."\* The African ecclesiastics, however, were by no means content to surrender so powerful an instrument of control as the authority to forgive sins, and Cyprian tells us that when the candidate for baptism was interrogated about his faith, among the questions put was this, "Dost thou believe in the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting *through* the holy Church?"† Sacerdotalism, once established, was not likely to submit to any diminution of its power; and the Church carefully guarded its rights over a man's destiny even in the next world, and reserved for itself to distribute the glory or the pain. More than a century after, Augustine writes: "One thing alone do I recommend to your prayers, to turn away your thoughts and ears entirely from whatever is not Catholic. Thereby you will be in a condition to obtain the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh and the life eternal,

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\* Socrates, Ecc. Hist. i. 10.

† Cyprian, Ep. lxxv. cf. Firmilian's letter, "Therefore the power of remitting sins was given to the Apostles and to the Churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the Bishops who succeeded them by vicarious ordination."

through the holy Church.”\* We have dwelt the longer upon this ecclesiastical development because it is of some importance to give full weight—more, perhaps, than is generally assigned—to the influence thus exerted not only upon the formation of this article of the Credo, but on its general expansion by the prevailing tendencies of the African Church. It was a Carthaginian presbyter whose “rule of faith” has passed almost bodily into the Apostles’ Creed; it was an African prelate who boldly claimed for the Church its authority and secured for it its predominance; it was the Bishop of Hippo, Augustine, who at the beginning of the sixth century contributed to bring the Creed still nearer to its present form; and it was probably in the school which still bore the marks of his astonishing influence even at a remote interval, that the strange articles of the “descent into hell” and the “communion of saints” were finally inserted.

It is possible, however, that almost too much is attributed to Augustine by M. Nicolas, in ascribing to him the revision of our present Credo *minus* the two clauses just alluded to. The difficulty of determining the question exactly arises from the fact, that though Augustine devoted so much time and labour to expounding the Creed, he nowhere states precisely what it is, and it is not always easy to separate his comments upon the articles from the articles themselves. We differ only with diffidence from the accomplished Professor of Montauban; but the words, “Creator of all things visible and invisible,” which he believes Augustine introduced from the creeds of the East, do not seem to have been anything more than an enlargement or corollary of his own from the first term “Father Almighty;” and the present form, “Creator of heaven and earth,” does not appear, as we have mentioned, till the seventh century. The article respecting the birth of Christ seems to have given Augustine no little trouble. Hitherto, it had generally run thus—“born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,” which implied a birth too analogous to ordinary generation, and caused infinite scandal alike among heathens and heretics. Augustine endeavoured, by employing almost every conceivable variety of preposition with which the Latin

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\* Serm. 215, § 9, quoted by M. Coquerel, p. 67.



language could supply him, to rid the doctrine of too gross a sense ; but he was evidently unable to satisfy either himself or his disciples ; for in one of the later productions of his school we find a further change, and the article appears thus—"conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary." This final revision M. Nicolas indeed thinks is to be attributed to Augustine himself ; but we must not overlook the fact that it does not appear in the Creed in one of his latest works, the *Enchiridion* ; that the authorship of the only sermon in which it is found (*De Tempore*, 119), is at least doubtful ; that the older form is common in later creeds, not merely elsewhere, but even in the African church itself ; and that it was not generally received till the end of the seventh century.\* One word, however, not without interest, appears for the first time in the various recensions of Augustine, "passus." Common in the Eastern creeds, and finding place in the "rules of faith" of Irenæus and Tertullian, it had never been inserted in the baptismal symbol of the West, until Augustine enlarged the statement of Christ's redemptive work by adding his passion to his crucifixion. Whether the Bishop of Hippo also transferred the word "dead," as M. Nicolas thinks, from the Eastern creeds, is open to question, for, except in one sermon (215, of doubtful authenticity), it is not met with till considerably later. It seems to have been at a subsequent period, too, that the title "catholic" attached itself in the Creed to the "holy Church." Almost universal in the creeds of the East, it did not find its way into the West till the symbol of Nicæa had quite supplanted in the Greek churches the earlier and simpler declaration ; and though it is familiarly used in the sermons and expositions of Augustine, as indeed of others before him, it had no assured place in the creed even of the African churches till later.† Finally, Augustine introduced into the last article a modification, which has not, however, been generally retained. He connected the "resurrection of the flesh" with "the life everlasting" in such a manner, that the one was the natural consequence of the other, as one of the early English creeds has it, "risyng

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\* See the forms given by Heurtley, xiv. xv. xvi.

† Cf. the Creed of Facundus, Bishop of Hermione, in West Africa (A.D. 547), which is of the oldest Latin type, and is quite independent of Augustinian influence. Heurtley, xxi.

of flesshe *unto* ay lastynge lif."\* The simpler form, however, of Cyprian's creed prevailed, and "the life everlasting" finally took its place as the closing article of the Credo.

But not even yet do the declarations of the "symbol of the apostles" correspond with the number of the Twelve. It remains to trace the circumstances which led to the insertion of the two most curious clauses it contains, the "descent into hell" and the "communion of saints."

As soon as speculation began to busy itself about the person and history of Jesus, endless room was offered for the "exercise of a pious creativeness of mind" by the too numerous gaps in the Gospel narratives. Among other stimulating questions which readily excited the Christian imagination was this, "Where did the soul of Jesus go to in the interval between his death and resurrection?" Clearly, it must have gone to join the souls of the dead in the under-world. Had not Jesus himself described Lazarus and the rich man entering their respective homes in Sheol, and did not Lazarus lie on the breast of Abraham at the great perpetual banquet over which the fathers of the nation, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, presided?† There was, then, a place of repose, even of reward, where the saints awaited redemption in Abraham's bosom.‡ To these Jesus must have gone when he had finished his work on earth, that they, too, might hear the glad tidings. So clearly reasonable did this seem, that prophecies were invented to support it; and Justin Martyr actually accused the Jews of having cut out from Jeremiah a passage which clearly foretold it: "The Lord God remembered his dead people who lay in their graves, and he descended to preach to them his own salvation"!§ Nor was it to the saints alone that the glory they had yearned for was revealed. The sweet and tender piety of primitive Christianity was so far from rejoicing in the condemnation of any human souls, that even sinners so remote and so guilty as those whose wickedness caused the huge calamity of the deluge, must have had their chance; and those who had perished in the flood and had since been kept "in ward and guard,"|| as well as "the Gentiles

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\* Of the fifteenth century. Heurtley, xliv.

† Matt. viii. 11.

‡ Catechism of the Council of Trent.

§ Dial. cum Tryph. lxxii.

|| 1 Pet. iii. 19.

who had lived in righteousness according to philosophy," but yet sinfully, were through the just mercy of God permitted the opportunity of hearing the truth, and repenting their transgressions.\* Nor was it to Jesus alone that the joy had been granted thus to win new triumphs for the gospel among the dead, but the apostles, who shared the duties and privileges of their Master, had likewise followed him thither on the same errand of mercy;† and, if we may trust Clement's insight, had there less difficulty in dealing with unregenerate humanity, "since souls, although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies, are able to perceive more clearly, because of their being no longer obstructed by paltry flesh."

The doctrine of Christ's descent into the under-world assumed, however, a very different form in the following centuries. It was a favourite notion of the East, and appears to have been imported from thence into the West, that among the purifying influences which would render the soul fit for heaven, chief place must be given to fire. And when Christianity began to spread its own adaptation of this doctrine, it found a ready response alike in the philosopher's teachings and the people's belief. Clement, indeed, boldly charges the poetic Muses and the Hellenic philosophy with having pilfered from the barbarian philosophy the doctrines of punishments after death and penal retribution by fire.‡ Had not Homer named one of the streams of Hell the Flaming River? Was not Sophocles said to have announced that

"There shall come, shall come that point of time,  
When Ether golden-eyed shall ope its store

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\* Clem. Alex. Stromata, vi. 6. We commend to orthodoxy some modern applications of primitive Christian liberalism: "And it were the exercise of no ordinary arbitrariness, for those who had departed before the advent of the Lord (not having the Gospel preached to them, and having afforded no ground from themselves, in consequence of believing or not) to obtain either salvation or punishment. For it is not right that these should be condemned without trial, and that those alone who lived after the advent should have the advantage of the divine righteousness. But to all rational souls it was said from above, 'Whatever one of you has done in ignorance, without clearly knowing God, if, on becoming conscious, he repent, all his sins will be forgiven him.' 'For, behold,' it is said, 'I have set before your face life and death, that ye may choose life.' God says that he set, not that he made both, in order to the comparison of choice."

† Shepherd of Hermas, Simil. ix. 16.

‡ Stromata, v. 14.

Of treasured fire ; and the devouring flame,  
 Raging, shall burn all things on earth below,  
 And all above.....  
 .....And when the whole world fades,  
 And vanished all the abyss of ocean's waves,  
 And earth of trees is bare ; and wrapt in flames,  
 The air no more begets the winged tribes ;  
 Then He who all destroyed, shall all restore."\*

Had not Plato described how in the under-world "men fierce and fiery to look at" bore away the wicked bound hand and foot;† and who were these but the servants of Him "who maketh the winds his messengers, and flaming fire his ministers"? Did not Virgil relegate the wickedest to a distant part of hell, that their guilt might there be burned out with fire?‡ And had not the Stoics taught, in spite of the doubts of Panætius, that at the end of time a general conflagration would take place, and after passing through consuming fire a renovated world would arise with all the fresh vigour and beauty of diviner life?§ Here was a fundamental truth of orthodoxy already familiar to the popular mind, and the teachers of the Church skilfully availed themselves of it. Moreover, as the expectation of a speedy end of the world faded away, and the general judgment was indefinitely postponed, the question began to be debated, What was the condition of those souls to whom the final resurrection had not yet brought certainty of endless joy or woe? Tertullian ingeniously responded, that they were undergoing purification by fire. His doctrine was, however, for a long time neglected, until Augustine suggested that it would not be impossible for believers to be saved in the other life after they had passed through some fire destined to purify them, from which they would suffer more or less in proportion to the intensity of their attachment to the things of this world ; it is a question, he added, which may be examined, whether it is so.|| The

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\* It is true that Bentley has abundantly proved that Justin's memory betrayed him in assigning these verses to Sophocles.

† Republic, x. 615 E.

‡ Æneid, vi. 742.

§ Cicero, de Nat. Deor. ii. 46.

|| Augustine, quoted by Nicolai, p. 232. See the passage in Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctrines, Vol. I. p. 382.

question was not examined, nor, as M. Nicolas remarks, is it easy to see "how it could have been ; but what Augustine had regarded as possible, his disciples held as certain." Cæsarius of Arles, at the beginning of the sixth century, laid down a distinction between capital offences and minor sins, the latter of which only could be expiated, either in this life by suffering and alms, or in the next by the purifying fire. And Gregory the Great (550—604 A.D.) stated the doctrine of purgatory as an article of faith, propounded the idea of deliverance from it by intercessory prayer, invented masses for the dead, and has thus the credit of planting within the Church, even at so early a period, the seeds of its future ruin and destruction.

It was in connection with these dogmas that the doctrine of the descent of Jesus into hell acquired a new significance. Not only, observes M. Nicolas, was it looked upon as one of the most transparent expressions of this belief, it even seemed a justification and proof of it. For that under-world, which was neither heaven nor hell, from which the Saviour had released the saints of the Ancient Covenant, was clearly no other than purgatory. The destinies and opportunities of the saints of the New could be at least no worse ; and like deliverance must be reserved for them, when they, too, should have been purified by fire. A change, moreover, came over the conception of the exact object for which Jesus had taken on himself the lot of the shadows. It was no longer as a continuation of his ministry on earth, which, in their turn, the apostles likewise followed up by evangelizing Hades ; he enters no more as preacher, but as conqueror ; the gates of hell are broken before him ; the ancient dog which had devoured so many people retires,\* and Christ, having achieved his victory over Satan, leads back the saints in triumph to the realms of light.†

Now it is a remarkable fact that, with one exception, the

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\* See the hymn of Synesius, quoted by M. Coquerel, p. 102.

† See the very curious narrative in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, where the two sons of Simeon (Luke ii. 25) are represented as among the saints who came out of their graves on the day of the crucifixion. Their friends who recognized them, asked them what they had seen in that world whence no one returns. Their narratives were so startling, that they were requested to write them down. They thus recorded the victorious entry of Christ into hell ; and the truth of their two independent accounts was guaranteed by their precise agreement, word for word.

clause, "he descended into hell," is found in none of the Latin creeds, until the doctrine of purgatory had assumed a very definite form; and it was evidently its growing importance which gained for the article insertion into the baptismal symbol. It appears, it is true, in some of the Arian versions, which were adopted by way of protest against the Nicene Creed at various Councils in the East, in the middle of the fourth century; and it even claimed a sanction almost apostolic, for was it not found in a Syriac creed, which was at least believed to have been taught by Thaddæus, one of the Seventy, to Abgarus, king of Edessa?\*

It is found for the first time in the West, in the creed of Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, at the end of the fourth century. But as he expressly states that it was unknown in the Roman Church, and meant simply the same as the previous word "buried,"† we cannot help feeling a little surprised that M. Coquerel should not only assign to him the introduction of it into the Creed as a permanent article of faith, but should apparently credit him with the meaning it did not assume till so much later, and should quote against him Jerome's disparaging remark, that "he was a lover of false legends, and a collector of suspected traditions." The fact is, it was not connected at that time with the doctrine of purgatory, and consequently made no impression at all. After more than a century, the creed of the Church of Aquileia is still without it;‡ and till the beginning of the seventh century at least, the Bishops of the Italian, Gallic, and African Churches, all persistently ignore it.§ It appears again, however, in the sermons already referred to,|| which were for a considerable time associated with the name, as they probably belonged to the school, of the great Augustine. They exhibit the Credo in its closest approximation to its present form; it is in these that the clause, "Creator of all things visible and invisible," is changed into "Creator of heaven and earth;" it is in these also that the article of Christ's ascension was enlarged

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\* Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* i. 13, quoted by Heurtley.

† Rufinus, in *Symbolum*, § 18.

‡ Heurtley, xii. xiii.

§ There is one exception, it is true, Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, A.D. 600. But he was educated at Ravenna, baptized at Aquileia, and in his commentary on the Credo closely follows the exposition of Rufinus.

|| *De Tempore*, 115, 131.

thus—"he sitteth at the right hand of *God the Father Almighty*." But the date of these sermons is open to very great suspicion. M. Nicolas is of opinion that they cannot at the earliest be placed before the middle of the sixth century (about A.D. 550), while if we consider that the article in question is familiarly known nowhere else till the middle of the seventh century, and that it is hardly likely that it would have found place in so important a symbol as the Credo until the doctrine of purgatory was being generally accepted as a Catholic dogma,—as it was stated, for example, by Gregory the Great,\*—we shall be inclined to doubt whether, after all, the authors of these so-called Augustinian discourses were so much before their age as to anticipate clearly in one century the superstition of the next.

It was under the influence of similar ecclesiastical tendencies, that the last addition was made to the Credo, "the communion of saints." It was a favourite doctrine of the large-minded Origen, that the souls of the saints, although detained in a sort of half-way house, which was neither heaven nor hell, were yet able not only to take a keen interest in the affairs of the living, but to strengthen by their own intercessions the petitions of the faithful on earth.† Tertullian increased this mediatory efficacy of the dead, by placing those who had the good fortune to be martyrs at once in paradise, where they enjoyed equal facilities with the angels.‡ Augustine declared that the Church included not only that portion of created beings which sojourned as a stranger upon earth, but those blessed angels also who had never fallen, and maintained in the presence of God perpetual song of praise. These, as was fit, came to the help of struggling humanity, which, already one with them in the bond of love, should hereafter be one in the fellowship of eternal life.§ The fathers of the first centuries, observes M. Nicolas, considered that we ought to pray for the martyrs; on the contrary, says Augustine, "we wrong them by praying for them; rather should we commend ourselves to their prayers." The Gregories and Basil

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\* It is remarkable that in a Liturgy of Gregory the Great, the Creed appears in the form it had at the end of the fourth century.

† Origen, de Oratione.

‡ De Anim. 55. De Resurr. 43. See Hagenbach, i. p. 217.

§ Augustine, Enchiridion, § 15, quoted by M. Nicolas, p. 251.



fell in with the popular tendencies in their honour ; Chrysostom recommended recourse to their relics and to their intervention as a means of pardon and salvation ; and Gregory the Great declared that even God's predestined purpose might be furthered by their prayers.\* Accordingly, Augustine's conception of a church of angels in heaven and believers on earth, was enlarged by the addition of the martyrs and glorified saints, who, as Ambrose said, would be the more disposed to pray for the pardon of our sins, inasmuch as they had washed away their own in their own blood, and had consequently nothing to ask for themselves. The doctrine of the "Communion of Saints" thus closely allied itself with the doctrine of purgatory, and crept into the Credo at about the same time, and probably under the same auspices, as the "Descent into Hell." The two articles appear together in the Augustinian sermons formerly mentioned ; begin to find their way into France in the seventh century ; and may be considered as fairly established by the close of the eighth,† when the growing unity of the Latin Church secured the Credo from further addition or change.

A Creed which it had taken Christendom six centuries to frame, and which had received contributions from so many and various sources, could scarcely expect to meet at once with a general reception. It has been, in fact, confined to one branch of the Church only : the churches of the East dropped it altogether, and retained in its place the Nicene-Constantinopolitan symbol. This Creed in some respects resembles the Apostles' Creed, on which it was no doubt modelled ; but it knows nothing about the "descent into hell," the "communion of saints," or the "resurrection of the body ;" while it declares Jesus to be very God of very God, consubstantial with the Father ; details at length the nature and functions of the Holy Spirit ; and describes the holy Church as catholic and apostolic,—a claim, perhaps, too grossly wide of the mark, in the West, to appear even in so strange a collection of theological monstrosities as the so-called Apostles' Creed. And while it fell into disuse among the churches of Syria and Constantinople, it was

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\* Potest predestinatio precibus juvari. Nicolas, p. 253.

† Heurtley, p. 146.

by no means uniformly received in Italy and Spain, Africa and Gaul. The Frankish churches vigorously resisted the growing encroachments of Rome ; and till quite a late period the Creed of the fourth century is found in the liturgies used in the Gallic schools and monasteries. Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne, was not even acquainted with the form in which it was left by Augustine. Charlemagne himself was scandalized at the ignorance of his subjects ; and in a letter to Gherbald, Bishop of Liège, complains that when himself assisting at some baptisms on the day of Epiphany, he found many of the godfathers and godmothers unable to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. He gave repeated injunctions to his bishops to pay more attention to the religious instruction of the people : and M. Coquerel thinks that it was not only during his reign, but probably through his instrumentality, that the completed form of the Credo was brought from Rome and imposed on all the Frankish churches.

It was, however, in Spain that the strongest resistance was offered to any arbitrary exercise of Papal prerogative ; and it was not till the eleventh century that the Roman ritual was established there. Under the dominion of the Moors, Christian worship had not been by any means proscribed. The Christianity which had been introduced into Spain by the Goths, had not been destroyed by the Mussulmans ; and at the moment of the re-conquest and deliverance of Toledo, Christian worship was conducted in six churches at once, according to the Spanish ritual, popularly known as the Mozarabic liturgy, or the office of Toledo. Nor were the Catholics and the Moors on any unfriendly terms : Mohammedanism, elsewhere intolerant, was here contented with its triumphs ; and it was the emissaries of Rome and Catholic France who attempted to excite hatred between the two races. The episode of the introduction of the Roman ritual is exceedingly curious, and is so admirably told by M. Coquerel from the original authorities,\* that we

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\* M. Nicolas only gives a brief abstract of the following narrative from a chronological "Abridgment of Ecclesiastical History," a Jansenist work. M. Coquerel has added much vividness and detail from the original accounts of Don Rodrigo Ximenès, Archbishop of Toledo (date, however, about 150 years after the events recorded), and the famous Jesuit Mariana. It may be fairly supposed that neither of these would be likely to overstate the facts of the case against themselves.

cannot perhaps do better than present it as concisely as possible in an English dress.

“A woman and a monk, both from France, undertook to render Spain orthodox in spite of itself, and succeeded. The woman was Queen Constance, daughter of the King of Burgundy, of the line of the Capets, the second wife of Alphonso VI., King of Léon. The monk was Bernard, surnamed the Valiant, a Benedictine, who had become Archbishop of Toledo, and was subsequently made Cardinal and Pope's Legate in Spain.

“King Alphonso, who was married six times, was governed even less by his wives than by monks and priests. Shut up in a monastery from his earliest youth, he had only been taken thence to succeed his brother, Don Sancho. He wished to go back to the cloister, free from the cares of royalty, of conquests, and perhaps of marriages: but St. Hugo, abbot of Cluny, forced him to remain king, for the service of the church and the clergy. He defeated the Moors, and retook from them a considerable part of Spain; and it was in his reign that the famous Cid, Rodrigo of Bivar, vanquished them so many times. The most glorious and advantageous success of Alphonso was the conquest of Toledo, which finally surrendered, having stipulated, among other conditions, for this, that the Moors should, as before, inhabit the city together with the Christians, and that their principal mosque should be left to them. The treaty was scarcely concluded when the king set off on a warlike expedition, leaving in his new capital his queen, Constance, and her fellow-countryman, the monk Bernard, who had just been designated Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain.

“Great was the scandal and grief of these two fanatics that the true faith and the holy Virgin should have to put up with some churches tolerated all along by the Moors, or with those which might be built hereafter, while the chief religious edifice of the town belonged to those accursed Mohammedans. One night, by their order, soldiers and carpenters broke into the mosque, after having burst open the doors, purified it, erected in it temporary altars, and suspended bells, which, the next morning at daybreak, called the Catholics to mass.

“On hearing of the disloyalty and violence with which his wife and the primate had dishonoured his word as a gentleman and king, Alphonso returned furious to Toledo, uttering terrible threats against the guilty pair. But before he could arrive there, the principal Christians of Toledo and the clergy, marching in procession, came to meet him at a distance from the town, entreating him for pardon. He received with no good grace their

tears and prayers. Nearer the town, he encountered the chief of the Moors, who, fearing the clergy more than the king, were politely coming themselves to intercede in favour of the queen and archbishop, and to consent to the cession of their mosque. The king was pacified; Moors and Christians were reconciled. An annual fête of Our Lady of Peace was instituted, and a statue of a Moor (Alfaqui) was subsequently erected at Toledo in memory of the generosity of these 'miscreants.'

"Catholicism, accordingly, was made master of Toledo, and installed by fraud and violence in the grand mosque; it remained for the Holy See to establish there, instead of the national breviary, the Roman ritual, then called in Spain the Gallican, in which was contained the complete Catholic Credo. In spite of the archbishop and the queen, in spite of the king, who suffered himself to be urged on by their zeal for Rome, a council held at Léon, A.D. 1091, maintained the national liturgy.

"The clergy and the people desired to preserve it. Their fervent opponents persuaded the king to appeal to the judgment of God Himself. Doubtless God would decide in favour of the pope against a national council. Two champions were named; one represented the national liturgy, or office of Toledo; the other, the Gallic or Roman office. Unfortunately, and to the extreme surprise of the king, the queen, and the archbishop, Don Juan de Ruiz, of the noble house of Matanza, who represented the office of Toledo, defeated the Roman office in the most decisive manner.

"The astonished king appealed from God, ill served, perhaps, by men, to God judging for Himself, and had recourse to trial by fire. A pile was kindled in the grand square; the two breviaries were laid upon it. The Roman leapt out of the fire, but retained evident marks of it; it was scorched. The Mozarabic ritual, on the other hand, remained in the flame and received no hurt, so that the people, persuaded that there had been a miracle, cried 'Victory,' to the great scandal of the orthodox. Was it to be thought, then, that God had twice judged against Rome, against the pope, against the Roman liturgy, against the Credo? The king could not submit to it. This time he appealed to himself, to force, and ordered that all the new churches, which should then be established in all parts, should receive the Roman ritual; he only tolerated the national liturgy in the old Mozarabic churches. Clergy and people were alike indignant at this sentence, so clearly contrary to the double judgment of God, and avenged themselves with a witticism, which became a proverb, '*Allà van leyes, do quieren reyes.*'"<sup>\*</sup>

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\* *Où vont les lois?—Où veulent les rois.* Coquerel, pp. 128—131.

The history of the Credo in the English Church offers very little that is worthy of remark. From the close of the eighth century downwards, it appears in a tolerably definite form, and the interest which belongs to the various revisions which have come down to us is rather linguistic than theological. It is possible that the only variation of any consequence, the omission of the epithet *Catholic*, as applied to the "holy Church," may have been not altogether accidental, and had some reference to the frequent struggles with Rome which occupied so much of the attention of our early kings. The case is different, however, with the very curious series of Greek creeds which have been preserved in many of the ancient psalters and liturgies. The custom of reciting the creed in Greek in that part of the service preparatory to baptism which was called the *Traditio Symboli*, continued long in use in the churches of the West. There are, in fact, several curious traces of the old Greek ritual down to quite a late period. The "kyrie eleeison" still retains its place in the Latin service. The epistle and gospel were long read in both languages. In the tenth century, at Limoges, on the day of Pentecost, many parts of the Mass, the Gloria, Sanctus, &c., were sung in Greek.\* We are not surprised, therefore, to find that the Greek creeds are evidently of an older type than the Saxon and English, which were translated from the Latin, and appear in the complete and final form in which the Credo spread over the West.† But with the growth of the English language, the custom fell into decay, and the Roman Credo was finally established in the Anglican Church.

The Credo is, then, in reality a summary of the teachings neither of Jesus nor of his apostles. Nor, on the other hand, does it represent either of the extremes of ecclesiastical dogma, orthodoxy Catholic or Protestant. It is a very

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\* Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. I. p. 34.

† The articles relating to the miraculous conception, the descent into hell, and the communion of saints, are either differently expressed, or wanting altogether in some of the Greek versions. It may not be without interest to give a specimen of a Greek creed of the ninth century written in Saxon letters. The following is from the so-called Psalter of King Athelstan (Heurtley, p. 80): *Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero ceis criston ihu yon aututon monogenton quirion imon tongenegenta ecpneumatus agiu cemariatis parthenu ton epipontio pilatu staurothentesta finta tetrte imera anastanta egni cron anaunta istos uranos catimeron indexia tupatros oten erchete crinezon tas cenicros ceis preuma agion agria fis inamartion sarcos anasta. amen.*

imperfect statement of the Catholicism of the Council of Trent; without allusion to the doctrine of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit is detached and isolated from the Church which embodies it; the eucharist and the real presence are not so much as named; Mary has no other epithet than "Virgin," and is called neither Queen of Heaven, Mother of God, nor even immaculate; the famous doctrine of indulgences is only obscurely contained under the "communion of saints;" and though the Church is described as "holy" and "catholic," yet it is not entitled Roman and apostolic; and the vicar of Jesus Christ, the vice-God, is nowhere, however distantly, alluded to. Nor, as M. Coquerel points out, are the evangelical Protestants any more fortunate in finding in the Credo a statement of their special orthodoxy. Of Luther's great doctrine of justification by faith it says not one word, and he would have appealed to it in vain for help in the controversy of free-will. Calvin's remorseless logic had to seek elsewhere for his favourite dogma of predestination; and modern orthodoxy looks about helplessly in a resumé of apostolic teaching for the atoning efficacy of the blood of Christ. The Credo served the Reformers at first, because it represented the Catholicism, not of the sixteenth century, but of the sixth, when the African Church was still the rival of Rome, and its prelates contended for the authority, not of one bishop over another, but of each bishop in his own church. But the Reformers had not the courage to treat the Credo as the illustrious Jurieu afterwards reminded them it ought to be treated, viz., to look for its sense, not in the sacred writers, but in the intention and purpose with which the successive articles had been inserted.\* Hence they were thrown into the greatest embarrassment by such clauses as the "descent into hell" and the "communion of saints." About the interpretation of the former, Luther changed his mind two or three times. The authors of the Formula of Concord declared, that "it was an article which could not be understood by human reason and ordinary faculty," and added, that "we should not scrutinize it with curiosity, but reserve the knowledge of it for the future life."† Calvin practically identified it with the word "suf-

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\* Jurieu, quoted by Nicolas, p. 10.

† Formula Concordiæ, v. 788, 613, quoted by Nicolas, p. 238.

ferred," and declared that it signified not merely "that Jesus had suffered natural death, which was the separation of body and spirit, but that his spirit had been plunged into marvellous anguish, which St. Peter calls the pains of death."\* And Bishop Pearson was scarcely less unfaithful to the original conception in adopting the notion of Tertullian, that Christ, quâ man, was bound to submit himself to all the conditions of humanity, and consequently after his death to descend into hell, with all the other sons of Adam. The "communion of saints" equally taxed the ingenuity of the Reformers. The catechisms of Heidelberg and Lausanne interpreted it to mean the vague participation of grace and heavenly gifts by all the faithful; and Calvin explained that there were no favourites of heaven, but that all (believers, of course) share alike in the atoning efficacy of Christ's death.† Happily some of the Churches have perceived that these articles place them in a false position. M. Coquerel, in a spirited vindication of his own right to remain in the French Reformed Church, points out that the Credo is in fact an intruder there, that the custom of reading it from the pulpit is only a century old; and he ingeniously retorts upon the consistories who close their pulpits against those who will not read the Credo, the charge of themselves acting illegally in so doing, and insisting on what is really an alteration in the ancient liturgy which the assembled Churches have never approved. We are reminded, too, that last year, at the anniversary of the foundation of Cheshunt College, the omission in the reading of the Credo, of the "descent into hell," scandalized the Record. Some of the American editions of the Anglican Liturgy place the clause in brackets. And at Hamburg, last year, the Protestantenverein pronounced for the suppression of the whole Credo, on the double ground that certain assertions which it contains cannot be considered as the expression of the truths of the Christian religion, and that there are in it certain words which it is inconvenient and even dangerous to explain to children.‡

The Credo is a piece of history and nothing more. It is

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\* *Le Catéchisme, Dimanche, x.*; Nicolas, p. 240.

† *Le Catéchisme, Dimanche, xv.*; Nicolas, p. 257.

‡ *Histoire du Credo*, pp. 114, 144.



in vain that it is sought to make it the basis of a new development of the Christian Church. Progress can never be retraced ; and as the lines of free inquiry are advanced, the territories of orthodoxy, once lost, are lost for ever. In any church which endeavours, however unsuccessfully, to restore the "Christianity of Christ," the Credo would be as much out of place as the monk with crucifix in hand, whom an ancient painter depicted offering the last consolations of the Church to the penitent thief on his way to Calvary.\* Whatever forms the faith of the future may assume, this at least is certain, that they must be different from the broken idols of vanished ages. It is scarcely conceivable that it should have taken us eighteen hundred years to learn that new wine needs to be put into new bottles. We do not desire to disown our immense obligations to the past ; not only were it ungrateful, disloyal, it were even impossible. Its modes of thought and feeling enter so closely into every fibre of our constitution, that to tear them out would be to destroy, if not the power of our consciousness, yet, at least, the sweetness of our sympathy, the grace and tenderness of our reverence. We do not wish to be isolated ; we only wish to be free. But there are times when great opportunities are offered, and the responsibility is then great for those who reject or misuse them. We cannot think that Jesus himself would look askance upon any honest attempts to win "freedom," so that it be but by "the truth." If faith is to have any sure basis, it must be found in that which is nearest and so most known. Let us, then, accept with thankfulness the overwhelming testimony of the past, but divest ourselves of reliance solely upon the ancient traditions, and trust to that final word, "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living—lo, God is here."

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

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‡ According to Dubois : quoted by M. Coquerel, *Histoire du Credo*, p. 155.

## II.—BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE population of the world approximates to one thousand millions; the followers of Buddha approximate to three hundred and fifty millions.\* They exceed the total population of Europe, and form about half the population of Asia. They outnumber Christendom. If the map of Asia be folded perpendicularly down the middle, the right-hand side of the chart will shew no country where Buddhism is not known. Fold it again transversely, so as to give four equal parts, and throughout the districts represented on the lower right-hand quarter, Buddhism is either predominant or universal. It has, further, made Ceylon its most choice domain; it has conquered the sceptics of Japan, and it has touched the northern snows of Europe. It has planted its foot firmly among the Turanian nations, whose wild religious orgies are so little akin to its proper spirit. It has wrested from Confucius and Lao-tse two-thirds of their natural inheritance. Its propagandists have been more successful than those of any other faith the world has ever known. Like Christianity, it was driven with ignominy from amid the hills and vales that gave it birth. But, unlike Christianity, it first enjoyed a triumphant reign of many centuries in its native home; unlike Christianity, it successfully grappled at home with the Rabbinism of its first days. Its founder, coming, unlike the founder of Christianity, to destroy and not to fulfil, did destroy; and, unlike again to the founder of Christianity, found that in his own country a prophet hath honour.

It is still more strange that this religion, so persuasive and so irresistible, had in it none of those elements which we are accustomed to suppose essential to render a religion either the one or the other. The religion of Mohammed was irresistible because the arms of the Moslem were irresistible. The Buddhist, so far from being taught to urge

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\* The most authentic statement we have seen on the number of the Buddhists is that of M. E. Laboulaye, in his "Discours Préliminaire" to La Combe's French Translation of Vasil'ev's great Russian work on Buddhism (1865). M. Laboulaye says that the best and most recent compilations estimate the Buddhists at 340,000,000. Max Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, I. 214) makes them 455,000,000. Others vary the numbers between three and four hundred millions.

his faith at the point of the sword, was forbidden to kill or to hurt any living thing, down to the meanest vermin. The religion of Jesus is thought to have been effectually persuasive, chiefly because it unveiled a supreme and beneficent God, and because it promised a glorious and happy future that should never cease. But the religion—if it is to be called a religion—of Buddha breathed a superb contempt for the notion that there was any God at all, and looked forward to a dreary cycle of miserable lives for every individual, only to be terminated at last by the “blowing out” of the spirit like the extinction of a lamp. For the true Buddhist there was no God and there was no heaven. From valley to valley the young doctrine flew, and the people bowed down and called it “blessed.” In its fresh energy it seemed to bound from kingdom to kingdom, and the great men of the earth, ministers and kings, were abashed and abased before it, and acknowledged Siddhartha to be indeed Buddha, the All-wise. Nor was it a brief enthusiasm. Buddhism not only spread confusion among the older faiths of mankind, but it has achieved the severer feat of holding its own against younger competitors. It has proved an effective barrier to Mohammedanism, and it smiles proudly on Christianity.

The question forces itself on the mind, How can these broad and grand historical facts be reconciled with certain common generalizations on the religious nature of man? If there is so little of real religion in Buddhism, does not the fact of its stupendous success favour the conclusion of those who contend that man is not always capable of true religion without external revelation? And again, on the other hand, we are compelled to ask, Buddhism being so gross, how are we to account for its marvellous extension and still more marvellous permanence? What vital force did it contain, if God and heaven alike were absent, to give it life and power entirely unparalleled? Its energy must have had a basis; what was that basis? Can any hints be gathered from its career for those who desire to send a nobler faith triumphing through the countries of the East? We shall endeavour, after a brief review of the salient points both in the composition and in the history of Buddhism, to suggest a few considerations conducive to some degree, at any rate, to the formation of an opinion on these

and kindred points. For the present, we are content to say that it seems to us that theorists of all classes have been too quick to reach conclusions on insufficient data. The God of Sinai and the gods of Olympus are not representative of the general faith of humanity. Thinkers have asked of Jerusalem and Athens materials for a psychology of the world. We have run to our next-door neighbours for a declaration of their views, and given out these as the opinions of all mankind.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary guesses to the contrary which were prevalent from the days of the Manichæans to those of Sir William Jones, Buddhism originated in India, and we can date its dawn with sufficient precision. Without pretending to know whether its founder expired 543 or 477 years before the birth of Christ, we can sketch the moral and intellectual condition of India at the time with a firm and reliable pencil. The people, originally so stalwart and so energetic, were so no longer. When they crossed the northern mountains centuries earlier, they came from a land where the climate braced the body, and the soil gave riches only in return for labour. Slowly they wandered further south; and as the vegetation became luxuriant and the flora gorgeous, the tax upon meat and drink was remitted, and all men had to do was to stretch forth the hand and gather. But yet it was no lotus-land for them. Theirs was to be no life of dreamy and rapturous ease. The perpetual, implacable, scorching sun flared down on the glorious verdure it had created; and if it made the palm and the sal lift their heads to the skies, it forced men to crouch enervated on the ground and curse their lives. Five or six hundred years before our era the Indian was already a ruin, and the splendour of the country his ancestors had seized with joy and buoyancy was good for little but to decorate the sepulchre of his manliness and vigour. It was natural to a people enervated beyond all parallel to submit to every tyranny over body or soul with unbroken passivity, and despotism was the only known temporal government or spiritual influence. The men whose fathers seem at the very dawn of constructive history to have been a race of bravos, were now slaves too abject to sigh for freedom. Caste was in full development. The Brahmans, or priestly caste, and the Kshatriyas, or knightly caste, shared

dominion. But the latter were very much under the heel of the former. The spiritual was the better organized, and certainly the more deadly, tyranny. In every royal or noble house was a Purohita, or domestic chaplain, whose first duty was the solemn inauguration of the chief. The chaplains held a very different place from that common to their order in England at the end of the seventeenth century, when, as Macaulay declares, they were willing to marry their patrons' cooks. "Ten thousand elephants, ten thousand slave-girls," the pick of "eighty-eight thousand white horses,"\* were regarded as about the correct fee for the household sacrificer; and we hear that a Kshatriya "should not cheat a Brahman who has this knowledge and performed this (inauguration) ceremony, unless he wishes to be turned out of his dominions and to lose his life."† But not only in palaces, but universally, the Brahmanic caste exercised a religious tyranny far exceeding in intensity and narrowness that of the rabbin in Jerusalem at the time of our Saviour. Though more virulent, it was not dissimilar. Here, too, the nation possessed an ancient literature teeming with the inspiration and aspiration of a prophetic faith. Here, too, the names of the prophets had been handed down and were revered, and on their remains the religious teachers professed to base all the instruction they gave. To the Rishis of the Veda lay the ultimate appeal, as to the prophets of the Hebrew canon. But here, too, an artificial interpretation had sprung up, and overspread and choked every part of the original scripture; and if the Talmud was in its vastness a measure of the decay of Hebrew spirituality, it was surpassed in its own province by the astounding phrase, word and syllable-worship of the Brahmanas, with which each division of the Veda was overlaid.‡ And the cultus which sprang from this unpromising source was

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\* Aitareya Brahmana, Haug., Bk. viii. c. 4, § 22.

† Ibid. Bk. viii. c. 4, § 23.

‡ Here is a specimen of metre-worship: "He who desires heaven should use two Anushtubha. There are sixty-four syllables in two Anushtubhs. Each of these three worlds (earth, air and sky) contains twenty-one places, one rising above the other (just as the steps of a ladder). By twenty-one steps he ascends to each of these worlds severally; by taking the sixty-fourth step he stands firm in the celestial world. He who having such a knowledge uses two Anushtubhs gains a footing (in the celestial world)."—Ait. Brah. Haug., Bk. i. c. 5, § 5.

forced upon the people. Forms and phrases, sacrifice and penance of every kind, were the hinge on which temporal and eternal salvation turned. The most trifling neglect, however unintentional, of any of the million observances that pressed every moment on the believer, would involve him in ages of anguish. At the same time, though Deity was believed in, the notion of personality either in God or man was hazy and indistinct, and the perpetual question was, "How can life be altogether escaped, and the penalty of re-birth and transmigration be for ever avoided?" For it had become the premiss of all thought and of every philosophy in India, that life is miserable, that existence is an evil. Groaning beneath the heavy weight of man's and nature's worst oppression, destitute of all upward and onward aspiration but a lethargic longing, the people saw hope neither around nor above them, and creation, regarded as evolution, was deemed a cruel and senseless freak of Deity. The more beautiful and consolatory systems, of which the Bhagavat-Gita presents us with the most luminous specimen, were as yet unconceived. If Kapila had already lived and taught his sceptical philosophy, it certainly had not permeated the masses. The Brahmans were still a compact squadron, and the Brahmans rode rough-shod over the hearts and lives of the millions. The population of India was steeped in contemplative misery.

While such was the condition of the inhabitants of the great valley of the Ganges, there was born to a king whose dominions seem to have lain on the borders of the modern Nepaul and Oude, an heir. Suddhodana, of the royal house of the Sakyas, reigned at the city of Kapilavastu over a kingdom of the same name. The child advanced in years, the delight and pride of his father. The legends relate how even at school he astonished his master, Visvamitra, by his miraculous proficiency, and forced him to exclaim that this was "the greatest of the gods, of the most unexampled genius." This is only one of the first remarkable parallelisms in detail between the legendary or authentic biographies of the Buddha and those of the Christ.\* As the story runs,

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\* A parallelism to the chief Christian myth is not wanting: "Der Bodhisattva . . . geht als fünffarbiger Lichtstrahl ein in den Leib der Mayadevi, wird mithin auf unbefleckte Weise, ohne männliches Zuthun, empfangen."—C. F. Koeppen: Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung.

at sixteen the young prince was desired to marry, and entreated his seniors not to seek rank or wealth, but the homely virtues of a good and modest woman. A bride to his mind was found in the beautiful Gopa, and it only remained to induce her father's consent. He was a man of much pride, and stood on the custom of his family to give their daughters only to such wooers as proved themselves worthy. Accordingly a great gala was held in the royal domain, at which the lover was to compete in every athletic and intellectual contest with the flower and chivalry of the land. None could vie with him, and his nuptials were forthwith celebrated amid the profoundest rejoicing. But even his domestic happiness could not decoy his mind from the meditation of deep problems; he was pensive and thoughtful, and needed but the occasion to turn him altogether from the romp and revelry with which king and courtiers sought to fascinate him. Even to the palace doors came surging the wail of humanity, and the boy's pure and tender heart was touched and sobered. The match was soon lit which was to set ablaze the continent of India. The prince met an old man on the public road, whose gait was feeble though supported by a stick; his face was wrinkled; the veins swelled out on his hands; all the unsightly marks of age and all its forms of suffering were upon him. The young man, startled and shocked, inquired of his groom if this were the curse of some unhappy family or the common lot of age. "It will come on you and yours," replied the attendant; "old age is the heritage of all." Sick at heart, Siddhartha turned homewards to meditate on the vanity of life. The blow was quickly followed up by others. A houseless wretch, tainted with a foul fever, was the next frightful revelation. Again, the prince saw a shrouded corpse, and now burst out, "I must meditate how to accomplish deliverance!" Lastly, he beheld a Bhikshu, or religious mendicant, and, struck with his reverend and passionless mien, finally resolved upon the religious life. Henceforth it was his dream to deliver humanity from misery. The remonstrances of Suddhodana were as vain as his precautions. The future saviour confronted him with the universal wretchedness of mankind, and at length slipped out of the guarded palace with his faithful attendant in the silence of the night. At daylight he was many leagues from the



home of his youth. He dismissed his servant, shaved his knightly locks, and assumed a mean attire. He now threw himself with ardour into the study of the Brahmanic wisdom, and speedily learnt all that the priests had to teach. But they could not adequately explain to him the cause of human suffering, nor could they give a receipt for its annihilation. From philosopher to philosopher he wandered, attaching himself for a while now and again to some teacher of famous name, ever athirst, never sated. His earnestness and genius wrung admiration from all, while his sweet and pure disposition won the love and allegiance of the great monarch, Bimbisara. Gladly would this prince have given him asylum, but the woods were his chosen home, and to royal pomps he preferred asceticism of such austerity as racked and emaciated his body. His penances were rigid; his meditations were profound; but the immeasurable knowledge came not. After six years of this terrible stringency, it occurred to him that he was impairing mental as well as physical strength. He changed his ways, took sufficient food, wore sufficient clothing, though of coarse and unattractive material,—rags gathered at the grave,—and finally acquired in a moment of supreme exaltation the boundless and universal knowledge. Now he was “Buddha,” “the Enlightened.” At length he knew the way of deliverance. At last he was secure from renewed birth himself. Now he could enfranchise all who would hear his word.

This marks the second great epoch in the life of “the Blessed One.” Leaving his retreat, he went out into the world, and near Benares for the first time “turned the Wheel of the Law;”<sup>\*</sup> that is, preached his complete doctrine. Henceforth his life was that of the devoted philanthropist and indefatigable reformer. Princes and peasants gladly heard his words. Some Nicodemuses there were; but the “Scribes and Pharisees” of India were generally against him. He not only overthrew their interpretations, but slighted the Veda itself. What was worse, he refused to recognize their social pretensions. He sought out the poor

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<sup>\*</sup> From a misunderstanding of this favourite phrase of the sacred books came the custom, now common in certain regions of Buddhism, of inscribing a litany on a wheel, and turning this rapidly by a handle. So many revolutions, so much spiritual efficacy. Even to this we may perhaps find parallelisms in the developments of Christendom.

and the sinners. One of his disciples asked a woman of the despised Chandali class for water at a well. With like surprise to one who was thus besought elsewhere, she answered, "I am but a Chandali woman!" Ananda replied that he asked not her caste, but desired water. She adopted a spiritual life. It was hard, in Buddha's eyes, for a rich man to enter the kingdom which he preached. He says, "It is hard to be rich, and to learn the Way." Again, who can fail to think of the widow's mite, when he reads that a poor man filled the alms-bowl of Buddha with a handful of flowers, while rich men could not fill it with ten thousand bushels? All classes of men flocked around him, but at his first discourse "many among the people said, 'The king's son has lost his reason.'"<sup>\*</sup> The same thing was said of another who preached strange doctrines. When Buddha worked miracles, they were always illustrative of his compassion for the suffering. He, like Christ, grieved that the generation "required a sign." When a prince proposed to him some stupendous miracle to startle and dazzle his enemies, he rebuked him with dignity. He is said to have preached in a Prakrit dialect, that is, in the patois of the common people, though thoroughly acquainted with the learned language.

Forty years he spent in the execution of his mission. Early in this period he re-visited his father's capital and won to the new faith the members of his own family. At Vaisali he was at last seized with violent illness. It was the rainy season. He foresaw his death, and resolved to travel to Kusinagara, and there encounter it. There, under a fig-tree, complete "Enlightenment" had first burst on his yearning soul. He arrived exhausted, sank into profound contemplation, and died, no more to wake to suffering. Afterwards his ashes were very sacred relics. Many thousand monumental "Topes" covered them in various parts of India.

The foregoing sketch of the life and character of Sakya-muni is based on many legends, not one of which, probably, was written till long after his death. Many of them teem with wild or childish extravagances. We have confined ourselves to the consistent and the possible. Herr Vasil'ev,

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<sup>\*</sup> Klaproth. Journ. As. vii. 181, quoted by Kœppen.

consummate critic as he is, seems rather too sceptical when he writes: "All that we can say with certainty about Buddha's life is, that after abandoning a life of mortification, he assumed the garb of poverty, and that in this condition he arrived at Rajagriha, the nearest town, where he established himself in the garden of Anāpindada, and he received charity from the inhabitants."\* He surmises that Sakya was an exile from his home in consequence of political intrigues. This seems the mere spirit of scepticism. The prince who abandons wealth and pomp, who endures famine, pain and sorrow, who toils single-hearted two-score years, who dies as he has lived, upborne by a great and full conviction, is neither the commonplace which chance tales could construct, nor the exaggerated and unnatural prodigy that the unrestrained revels of Hindu imagination would concoct.† The character, self-sacrificing and fervent, courageous and constant, gentle, humble, and full of universal love, is one which bears on it the impress of reality. It is not such as myths create, least of all Oriental myths. They may add tinsel and gewgaws. But the beautiful original shines brighter than its uncouth trappings. It seems a truer criticism to accept this old ideal, pure and sweet as it is, than to set it aside as the rubbish of later ages. We see in the admission of the touching incidents and noble purpose of Buddha's life far less difficulty than in their rejection.

We pass to the morals taught by Buddha. At the present day Buddhism displays a very complete philosophy or parody of a philosophy, but of its morality the less said the better. Yet Buddha left the merest rudiments of a philosophy, but a scheme of morality of marvellous loftiness and purity. Everywhere in the history and diagnosis of Buddhism there are startling suggestions in reference to the history and diagnosis of Christianity;—in nothing are they more significant than in the large fact just noted. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire has endeavoured to shew‡ that all Buddhist morality is vicious because it is based on the desire of its reward, Nirvana, Buddhist salvation, of which hereafter. Without denying that right action would be

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\* Vasil'ev: French translation, p. 22.

† For miscellaneous examples of the feats natural to Hindu imagination, see Buckle, *Hist. Civilization in England*, I. 123 seq. (original edition).

‡ *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, troisième édition (1866), pp. 150 seq.

vitiated were it prompted solely by this thought, it may be remarked in passing, that though the Christian heaven be true and Nirvana false, Christian action is degraded in precisely the same measure when reward hereafter is its motive. Such motive is habitually urged throughout the Christian Church. But the generous aspirations which Buddha inculcated, if less by precept yet fully by example, are almost as remote from sordid self-interest as the sublime sacrifices of the New Testament. His intense desire in the gardens of Kapilavastu was not his own spiritual enfranchisement, but the deliverance of the millions of his fellow-men. The spirit of his life, as painted in every legend, is that of the deepest and most self-forgetful love. It was this that caught the hearts of the outcast and the slave. Buddha himself, and many others who were conscious that they had attained the blessed state in which death must usher to Nirvana, still walked the earth and taught because they yearned for the liberation of other men.

Buddhism has its ten commandments. Save for the awful omission of the sanctifying commands which open the Mosaic table, and as far as morality proper is concerned, the list may perhaps compare favourably with that of Horeb. They are in two parts, the first five binding on all, the second, perhaps, not on the laics. The second half vary considerably in different scriptures. Here is one version :

1. Thou shalt not kill.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not be drunken.
6. Thou shalt abstain from repasts at improper times.
7. Thou shalt abstain from public spectacles.
8. Thou shalt abstain from rich attire and perfumes.
9. Thou shalt abstain from a large bed.
10. Thou shalt abstain from receiving gold and silver.\*

The first five commandments sum up a complete morality,

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\* Upham, in his translation of the Mahavansi, gives the following :

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| 1. Do not kill.            | 7. Do not speak words which are to no purpose but harm.   |
| 2. Do not steal.           | 8. Do not covet others' property.                         |
| 3. Do not commit adultery. | 9. Do not envy.   |
| 4. Do not lie.             | 10. Do not err in the true faith or think it to be false. |
| 5. Do not slander.         |   |
| 6. Do not call ill names.  |   |

while the second five sketch a thorough system of asceticism. Elsewhere morals are tripartite: chastity, charity, patience. In the Bhagavat-Gita, a theistic system of later centuries, morals are summed in chastity, charity, sacrifice. The diversity is suggestive. In the latter there is the true philosophic division of existence, Self, Nature (represented by living beings), God, and a duty toward each. In the Buddhist system there is chastity, the duty to Self; charity, the duty to Man and the Animals; finally, duty to no God, but to Fate, the blind order of things, patience. Here is an illustration of the practical working of these morals. Christianity has only just taught us to provide drinking fountains and people's parks. We were anticipated 2000 years ago. "Men are to plant wholesome herbs, trees and groves on the roads, that the poor and pilgrims may find sustenance and shelter, and to dig wells for them; men are to receive travellers as guests (that is a sacred duty), and provide shelter for them."\* The slaying of man or animal is absolutely forbidden, and old and sick animals are to be cared for. Finally, Buddha, in pointed opposition to the Brahmans, but in a spirit very Christ-like, forbids any to parade good works, bidding them rather hide these and make known their faults of thought, word and deed. On the great moral question of religious tolerance or religious persecution, historical Christianity can bear no comparison with Buddhism. The rock inscriptions of Dharmasoka or Piyadasi, the Buddhist Constantine, are altogether in the true spirit of Sakyamuni: "Piyadasi, monarch beloved of the Devas, honours all creeds. . . . Men ought to honour their own creed only, but never to blame that of others, and thus wrong will be done to none. There are, indeed, circumstances under which the creed of others, too, ought to be honoured; and in acting thus, as the case may demand, men strengthen their own belief and help that of others. He who acts otherwise weakens his personal belief and injures that of others," &c.† Buddhists in the days of their greatest ardour lived peacefully beside their unbelieving neighbours. They have never been guilty of persecution.

If rigid truthfulness, rare humility, extreme chastity,

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\* Duncker: *Geschichte des Alterthums*.

† Saint Hilaire: *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, troisième édition, p. 115.

unwearying patience, filial devotion and boundless self-sacrifice,—a genuine, deep and constant “enthusiasm of humanity,”—constitute a lofty and reverend character, then not only was such the character of the founder of the Buddhist faith, but lofty and reverend, too, was the character he diffused among a countless mass of followers.

We must glance at the theory on which such practice nominally rested, that is, Buddhist metaphysics. Metaphysics soon became most elaborate. Originally they were most simple. Four fundamental “Truths” were undoubtedly taught from the very first: (1) Existence is miserable; (2) Misery will always accompany existence; (3) But an end may be put to existence and misery; (4) The “way” to such termination, in eight sections. This is a simple statement of Indian sentiment. All schools agreed that life was woe. The Brahman was illogical, and nevertheless believed in Deity, and hoped for absorption therein hereafter. The Buddhist, strictly and sternly logical, did not deny, but ignored God, and looked to annihilation as the only end of pain. What evidence of God in Self or Nature? What life could give rest, when life was sorrow? Awful as such a state of mind may be, appalling as is the thought that it was that of innumerable masses, we need neither go to India nor to pre-Christian times to meet it. It is the opinion of one who for a score of years has laboured amid the poorest of the London poor, that that great population ignores God altogether, and looks to death with longing, not as a better birth, but the end, deliverance, annihilation. These are our English Buddhists. *Their* hope, too, is Nirvana. Baron Bunsen was a man of great head, but far greater heart. He would not, and he did not, believe that humanity could adopt this unhallowed creed. The London streets refute him.\*

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\* Prof. Müller recently read a paper on Buddhist Nihilism before the Association of German Philologists. [See Trübner's *American and Oriental Literary Record*, Oct. 16, 1869.] Here, contravening the impression that other writings of his own have produced [see, e.g., *Chips: Buddhism*], he contends that the annihilation doctrine belongs to the Abhidharma or Metaphysics of Buddhism only, and is not proper to Buddhism. His paper is too brief to do more than re-open the question. The present article was written before we saw this paper. And, indeed, the subject is far too large to be discussed as a mere episode of a fugitive article. We recommend the “*Avertissement*” on the subject, inserted in the third edition of St. Hilaire's work, to those who desire to see the other side,—that which we adopt in the text.

The sublime morality was fastened on the infernal philosophy in this way : Disease, decay, death, suffering, result from birth. Birth results from a concatenation of cause and effect, the proximate of which is existence (Bhava), the remote, desire, thirst (Trishna). Through sensation we may trace the chain back to the senses, of which the ideas of form and name confounded (Namarupa) are, in their turn, the cause. Namarupa results from consciousness, which again springs from imagination (Samskara). Imagination, conception, is all delusion, shadowing forth what really is non-existent, and thus rests on Avidya, ignorance, the prime cause of all the circle of life. Root out ignorance, and you root out the only basis of life. With profound intuition it was perceived that ignorance is inconsistent with the highest moral purity. The pure heart speaks truly. Therefore a perfect morality must make impossible re-birth, the dreaded programme of transmigration, and must plunge the soul, or rather extinguish all being, in Nirvana. While re-births continue, the height or depth, celestial, earthly or infernal, of their spheres depends entirely on the desert (Karma) of previous lives. The sum of merit and demerit is transferred to the new creature. The man who suffers now may know it is the reward of delinquency in his former generations. The effect of Karma, though it be the Karma of lives far back in the unsearchable annals, is absolutely inevitable. Hence practically, the theory of transmigration being untrue, we have a horrible fatalism.

These are the main outlines of primitive Buddhist metaphysics. Each conception tempts to endless digression, and has been the nucleus of endless controversy inside and outside the fold of Buddhism. But space will only allow the barest epitome of the main facts of the history of the faith, before turning to the inferences which seem suggested.

Buddhism at first probably included within its system no laics. At any rate they were secondary to the clergy. Early Christianity exhibits the precise reverse : preachers and pastors existed solely for the sake of the lay brethren. The laws of caste were ignored. The evangel was preached to all. The Kshatriya and the degraded Sudra alike adopted the yellow habit of the new order. The innovation was as startling as the admission of the uncircumcised among the circumcised. Without the Gentiles, the Christian Church



would have melted away. Buddhism would have dwindled into nothing, had it not embraced in brotherhood the outcast and the slave. But it was not long before precautions were requisite to escape scandals or powerful enmities. "After a slight hesitation as to the propriety of the course he was about to pursue, he [Buddha] was at first, in the greatness of his pity for mankind, ready to receive into his community any one who presented himself for acceptance; but as he found that many evils were attendant upon this indiscriminate admission, he rejected, for obvious reasons, the leper, the being not human (*amanusya*), the slave, the debtor, the king's servant, the minor, and the youth who had not received the consent of his parents."\* More probably this represents the experience of a century or so. There are amusing instances of the reference of the later experience of the monasteries to the wisdom of Buddha himself. It is said that a matricide who had been admitted having brought disgrace upon the order, Buddha commanded that thenceforth this question should always be put to the candidate for ordination, "Have you killed your mother?"

Monachism by degrees became thoroughly organized. The Vihara, or retreat for the rainy season, developed into the complete convent. The Brahmans had long practised asceticism, and for purposes of mutual protection had occasionally gathered in groups. But the organization of large numbers, the appointment of superiors, the common code of discipline, and above all the formation of nunneries, were entirely original to Buddhism. The system finally elaborated, still extant, is the absolute prototype of Christian monachism. Buddhism is well known to certain Catholic writers as the invention of Satan for the traduction of Christianity. M. Laboulaye says: "Every one knows that we find among the Buddhists male and female convents, mendicancy practised as a religious virtue, the celibacy and tonsure of monks, the use of bells and rosaries, the cultus of relics, public confession, intercession of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, holy water, and finally in Thibet a complete hierarchy of grand Lamas, bearing the cross, the mitre and the dalmatic, and having at its head the Tale-Lama, chosen in conclave after the death of his predecessor, and

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\* R. S. Hardy: *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. xxxv.

representing on earth the living incarnation of Buddha."\* The system soon outgrew and contradicted the intentions of the founder. These men, whose food should have been scanty, whose raiment should have been the rags left rotting in the cemetery, whose hands should not have known the touch of gold, became luxurious livers, and carried golden bowls to beg. This seems to have been the occasion of the first great severance. One hundred years had passed since Sakya's assumption of Nirvana. An Œcumenical Council was held at Vaisali. The corrupt monks were solemnly expelled. Convulsions of nature gave an awful sanction. The excommunicated, reported to have been ten thousand, formed a new and more pompous sect. The Council of Vaisali are said to have proclaimed that everything which was consistent with the moral precepts and the spirit of the doctrine of Buddha should always be recognized as part of the law, whether handed down from olden time or a product of the future; and, on the other hand, that whatever might be inconsistent therewith should be done away with, even though already established. Here we have at once the principle of the Church's infallibility allowed, and at the same time, as Christendom knows, the prolific source of strife, divisions and secessions. The succeeding period is at once the most important, from some points of view, and the most obscure. Dogma followed dogma, schism pressed on schism, sect was added to sect. The vast erudition and immense ingenuity of Herr Vasil'ev have for the first time attacked the problems here arising with vigour and with system. He has done much, but conjecture mingles with demonstration, and it is more than doubtful whether the evolutions of the period will ever be exhibited with clearness or with certainty. Local and sudden revolutions in the Church have left strange puzzles for the historians. Monarchs equally favoured all sects, and the ups and downs of preferment depended on the curious custom of controversial tournament. It was the right of any man or body of men, at any time or place, to challenge any individual or any monastery to discussion of any dogma whatever, however firmly rooted in the popular mind. None could refuse the challenge. The penalty was fixed before-

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\* Laboulaye: *Discours Préliminaire*, pp. vii, viii.

hand. It might be the liberty of the defeated. It might be the whole property of a convent. Fair play was scrupulously given. Kings presided. Nobles and populace were present. No force but that of superior eloquence and argument could win the day. The penalty, to bondage or confiscation, was rigorously exacted. Thus powerful monasteries suddenly collapsed, and provinces abruptly changed their creed.

But if doctrinal revolutions and much else are hopelessly obscure, one great event stands out prominent in Buddhist annals. That is the reign of Dharmasoka. Dharmasoka was grandson of Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks. He came to the throne, like Constantine, an unbeliever. He found Buddhism and Brahmanism matched together in spirit and in numbers very much as Constantine found Christianity and Paganism. He reigned in the middle of the third century B. C., removed from Buddha by about the same period as Constantine from Christ. But history seems to be trifling with us by its repetitions: both Dharmasoka and Constantine reached the throne through perfidy and slaughter; both, by one account, owed their subsequent conversion to a miracle; both had sufficient reasons of a political nature to explain the change of creed, however sincere they may have been; both were monarchs of high and brilliant talent; both took part, the one before, the other after conversion, in the most famous and important Council in connection with the respective faiths; both ruled with rare success over very large territories and very varied populations; both have made their names renowned over a vast area through very many centuries by the establishment or state-recognition and support of a growing Church. The establishment of Buddhism does not seem to have been conducive to moral or spiritual purification. When kings owned its sway and bowed to its professors, men sought distinction in its fold from desire of wealth and influence. The worldly were attracted into the state-communion as into the newly-established Christian Church. By a careful and troublesome process, the priesthood is said to have been purged of the presence of the heretic and the vicious. A select Council, numbering one thousand, was held at Pataliputra. The Council was opened by a sermon from the president on the means of suppressing scepticism. Koeppen

says, "The Council of Pataliputra was even a greater turning-point for the Buddhist Church than that of Nicæa for the Christian. It was there first resolved to send missionaries to foreign lands, and it is historically established that through the efforts of Asoka missions were now really sent far and wide beyond the limits of Hindustan."

If the Church was now a little worldly, it was very energetic. Catholicism has shewn how a Church may unite shrewd care for wealth and power with earnest and widespread missionary activity. Perhaps the two tendencies may be very intimately related. At any rate, Buddhism also exhibits both in high development. Ceylon had already been won, according to the legend, by the missionary prince, Mahindo. The Chinese are accurate historians. Their annals speak of a Buddhist missionary more than two centuries before Christ. In the first century of our era, within a few months of the mysterious death of Paul, Buddhism was established in equality with the two previous creeds of China. For Chinese emperors were for "levelling up," holding, as a mediæval monk informs us, "this opinion, or rather error, that every man is saved in his own faith."\*

Thus dawned the golden age of Buddhism, the day of its pomp and wealth and splendour. In many countries it still retains its magnificence. Vasil'ev says: "Many Mongolian and Thibetan monasteries contain above five thousand monks. At Pekin and in its environs may be counted five thousand idols of Buddha and eighty thousand monks. The Chinese monasteries are distinguished by their cleanliness and beauty."† But it has lost the apple of its eye. The land of its birth, its holy land, the bourne of innumerable pilgrims who traversed thousands of miles to tread its soil, the home of Buddha, the theatre of his grand enterprize, was long since overrun by those who preached another faith. Hiouen-Thsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim,—a man who has hardly been surpassed, to judge from what he did and what he has left, in the combination of enthusiasm, perseverance and courage, with intellectual power and lite-

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\* "Est enim hæc opinio apud eos (seu potius error), quod unusquisque in sua secta salvatur."—Raynald. *Annal. Eccl.*, quoted by Hardwick: "Christ and other Masters."

† French translation, p. 16, note.

rary attainment throughout the whole roll of history,—conveyed twenty-two horse-loads of Buddhist literature from India to China. He found Buddhism strong and dominant in India. This was in our seventh century. Some four hundred years later it was unknown between the Ganges and Cape Comorin. How the doctrine of Sakya was extinguished in its own proper territory is matter of pure conjecture. Perhaps the Brahmans persecuted. Perhaps the two faiths amalgamated.\* More likely Buddhism ate out its own vitals. Gold and the lust of gold, power and the lust of power, were not consonant with the sweet simplicity and pure self-sacrifice which alone gave grace to Buddhism, and through grace gave it strength. The few who clung to the rigorous chastity and devoted charity which the Blessed One had lived and taught, would turn in sorrow or disgust from the unsightly avarice and gorgeous pageantry of the old and tottering monasteries, and seek with sad footsteps companionship with the fresher aspirations of the younger and nobler churches of Cashmere or Ceylon. Echoing caves and desolated temples, at any rate, alone attested the pristine reverence in which long ago the royal preacher had been held, when the Papal Church, in so many respects the counterpart of the Buddhist, was in its greatest glory.

It can be said of this period for the first time (in our view) with certainty, that the vast Buddhist Scriptures, as we have them now, were complete. These exhibit an extraordinary diversity; and as nothing, or next to nothing, is positively known of their sources, every critic can please himself as to their order of development. For our own part, we believe extravagance is more often the child than the parent of moderation; and therefore we look upon the immense majority of the current Buddhist literature as very late and very delusive to those who trust to it too implicitly. When we read of disciples who had “saved many hundred thousand myriads of tens of millions of living beings,”† we put down our author as very far removed from the events of which he speaks. Nor do we feel ourselves in a more

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\* It is Vasil'ev's opinion that the school “Khinayana” was attracted and absorbed by the “Mahayana,” which in its turn faded into mysticism and extravagance.

† Burnouf: “Le Lotus de la bonne Loi [Saddharma-pundarika], chap. i. 2.  
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truthful or trustworthy atmosphere, when we read the statement of this modest preacher, that he who has heard one stanza of his discourse, even fiftieth-hand, is more blessed than he who has converted and turned to saintship, after heaping gifts on them for eighty years, myriads of tens of millions of creatures.\* When this absurdity was uttered or penned, Buddhism, no longer a reaction from the thralldom of Brahmanism, outran the latter in the extreme of its bibliolatry. There are Buddhist Scriptures, the bulk of which is occupied with a sort of autographic anticipation of the "opinions of the press." There are others which contain nothing whatever but the praises of the title which is given at the commencement. In both the great religions of India, bibliolatry is the measure of the decline of true and simple fervour. It is so elsewhere also. This, however, reads more like a primitive gospel than what we have quoted, and more like the ethics of Buddha: "Let no man think too highly of his own gain, nor be envious of others; the mendicant who envies others does not attain to meditation."† Or this: "Easy is it to behold the sins of others, but hard to behold our own; inasmuch as a man uncovers the sins of others so far as in him lies, but his own he hides, as an unjust man his dice."‡ Though Hardy expresses a contrary view,§ our sympathies, at any rate, will certainly incline to Bunsen when he enthusiastically pronounces this the earliest Buddhist writing known to us.

It is only by the exegesis of Scriptures which are thus obscure in origin, and by probing the fantastic schemes of the present priesthood, that we can reach any notion of the co-ordination or sequence of sect and sect. Certain it is that the earliest regarded Sakyamuni simply as the only man who had freed himself from the chain of suffering. He had reached Nirvana, annihilation, and was neither a god nor sovereign of the world. The Mahayanists changed all

\* Burnouf: *Lotus*, chap. xvii. 187, stanza 2.

† *Dhammapada*: Fausbøll [Latine], c. 25, v. 865. Since this paper was written, Prof. Müller's translation of this remarkable work has appeared, in his introduction to Captain Rogers's *Parables of Buddhaghosha*. This we have not yet seen. Gogerley, the Wesleyan missionary, published a version, in an *Oriental periodical*, which we have been unable to find.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 18, v. 252.

§ R. S. Hardy: *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. xl.

this. They gave him even on earth communication with all worlds. The innumerable denizens of distant spheres sat reverentially at his feet. Even after death he still exists to be adored,—not as God, but as a great Saviour. At length eternity is ascribed to him. The notion of annihilation began to upset men's minds. The infinity and almighty power of Buddha were mooted. Then arose questions of bibliolatry. Can one word of Buddha falling on the careless ear save a man eternally? Every discussion implies advocates of either view. Finally comes the great and all-important question, "Are images of Buddha to be revered?"

Thus the person of Buddha has ever been a topic of eager contention among those who take his name. At the present day his images are innumerable, and his worshipers an incalculable host. Nevertheless, we conceive that the worship is not such as implies anything which can fairly claim the sacred name of Theism. There are sects, or rather schools, which *philosophically* postulate a First Cause and even a dominant Providence. But this is pure speculation, and does not enter in any way whatever into religion proper. The worship is not the communion of suppliant souls with a supreme and listening God. It is sometimes the grateful or formal praise of a greater man; sometimes the incantation which *compels* obedience on the part of the being addressed, by the magical power of formularies. It must be remembered that the present Buddha, whether eternal or not, has merely succeeded previous Buddhas on the throne, and will in the fulness of time himself have to yield to a successor. It must be remembered, also, that there is no Buddhist now living, however mean,—nay, there is no stick or stone, according to some,—that may not become a Buddha in turn, displacing the present Blessed One or one of his successors. As for other gods, Singhalese Buddhists acknowledge the Devas of India, but not even with as much respect as the early Christians acknowledged the pagan *δαίμονες*. They are not even afraid of them. "Do you worship the gods?" asked Bishop Heber of a priest of Ceylon. "No!" was the rejoinder; "the gods worship me." To the Buddhist, man (not only the race, but every individual) is, at least potentially, the loftiest and greatest of all beings whatsoever.

At first sight, no doubt, worship appears to involve Theism.



But it seems to us that it does not always imply so much. The worship of Buddha is compared to the common Christian worship of Christ,—himself a deified man. But there is a vital difference. When Christ is worshiped, he is worshiped *not* as the mere ideal of humanity to which every man may attain, but as either originally gifted, or subsequently endowed, with a superhuman nature, such as the worshiper can never hope to possess. The Unitarian, unlike the Orthodox, conceives that Christ is only the ideal man, perfect humanity, but not superhuman; and, therefore, the Unitarian refrains from the worship of Christ. The Buddhist, on the other hand, though offering adoration to Sakyamuni, believes and hopes that he may himself in some remote Kalpa displace Sakyamuni or some subsequent Buddha, and be a very worthy and proper successor too. The Roman Catholic exhibits both types of worship, the adoration of the idealized man whom he may some day rival, and the cultus of Deity whom he dare not think of rivalling. In virtue of the latter homage, we call the Romanist a Theist; but who would call him so, were praise or supplication to the Saints his only worship? Yet it is to the latter cultus alone that Buddhism presents us with a parallel. The case of Comte is more nearly analogous to that of the Buddhist than any other that occurs to us. He worshiped Humanity. But who includes Comte among Theists? That he himself would base no claim to such inclusion on his reverence for Humanity is evident from the very fact that, in repudiating the charge of Atheism, he does not adduce it, but declares the question beyond the range of human knowledge.\* Yet Comte approaches more nearly to Theism than the Buddhist; for, so far as we understand him, the French philosopher merely hopes to contribute his atom to the grand sum-total of purified Humanity, while the Oriental aspires to become singly and alone the complete and adorable Buddha.

It is quite true that all Theism tends to Anthropology,—witness the whole Old Testament, and in our day Mariolatry and the worship of our Lord. Indeed, so far as we conceive God at all, our poor faculties compel us to conceive Him

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\* See "A General View of Positivism" (translated by J. H. Bridges, M.B., from the French of M. Comte), chap. i.

like in feeling and thought to our best Self magnified. Abstract philosophy must supplement concrete imagination to rescue the most enlightened from a refined Anthropology. But if Theism involves adoration of something human, it does not follow, and is very far from being the case, that adoration of the human involves Theism. And Buddhism exemplifies the one without the other.

Thus, then, the theory of man's natural or intuitive Theism does not seem to be borne out by a correct psychology of man. For the system which holds together one-third of the human race is consistent in this, and perhaps in this alone, that it ignores God. Reverence or awe is undoubtedly a primary faculty of man. But there are huge masses of our fellow-men who find sufficient vent for this in a human object. The disciples of Confucius (how many millions!) find it in their ancestors (*whom they hope to equal*), whose names are inscribed in the ancestral hall. The disciples of Sakya find it in their Master.

When the question of natural religion engaged the shrewd and sparkling intellects of the France of the last century, it was not wonderful that Theism should be conceived as an axiom of mankind. It was urged that no state or community of atheists ever existed; and so far as men then knew, no such society ever had existed. But the last forty years have given us the materials for a knowledge of Buddhism. Hodgson sent his MSS. from Nepaul. Csoma Körösi sent his from Thibet. Turnour and Hardy laid bare the Buddhism of Ceylon. Vasil'ev has revealed that of the extreme East. And this Buddhism exhibits to us not one, but innumerable communities born, bred, dying, without thought or desire of God. It shews us a stupendous power, which has enchained the dwellers over many myriads of leagues without God. It displays a moral empire, which for three-and-twenty centuries has grown and swelled with ever-increasing might without God. It reveals a fortress of rock, against which the waves of Islam and the waves of Christendom have alike beaten utterly in vain,—though that fortress contains no worshipers of God. It manifests a cohesion and endurance, which, godless though it be, mocks and shames Christianity with her many convulsions and her reiterated revolutions.

Therefore, to insist that God is naturally revealed to all

men, however dimly, is to ignore the largest fact in all history, and to hug a conclusion which is destitute of premisses. It may be quite true that *we* have intuitive sense of Deity, but there are 300,000,000 of human beings in whom that sense is not to be detected.

But the investigation of Buddhism is calculated to throw much light on the fortunes of Christianity. It may, perhaps, even have lessons of wisdom for Christian professors. All this we can barely indicate.

The rise, progress and triumphal career of Buddhism may be traced to four causes, one of which, however, is antecedent to the other three. These latter three are its morality, its universality and its adaptability. But to these is prior its founder's personality. St. Hilaire says with true discrimination: "I do not hesitate to add that, save Christ alone, there is no purer or more touching figure among the founders of religion than that of Buddha." There is no power on earth so great as that of a transcendent personality. To prove it, appeal to the two greatest facts in history, Christianity and Buddhism. Each sprang from a single man. And we can discover no attribute constant to either the one or the other, save the reverent memory of that man. As Lecky points out, every doctrine of original Christianity and every grace of the Christian character were at one time or another submerged beneath the troubled ocean of bigotry, superstition, worldliness or ignorance. The wrathful God was not the God of Christ. The cruel hell was not the hell against which he warned. Least of all was the heaven whose joys were the agonies of the damned, his heaven. And yet, because Jesus Christ had lived and taught, Christianity held on its way, now shackled and oppressed, now free and buoyant. Lecky's own theory, that the man is the child of the age, and that belief succeeds to belief in the inevitable order of the ages, is little consonant with the history of Christianity; and in Christ's favour he would make exception. Christianity was never the product of the current age. The alloy created by the age mingled with the pure gold of Christianity. But the precious metal itself,—spun into a glistening thread of continuity for the Christian Church,—was the gift bequeathed by Christ, and bestowed by none but him. Precisely so with Buddhism. Buddha left few dogmas. Those he did leave have been

distorted into every weird or grotesque absurdity. What he did stamp indelibly on the Eastern world was a personality. And that personality has endured this score of centuries, and is as fresh and beautiful now when displayed to European eyes, as when Siddharta himself breathed his dying breath in the shades of Kusinagara. As in Christianity, so in Buddhism, the personality of the founder has been the only thing unchanged in the whirl and struggle of the ages.

And besides its direct and electric action, the personality of the "Enlightened One" acted in three subsidiary modes, and thus gathered round it additional strength as it spread from land to land.

First, by its universality: here Christianity and Buddhism are alike. Sakya and Jesus alike spread wide their arms to embrace mankind. Sakya, with Jesus, grieved to behold the bulwarks and barriers that stood high and forbidding against the lowly and the sinful. Both threw wide their doors, and the halt and the maimed and the blind, the poor and the despised, bruised and bleeding from the tyranny of spiritual despots, entered with gratitude and joy.

The second method was morality: here, too, Christianity and Buddhism are alike. In both, the moral code unites exquisite beauty and softness with noble courage and devotion. The hearts of men were touched and their homage won. And for a while, in either case, a new gentleness, a new grace, a loftier courage than of old, were diffused among communities.

The third method was adaptability: that is to say, the scheme of his system was so moulded by its founder, that where it came in contact, it did not necessarily come into collision. Buddhism met the mental types of Ceylon, of Cashmere, of Mongolia; and it met them harmoniously and not antagonistically. It grafted its own essentials on to the new stock, without insisting on any local or temporary accidents. It never insulted the faith it would reform. It took what was good in it, and fused with it its own conceptions. When the Buddhist missionary went to China, he did not need a gunboat behind him. He assiduously studied the systems he came to combat, and reproved or improved them in love, rather than assailed them with contempt or vituperation.

Jesuit missionaries in the East have had thus much wisdom too. Assuredly, Christianity at its rise was not without a flexibility analogous to that of Buddhism. It could fit the Jew, yet was not repugnant to the Gentile. If Christian teachers in Oriental lands would meditate on this aspect of Buddhist history, might it not suggest to them a different bearing toward faiths which, however corrupt, however foolish, have the veneration and the homage of myriads?

Men are very little. Christianity is great; but there is wisdom and there are lessons even outside its cordon. He whose view has never stretched beyond its horizon, will hardly hold a wise and adequate philosophy of history. From comparative grammar and comparative philology, knowledge has come to us which seemed irredeemably locked in the arms of the sleeping past. From comparative theology the weaknesses of this and that phase of Christianity are illustrated; while the incomparable grandeur of the simple Christian faith is brought out in brilliant relief. From the comparative *history* of religions will be educed much that will explain our failures in the past and give us hints for better success in the future.

RICHARD A. ARMSTRONG.

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### III.—PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY.

THE absorbing interest of the inquiry into the nature of protoplasm lies in the practical questions which it is found to involve. On the answer to be given to these questions depends nothing less than all education and government, all morality and law. Astronomers or geologists may confess their uncertainty or their ignorance on any given point, without feeling a painful anxiety that they may thus fail in matters of daily duty. It is quite otherwise when we turn to speculations which have for their subject the nature of organic and conscious life. It can scarcely be said with truth that there are any who can enter on these investigations without finding themselves face to face with

most serious problems. But even if it be granted that a few may be so singularly happy in their circumstances as to be beyond the reach of such perplexities, the vast majority must be conscious that not only is their energy at stake, but that their honesty depends on the way in which they treat the question.

That the whole moral as well as the religious training of Englishmen rests on the belief of the continued existence of each individual man after death, no one probably will dispute. Whether we regret the fact or not, the fact itself is patent; and the remark applies equally to the instruction given by men of all schools of thought (for it will not be pretended that at the present time there is any systematic instruction of the young based on the professed negation of continued life). Of the teaching of the societies or the men who take their stand on the ground of authority, it is unnecessary to say more than that the grossly carnal and material interpretations commonly given by them seem to imply a latent disbelief on their own part, and certainly lead to disbelief in others. The system which appeals to rewards and punishments, and which tells men that future tortures will be applied to those members of the body which on earth have been most sinful, addresses itself only to the lowest passions and feelings of mankind, the passion of fear and the instinct of selfishness, and may be set aside as unworthy the thought of men who are bent on the more serious task of ascertaining the truth of facts. Of this teaching, then, we need take no further notice. But if we tell the young that life is an education,—if we tell them that they are the children of a Father who is leading them to their highest good, and that they are to do their duty, not because they may suffer socially if they fail to do it, but from spontaneous obedience to Divine Law,—if we tell them that acts tend to make habits, that habits determine our character and affect our spiritual condition indefinitely,—if we tell them that right is to be done at whatever cost, and that success here is to be to us as nothing in comparison with our growth in all good and kindly qualities,—we are using language every word of which implies not only human immortality, but the continued existence of each individual being whom we address. It may involve no determination of the modes of that existence, no attempt to answer any of those

questions of detail towards which human feeling and instinct may nevertheless be powerfully attracted ; but it assuredly asserts that the event which we call death is not to be regarded as cutting short all our concern with God and His creation. To speak thus, if we think that the probabilities lie the other way, and still more if we think that the belief is a delusion, will be regarded by all decent-minded men as intolerable dishonesty. To use such language because we hold that, although false in itself, it is yet necessary in order to impress young minds which are not likely to find us out, will be set down as an act more fit for demons than for men ; and such falsehood will probably become a spear to pierce the hand that wields it. If the child fails to discover the trick, we must yet despise ourselves for putting it upon him ; but what if he asks us whether we really believe what we say, whether the phenomena of the world and the facts of science, so far as we know them, confirm our belief or are in conflict with it ? Or, if we hold that this way of putting the question is beyond the capacity of a mind not yet matured, what are we to say if he asks why he should cause himself trouble and discomfort by seeking to reach a high standard of action, when life would be easier and pleasanter and probably more successful by contenting himself with a lower one ; why he should put others always before himself ; why he should tell the truth, when to do so will do him a mischief or when a lie would secure him wealth ; why he should fix his thoughts on God and look upon himself as a fellow-worker with God ; why, in short, he should rise above and beyond the conditions of his existence here, when he sees that so few rise beyond the common life of all men, and that this common life is, on a mere calculation of pains and pleasures of a certain kind, more to be envied than that of men who face poverty or obloquy, because they are resolved to make war on all dishonesty and falsehood ? If he sees that our answer does not represent our convictions, his instinct of truthfulness has received a deadly blow ; and if he does not see it, we are still guilty of the most disinterested cruelty towards him. But the fact is, that few, if any, are consciously dishonest in teaching the young by modes which have reference to a continued existence after death. Men may be contented to go on with vague and misty thoughts ; but we need not



think so ill of human nature as to suspect it of wilfully playing a part which would make life a contemptible farce. If, then, this belief be called into question (and by a certain class of thinkers it is being directly or indirectly called into question), there cannot surely be a more imperious duty than that which forces on us the necessity of clearing our own minds, as fathers, as teachers, or as taking any part in the great work of government. All who hold that life is worthless if it can be retained only in an atmosphere of all-pervading falsehood, must feel an irrepressible and overwhelming longing to see on what foundations their conviction rests, and whether these foundations are such as to justify it.

On the negative side of the subject I need happily say but little. For the readers of the *Theological Review*, the dogmatic assumptions of the physiologists, of whom Mr. Huxley may be regarded as the leader, have been exhibited with admirable clearness by Mr. Owen in his paper on *Modern Materialism and its relation to Immortality*.\* The question may fairly be regarded as so far cleared, that the perplexities which still remain may be treated as arising, not from any facts adduced by materialists, but from their arguments or their inferences. The conclusion of Mr. Huxley, that the whole life of man lies in protoplasm and that "the living protoplasm . . . dies and is resolved into its mineral and lifeless constituents," may be not only ignored, but set aside as not really bearing on the discussion, until it has been proved that the life lies in the nucleated particles of which the protoplasm consists. Until unnucleated protoplasm has been found, it is obvious that the real point at issue is not touched. In Mr. Owen's words, "It is the nucleus, and not the surrounding matter, with which we have to deal." In short, we are as far as ever from laying our hands on the force itself; and it is therefore simply absurd to say that it cannot exist under any modes except those in which we see it energizing here. Of other forces, such as gravitation or electricity, we know only their existence in certain modes: that they can exist in no other modes, we cannot possibly venture to affirm.

From this summary of Mr. Owen's argument we may

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\* No. XXVII., October, 1869.

reasonably infer that the reasoning and the conclusions of Mr. Huxley leave the question of immortality just where it was ; and it remains only to see what the grounds are on which we maintain our belief in a continued existence for man. In this inquiry it is of the first consequence that no evidence should be accepted without the most rigorous sifting, and our words must be addressed, not to men who are disposed to take anything on trust, but to men who may say, We wish to be convinced, we are open to conviction ; but we shall submit all your arguments to the severest tests, and all your facts to the most uncompromising scrutiny. To such men Mr. Owen's treatment of this portion of the subject will probably appear less satisfactory than his reply to Mr. Huxley. He may fairly ask, "What becomes of the existence of the Divine Being as conscious spirit, if it is once assumed that consciousness is dependent on material organization?" He is justified in adding that such a view, involved as it is in the idea of a carnal revivification maintained by some physiologists, "absolutely contradicts the current belief that the future life is *continuous* and everlasting ;" but it is useless to say that it is not in harmony "with the most authoritative utterances of Scripture on the subject," unless we have first determined precisely what authority the Scriptures possess. On this most momentous question of a future life, we can manifestly take nothing on authority. We cannot reach a demonstrated conclusion ; but so far as we go, our reason must be entirely satisfied. Those events mentioned in the Old Testament or the New, which are generally taken as an answer to all perplexities, Mr. Owen at once rejects as indefinitely adding to them. The resurrection of Lazarus or the widow's son leaves the matter where it was, unless it be maintained that they did not die again, but ascended into heaven with their re-animated bodies, or are living on the earth still. Nor does he scruple less to set aside the material resurrection of Jesus himself. "Against the notion of a mere anthropomorphic Deity, or against the doctrine of a bodily, i.e. flesh and blood, resurrection, materialism will always have much to allege, which the defenders of those particular views will find it difficult to answer." But when he says of Jesus that "a common energy, prompted by a common will, was no doubt the source of that claim to equality with

God which seemed so blasphemous to his materialistic countrymen," we have before us a statement of fact which either is or is not historical. We are here plainly told that Christ proclaimed himself the resurrection and the life, and said that he who believeth on him shall never die; that he gave a spiritual sense to the resurrection; and that "he who proclaimed himself as a quickening and life-giving influence, and who made the resurrection a spiritual and ever-present fact, could never have laid the great stress upon the material expression of the truth which some of his followers would fain attribute to him." A man who wishes to know how far he is justified in believing that death is not the ending of our life would at once ask, "What weight should these words have with me? You say that they are found in the Gospels. Are all the Gospels of equal authority? But these statements are gathered only from the fourth Gospel. Is this Gospel of equal authority with the others? Is it the most or the least trustworthy?" Here, then, the inquiry becomes historical, and we are confronted with the facts that these assertions occur in discourses in which, before the whole assemblage in the Temple or before multitudes elsewhere, Jesus insists on his Messianic character in a sense which they had never attached to the term; that the matter is nowhere regarded as a secret; that it forms practically the one subject of his teaching in the fourth Gospel; that he is known as the Christ from the first to the Baptist, to Andrew, to Peter, to Nathanael, to Nicodemus, to the woman of Sychar and all her fellow-townsmen, and is proclaimed as such to the whole nation in their periodical gatherings at the great festivals. In the other Gospels his Messianic character is kept a profound secret from all until he approaches the end of his ministry, and is then imparted only to two or three of his own personal followers, under strict injunction to reveal it to no man until after his resurrection; and thus the subject of long controversies, which rouse the fierce opposition of the whole Jewish people in the fourth Gospel, is absolutely ignored, or rather excluded, in the others. The one set of narratives leaves no room for the other; and as it is impossible that the public preaching of these high claims could be unknown to the writers of the Synoptic Gospels, and as, if known to them, it must have convinced them of the unhistoric character of their own narratives

and so led them to suppress them, the conclusion seems irresistible that we cannot reason from any statements in the fourth Gospel regarded as historical facts in the life of Jesus. Hence we cannot tell whether Jesus ever advanced any such claims; the far greater probability is that he did not. But the words do not therefore lose all value. They resolve themselves into expressions of opinion or belief on the part of the writer of the Johannine Gospel; and on this point they are decisive. Whoever he may have been, there can be no doubt that he rejected utterly the crude materialism which rested on the fancy of a re-animation of material particles, or, in Mr. Owen's words, that he made immortality depend "on the indissoluble union of spiritual forces existing in the world;" and thus he was practically in agreement with the teaching of St. Paul, who throughout his Epistles regards immortality as involved "in the union of the individual Christian with God through Christ," and in their very relation as fellow-workers with God.

How far, then, does the definition of immortality which at least has the sanction of these writers or thinkers carry us? The question is of such importance, that I prefer to give the answer in the words of Mr. Owen, who first accepts Schleiermacher's statement that "the immortality of religion consists in becoming one with the Infinite in the midst of the finite, and in having eternal existence in each passing moment," and then adduces as more strictly theological the form given to this expression by Schenkel, that "only he who is in God, who alone is eternal, has part in eternity even in time." Thus he regards the present as the only trustworthy criterion of the future, and holds that "if the individual, in his discovery and promulgation of intellectual or moral truths, be held to be *now* actually 'working together' with God, and is at the same time in admitted possession of his individual will, there seems no adequate reason for maintaining that a similar union of spiritual forces can at any time be considered to annihilate the real *individual* existence of even the smallest of such contributory forces."

On this I must say, with all plainness of speech, that while I think I can understand Mr. Owen, I am unable to comprehend the meaning of Schleiermacher and Schenkel. I do not know what is meant by the words, "Ewig sein in jedem Augenblick." So far as I can attach any sense to

them, they seem to me perfectly consistent or reconcilable with Mr. Huxley's conclusion, that the protoplasm which is the life is resolved into its lifeless constituent chemical elements. In this case, the being whose life is thus brought to an end has had eternal existence, and therefore this existence is not that of which we are in search, and with it, therefore, we need not concern ourselves. But of whom does Schleiermacher speak? Is he really thinking of human life under any of its possible conditions? Who is there of whom it can be said that in every passing moment he has eternal existence? And if he has it not in every moment, the existence is not continuous, and thus again is something which does not touch our present inquiry. . What, again, is meant by saying that "only he who is in God has part in eternity even in time"? The words are manifestly equivocal. If they are interpreted of that higher spiritual life of those whom we legitimately regard as righteous men, to how many do the words apply? If we construe them physiologically and psychically, who is there who does not live, move, and have his being in God? Yet it can hardly be supposed that this is Schenkel's meaning. If it be so, it would be simpler and plainer to say that all men, as being in God, have eternal life even in time. The same ambiguity attaches to Mr. Owen's words in a less degree. Of whom is it said with justice, that in the discovery and promulgation of intellectual or moral truths they are working together with God? Assuredly not of those of whom Mr. Jowett in his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul constantly speaks as living the common life of men,—in other words, of the enormous majority of mankind. Nay, can it be said always even of any? There may be moments in the lives of earnest thinkers and determined lovers of truth, in which they feel themselves lifted up above the murky atmosphere of ordinary life: there are certainly others in which they feel that their will is not in harmony with the will of God. In the former case, they are happy; in the latter, they have a sense of profound misery. Can it be pretended that these are more than modes of the same existence? We must surely feel that this question can be answered only in the affirmative, unless we adopt the rough-and-ready method of solving the difficulty, by which, in the memorable eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel, the writer speaks of the life of a man who from

righteousness lapses into iniquity, and from this iniquity returns to his better self, as alternations of life and death. If these words are to be taken literally, the life is not continuous, and the belief in immortality for which Mr. Owen rightly contends is at once swept away.

I cannot but feel, therefore, that for all practical purposes (and for what other purposes can we really desire any definition at all?) Mr. Owen's definition is worth very little. It is idle to speak of men generally as working together with God, except in that sense in which it can with truth be said that no one can possibly work against Him; but if the words are taken in this sense, all the other terms in the definition must, we need not say, be altered. They apply in this case to those who care nothing for the discovery or promulgation of intellectual or moral truths, but who spend their days either wholly ignoring them, or treating with contempt all efforts to reach truth of any kind. Were all men really working together with God in the sense of really seeking to raise themselves, to learn more and to become better men, then Mr. Owen's arguments might be used with irresistible force. But it is ludicrous at present to speak of men generally in this sense as contributory forces at all; and hence that belief in immortality of which Mr. Owen speaks as "the solace of so many of the noblest minds both within and without the pale of Christianity," must remain an unphilosophical dream, or the definition of it must be altogether modified.

Taken strictly, Mr. Owen's definition would imply that conscious co-operation with God (whatever this may be) constitutes immortality, i. e. that it confers a continuous existence not shared by those who do not thus consciously co-operate. This conclusion has been boldly avowed by Archbishop Whately and some writers who have followed him. I can but say that it seems to me utterly unphilosophical, and that it involves all those difficulties which beset the doctrine that makes the accident of a man's condition at the time of his death determine his condition for ever thereafter. According to these writers, the man who dies in a wicked state is at once put out of all existence. During his life on earth he may have alternated or oscillated between goodness or badness, decency or iniquity. Had he died in one of his transitional periods of goodness, he would have

lived for ever; as he did not, he is simply blotted out of creation. Even if we put out of sight the probability that this would be the lot of nineteen-twentieths of all mankind, the opinion is no sooner stated than we feel it to be absurd, and that as a foundation of belief in immortality it is a naked cheat.

Certainly, as an instrument for teaching, such a doctrine of immortality would be scarcely less mischievous than the materialistic ideas of future torments. It is clear that if, addressing the depraved, we told them that they might go on in the way which they had chosen, without bringing themselves perhaps within reach of the arm of the law or into any great odium with their fellow-men, but that they would do so at the cost of forfeiting a continued existence after death, the reply in the vast majority of cases would be, that they desired nothing else, and that they were quite ready to be snuffed out when their time for enjoying themselves here had reached its end.

The truth is, as it seems to me, that we must have a definition of immortality which will take in all men, or that we may amuse ourselves with definitions which may limit this continued existence to a select few. In the latter case, it will be mere amusement. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that the vast mass of mankind live only for the day, and that a very large proportion of these are deliberate workers against God, so far as the words can be applied in any sense to creatures of One who is held to be absolutely powerful, and whose will accomplishes itself. A collective or an unconscious immortality is simply a phrase without meaning; and whether we can have an immortality of conscious individuals without extending it to all animated organisms in their measure, is just one of those questions which all sincere and earnest thinkers must regard as imperiously calling for an answer. How can we address the degraded and the vicious, how can we speak to men in whom all sense of decency seems utterly extinguished or in whom it has never been awakened, unless we tell them that they are in the hands of God, who will assuredly raise them to a better state, but at the cost of all the prolonged suffering which the resistance of their own will must entail on them; and that this process will neither be ended nor interrupted by the incident or change to which we give the



name of death? Nay, except in this faith, how can we have any sort of hope for ourselves? The most earnest desire to be truthful, the most thorough hatred of certain forms of evil,—in other words, of certain classes of thoughts and actions to which we give the name of evil,—may co-exist with other weaknesses and faults which we distinctly feel to be such, and to tie us down to earth with very heavy chains.

Do we, then, believe that continuous existence is the lot of all men alike, as individuals and as conscious beings, without any reservation or equivocation? If we do, then we need be dismayed not even by the sight of the most corrupt and vicious. If we do not, and if by any words we leave to the young the slightest ground for thinking that we do, we are at once thoroughly cruel and thoroughly dishonest. As fathers, as teachers, as masters—in fact, in all relations with others—we are bound to clear up our own minds, and not to enforce on them a morality founded on definitions which, at best, are applicable to an infinitesimally small proportion of mankind.

In these remarks I have simply broken ground; and I shall be thankful indeed if my words should be followed by an attempt to treat the question, so far as it can be treated, exhaustively. That there are some who think that men may be advantageously brought to regard themselves as creatures existing for the present life only, being in fact nothing more, is notorious. A good work will have been done if the system of ethics which such thinkers put forth be vigorously scrutinized, and the value measured of all the thought and toil, the yearnings and the growth of mankind, which must be thrown into the other scale, and which, if they are weighed down, must be regarded as springing from a wretched and contemptible delusion.

I need scarcely add that what I have said must not be taken as implying dissent from Mr. Owen's conclusions, so far as they are stated. But his definition appears to me inadequate; and the circumstances of the day, especially as affecting the education of the young, force on us the necessity of clearing our words from all equivocation or ambiguity.

PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

[We are able to state that this paper will be followed in our July number by one by the Rev. John Owen, the author of the article referred to by *Presbyter Anglicanus*.—ED. T. R.]

## IV.—HEREDITARY PIETY.

*Hereditary Genius. An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences.* By Francis Galton, F.R.S. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 390. Macmillan. 1869.

*Psychologie Naturelle. Etude sur les Facultés Intellectuelles et Morales.* Par Prosper Despine. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris : F. Savy. 1868.

THE history of Public Opinion during the last half century may be not inaptly compared to that of a well-fed, steady-going old roadster, long cherished by a respectable elderly squire, but unluckily transferred at his demise to his wild young heir. Accustomed to all the neighbouring highways, and trained to jog along them at five miles an hour, the poor beast suddenly found itself lashed by "the discipline of facts" and sundry new and cruel spurs, to get over the ground at double its wonted pace, and (what proved harder still) to leave the beaten tracks altogether and cut across country, over walls and hedges which it never so much as peeped over before. Under this altered régime it would appear that Public Opinion at first behaved with the restiveness which was to be expected. On some occasions he stood stock-still like a donkey, with his feet stretched out, refusing to budge an inch; and anon he bolted and shied and took buck leaps into the air, rather than go the way which stern destiny ordained. But as time went on, such resistance naturally grew less violent. The plungings and rearings subsided by degrees, and anybody who now pays attention to the animal will probably be only led to observe that he is a little hard in the mouth and apt to refuse his fences till he has been brought up to them two or three times. In his equine way he finds each new discovery first "false" and then "against religion;" but at last he always makes a spring over it and knocks off the top brick with his hind feet: "Everybody knew it before!"

Had not this process of accustoming Public Opinion to a sharp pace and difficult leaps been going on for some time, it is to be believed that Mr. Galton's book would have produced considerably more dismay and called forth more virtuous indignation than under present training has actually greeted it. We have had to modify our ideas of all things

in heaven and earth so fast, that another shock even to our conceptions of the nature of our own individual minds and faculties, is not so terrible as it would once have been. We used first to think (or our fathers and grandfathers thought for us) that each of us, so far as our mental and moral parts were concerned, were wholly fresh, isolated specimens of creative Power, "trailing clouds of glory," straight out of heaven. Then came the generation which believed in the omnipotence of education. Its creed was, that you had only to "catch your hare" or your child, and were he or she born bright or dull-witted, the offspring of two drunken tramps, or of a philosopher married to a poetess, it was all the same. It depended only on the care with which you trained it and crammed it with "useful knowledge" to make it a Cato and a Plato rolled into one. Grapes were to be had off thorns and figs off thistles with the utmost facility in the forcing-houses of Edgeworthian schools. It had, of course, been a hard matter to bring Public Opinion up to this point. The worthy old beast recalcitrated long, and when London University reared its head, the trophy of the First Educational Crusade, all the waggery left in England was thought to be displayed by dubbing it "Stinkomalee." But university in town and schools all over the country were overleaped at last, and nobody for years afterwards so much as whispered a doubt that the Three Learned R's were sign-posts on the high road to Utopia.

Then arose the brothers Combe to put in some wise words about physical, over and above mental, education. And somehow talking of physical education led to discussing hereditary physical qualities, and the "Constitution of Man" was admitted to be influenced in a certain measure by the heritage of his bodily organization. Children born of diseased and vicious parents, the philosopher insisted, ran a double chance of being themselves diseased and vicious, or even idiotic; and sound conditions in father, mother and nurse, had much to do, he thought, with similar good conditions in their offspring and nursling. Strange to remember! Ideas obvious and undeniable, as these appear to us, seemed nothing short of revolutionary when they first were published; and Public Opinion put back its ears and plunged and snorted at a terrible rate, ere, as usual, it went

over them and "knew it all before." Nevertheless the inalienable right of diseased, deformed and semi-idiotic married people to bring as many miserable children into the world as they please, is yet an article of national faith, which to question is the most direful of all heresies.

But these three doctrines of mental and moral development,—the doctrines, namely, 1st, that we came straight down from heaven; 2nd, that we could be educated into anything; 3rd, that some of our physical peculiarities might be traced to inheritance,—were all three kept pretty clear of meddlings with the Religious part of man. Experience, no doubt, shewed sufficiently decisively that Piety was not a thing to be made to order, and that (at all events under the existing dispensation) there was no bespeaking little Samuels. The mysterious proclivity of children intended for such a vocation to turn out pickles, luckily coincided with—or possibly had a share in originating—the Calvinistic views of Arbitrary Election; while even the Arminians of those days would have vehemently repudiated either the notion, that a man might inherit a pious disposition just as well as a tendency to the gout, or that he would be likely to find the true route to Paradise among other items of Useful Knowledge in the Penny Magazine.

Now it seems, in this year of grace 1870, we are trotting up to another fence, videlicet, the doctrine that *all* man's faculties and qualities, physical, mental, moral and religious also, have a certain given relation to the conditions of his birth. The hereditary element in him,—that element of which we have hitherto entertained the vaguest ideas, admitting it in his features and diseases, and ignoring it in his genius and his passions; recognizing it in noble races as a source of pride, and forgetting it as the extenuation of the faults of degraded ones,—this mysterious element must, we are told, henceforth challenge a place in all our calculations. We must learn to trace it equally in every department of our nature; and no analysis of character can be held valid which has not weighed it with such accuracy as may be attainable. Our gauge of moral responsibility must make large allowance for the good or evil tendencies inherited by saint or sinner, and our whole theory of the meaning and scope of Education must rise from the crude delusion that it is in our power wholly to transform any individual child, to

embrace the vaster but remoter possibilities of gradually training successive generations into higher intelligence and more complete self-control, till the tendencies towards brute vice grow weaker and expire, and "the heir of all the ages" shall be born with only healthful instincts and lofty aspirations.

As always happens when a new truth is to be discovered, there have been foreshadowings of this doctrine for some years back. The hereditary qualities of Races of men have occupied large room in our discussions. The awful phenomena of inherited criminal propensities have interested not only physicians (like the writer of the second book at the head of our paper), but philosophic novelists like the author of "*Elsie Venner*." Under the enormous impetus given to all speculations concerning descent by Mr. Darwin, some applications of the doctrine of development to the mind as well as body of man became inevitable, and a most remarkable article in *Fraser's Magazine*, Oct. 1868, brought to light a variety of unobserved facts regarding the "Failure of Natural Selection in the Case of Man," due to the special tendencies of our civilization. Mr. Galton himself, five or six years ago, published in *Macmillan's Magazine* the results of his preliminary inquiries as to inherited ability in the legal profession; and Professor Tyndal perhaps gave the most remarkable hint of all, by ascribing the "baby-love" of women to the "set of the molecules of the brain" through a thousand generations of mothers exercised in the same functions.

But the work which has finally afforded fixed ground to these floating speculations, and, in the humble judgment of the present writer, inaugurated a new science with a great future before it, is Mr. Galton's "*Essay on Hereditary Genius*." The few errors of detail into which the author has fallen in the wide and untrodden field he has attempted to map out, and his easily explicable tendency to give undue weight to disputable indications, and to treat a man's attainment of high office as equivalent to proof of his fitness for it,—these weak points, on which the reviewers have fastened with their usual bull-dog tenacity, cannot eventually influence the acceptance of the immense mass of evidence adduced to prove the main theses of the work, or bar our admiration of its great originality. I do not propose in the ensuing pages to give a general notice of the work, or to mark

either all the principles which I conceive Mr. Galton has established, nor those others on which I should venture to differ from him. His main doctrine he has, I believe, demonstrated with mathematical certainty, viz., that all mental faculties, from the most ordinary to the highest and apparently most erratic forms of genius, the various gifts of the statesman, soldier, artist and man of letters, are distributed according to conditions among which inheritance by descent of blood occupies the foremost place; and that there is no such thing in the order of nature as a mighty genius who should be an intellectual Melchisedek.

The further deductions which Mr. Galton draws, appear to me curious and suggestive in the extreme; as, for example, the calculation of the proportion now obtaining in Europe of Eminent Men to the general population; and, again, of the far rarer Illustrious Men to those of ordinary eminence. Based on this calculation, the number of both illustrious and eminent men who flourished during the age of Pericles among the 135,000 free citizens of Attica during the age of Pericles, is so nearly miraculous, that we find it hard to picture such an intellectual feast as life must then have offered. Society at Athens in those days must have surpassed that of the choicest circles of Paris and London now, as these are superior to the ale-house gossipings of George Eliot's rustics. *That* populace for whose eye Phidias chiselled, *those* play-goers for whose taste Sophocles and Aristophanes provided entertainment, *that* "jeunesse dorée" whose daily lounge involved an argument with Socrates—what were they all? What rain of heaven had watered the human tree when it bore such fruit in such profusion? And what hope may remain that it will ever bring them forth in such clusters once more?

Again, a flood of light is poured on the degeneracy of mediæval Europe by Mr. Galton's observations concerning the celibacy of the clergy and the monastic orders. The moment when, as Mr. Lecky shews, chastity (understood to mean celibacy) was elevated into the sublimest of Christian virtues, that moment the chance that any man should perpetuate his race became calculable in the inverse ratio of his piety and goodness. Archbishop Whately long ago exposed the absurdity of the common boast of Catholics concerning the learning and virtue hidden in the monasteries

during the Dark Ages. It would be equally reasonable to take the lamps and candles out of every room in a house and deposit them in the coal-cellar, and then call the passers-by to remark how gloomy were the library and drawing-room, how beautifully illuminated the coal-hole! But Mr. Galton points out that the evil of the ascetic system was immeasurably wider and more enduring in its results even than the subtraction for generation after generation of the brightest minds and gentlest hearts from the world which so grievously needed them. According to the laws of hereditary descent, it was the whole future human race which was being cruelly spoiled by the process of its fairest hopes, its best chances of enjoying the services of genius and of true saintship. Some of those who read these pages may remember in the first Great Exhibition a set of samples of what was called "Pedigree Wheat." The gigantic ears, loaded with double-sized seeds, were simply the result of ten years' successive selection of the finest ears, and again the finest in each crop. The process which Romanism effected for the human race was precisely and accurately the converse of that by which this Pedigree Wheat was obtained. It simply *cut off* each stem which rose above the average in mental or moral gifts. The moment a man or a woman shewed signs of being something better than a clod, a little more disposed for learning, a little more gentle-natured, more pious or more charitable, instantly he or she was induced to take the vow never to become a parent; and only by the infraction of such vows was there a chance for the world of an heir to his or her virtues. The best-born man among us now living, if he could trace out the million or so of his ancestors contemporary twenty generations ago, would hardly find among them a single person mentally distinguished in any way. We are all the descendants of the caterans and hunters, the serfs and boors of a thousand years. The better and greater men born in the same ages hid their light under a bushel while they lived, and took care that it should not be rekindled after their death. When the Reformation came, the case was even worse; for then the ablest, the bravest and the truest-hearted, were picked out for slaughter. The human tares were left to flourish and reproduce their kind abundantly, but the wheat was gathered in bundles to be burnt. To



this hour France feels the loss of Huguenot blood (so strangely vigorous wherever it has been scattered!) and Spain halts for ever under the paralysis of half her motor nerves, cut off by the Inquisition.

Besides these discussions, Mr. Galton's book is full of suggestive and original ideas concerning the results of marriages with heiresses, — concerning the influence of able mothers on their sons, — concerning the choice of wives by gifted men, — and, finally, concerning the application of Darwin's hypothesis of Pangenesis to human inheritance of special qualities. Of these topics nothing can here be said, though against some of them I would fain enter my expression of dissent. There remains not more than space enough to discuss the branch of Mr. Galton's subject which properly falls under the notice of a Theological Review, viz., the statistics he has collected concerning Divines.

It was not a little mischievous of Mr. Galton to preface his investigations about the families of pious men, by quoting Psalms cxxviii. 3, cxiii. 9, xxv. 13, and then innocently asking whether the wives of Christian divines have any special resemblance to "fruitful vines," or their children to "olive-branches;" and whether, on the whole, their seed does "inherit the land" in any noticeable manner. Certainly, on the one hand, almost every one of us would be ready to assure the inquirer that, to the best of our persuasion, curates with small salaries have larger families than men of any other profession; and that "Mrs. Quiverfull" was, and could only be, according to the natural fitness of things, a poor clergyman's wife. But then, per contra, our author is evidently unprepared to admit that the unbeneficed clergy of the National Church have a monopoly of piety, or that we ought to look among them especially for the fruits of the first part of the patriarchal benediction; while it is manifest that the second blessing, namely, the "inheriting of the land," falls much more richly on the profane generation of the squirearchy.

Mr. Galton says he finds two conflicting theories afloat on this matter. The first is, that there is a special good providence for the children of the godly. The second is, that the sons of religious persons mostly turn out exceptionally ill. He proceeds to inquire carefully what light statistics can throw on these views, and whether both of

them must not yield to the ordinary law of heredity as ruling in other spheres of human activity.

It was not an easy matter to settle at starting what qualification should entitle a man to be reckoned among the eminently pious. Obviously Roman Catholic saints were out of the running, owing to the fatal law of celibacy, whereby fruitful vines and numerous olive-branches are allowed only to decorate the houses of persons who followed not "counsels of perfection." Protestants, on the other hand, have rarely been able to see all the merits of men of different opinions from their own. The name of Laud has not a sweet savour in Evangelical nostrils; while the Ritualist Dr. Littledale talks unconcernedly of those "scoundrels," the martyrs Hooper and Latimer. Nevertheless, Mr. Galton has happily got over his difficulty through an excellent collection—"Middleton's Biographia Evangelica," published in 4 vols. in 1786, and containing 196 picked lives of Protestant saints, from the Reformation downwards. Our author subjects these biographies to sharp analysis, and the following are the conclusions which he deduces from them.

These 196 Protestant saints were no canting humbugs. They were for the greater part men of exceedingly noble characters. Twenty-two of them were martyrs. They had considerable intellectual gifts. None of them are reported to have had sinful parents; and out of the last 100 (whose relations alone are traceable), 41 had pious fathers or mothers. Their social condition was of every rank, from the highest to the lowest. Only one-half were married men, and of these the wives were mostly very pious. The number of their children was a trifle below the average. No families of importance in England are traceable to divines as founders, except those of Lord Sandys and of the Hookers, the famous botanists, who are the lineal descendants of the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. As regards health, the constitution of most of the divines was remarkably bad. Sickly lads are apt to be more studious than robust ones, and the weakly students who arrived at manhood chiefly recruited the band of divines. Among these semi-invalids were Calvin, Melancthon, George Herbert, Baxter and Philip Henry. Reading the lives of eminent lawyers and statesmen, one is struck by the number of them who have

had constitutions of iron ; but out of all Middleton's 196 divines, he only speaks of 12 or 13 as vigorous. Out of these, 5 or 6 were wild in their youth and reformed in later years ; while only 3 or 4 of the other divines were ever addicted to dissipated habits. Seventeen out of the 196 were inter-related, and 8 more had other pious connections. The influence of inheritance of character through the female line is much greater in the case of divines than in that of any other eminent men ; an influence Mr. Galton attributes to the utility, in their case, of a "blind conviction which can best be obtained through maternal teaching in childhood."

These results, as Mr. Galton would no doubt readily admit, might be liable to considerable modification, could we extend our field of operations over double or treble the number of instances of piety, and especially if we could include types of piety from other creeds and a greater variety of nations. Taken as it is, however, as the outcome of an inquiry based on freely gathered specimens of Protestant religious eminence, it appears to convey one of the most curious morals ever presented by an historical investigation. A true Christian has been often defined as "the highest kind of man," and Mr. Galton himself avows that these subjects of his anatomy were "exceedingly noble characters." And yet he is forced to pronounce with equal decision from the evidence before him, that they were mostly a tribe of valetudinarians ; that there must exist "a correlation between an unusually devout disposition and a weak constitution ;" that "a gently complaining and fatigued spirit is that in which Evangelical divines are apt to pass their days ;" and, finally, that "we are compelled to conclude that robustness of constitution is antagonistic in a very marked degree to an extremely pious disposition" !

There are no doubt still surviving in the world a good many people who will find in these conclusions of Mr. Galton's nothing to shock their conceptions of what ought to be the causes, tenor and temper of a religious life. There are those who still repeat, with Cowper, that this world is, and ought to be, a Vale of Tears, and that a very proper way to view our position therein is to liken ourselves to "crowded forest trees, marked to fall." To such persons, no doubt, it is natural to pass through the varied joys and

interests of youth, manhood and old age, plaintively observing to all whom it may concern, that they

Drag the dull remains of life  
Along the tiresome road.

But these worthy people have certainly been in a minority for the last twenty years, since the Psalm of Life took definitively the place of the lugubrious "Stanzas subjoined to the Bills of Mortality." And to us in our day it is undoubtedly somewhat of a blow to be told that Religion, instead of being (as the old Hebrews believed) the correlative of health and cheerfulness and length of years, is, on the contrary, near akin to disease; and that he among men whom the Creator has blessed with the soundest body and coolest brain, is, by some fiendish fatality, the least likely of all to give his heart to God or devote his manly strength to His cause. The Glorious Company of the Apostles is reduced to a band of invalids, and the Noble Army of Martyrs is all on the sick list!

Is this true? Shall we sit down quietly under this dictum of Mr. Galton's, and agree for the future to consider health and piety as mutually antagonistic? For my own part, I must confess that if facts really drove me to such a conclusion, I should be inclined to say, with the French philosopher contradicted in his theories, "Eh bien, messieurs! tant pis pour les faits!" No statistics should lash my (private) opinion over that six-barred gate. But are we really driven to such straits at all? It seems to me that Mr. Galton's own words give us the key to the whole mystery, and to a very important truth beside. He tells us at starting that though Middleton assures the reader that no bigoted partiality rules his selection of divines, yet that "it is easy to see his leaning is strongly towards the Calvinists." His 196 picked men are chosen (honestly enough, no doubt) from the churches in which more or less closely the Evangelical type of piety was adhered to as the standard of holiness. No Unitarian or Latitudinarian, no Deist nor Freethinker, had a chance of admission into his lists. We have thus 196 specimens of the plants reared in the peculiar hot-beds of the dominant Protestantism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Let us take them, then, by all means, and reason on them as excellent exam-

ples, 1st, of the persons on whom that creed was calculated to fasten ; and, 2ndly, of what really fine characters it was able to form. But do not let us be misled for a moment into the use of generalizations implying that it is "piety" *pur et simple*, piety as it must always be, or always ought to be, which is intrinsically "unsuited to a robust constitution," and specially calculated to take root in a sickly one. Do not let us rest content with the picture of "the gently complaining and fatigued spirit," as if it were the normal spirit of any other pious folk than those of the orthodox persuasion.

And, again, does not this remarkable fact discovered by Mr. Galton, namely, the physical sickness attendant on the prevalent forms of Christian piety, let in some light on the fact which has been so often noticed, but so little explained, namely, the lack of manliness among clergymen, bishops and "professors" at large? If the phenomenon were not so familiar, it would surely be the most astonishing in the world, that the preachers of religion and morality should be as a body less straightforward, less simple, less brave, than other men. When a clergyman twaddles and cants and equivocates ; or when one Bishop "chalks up Free Thought and runs away ;" or another talks blasphemously of "The Voice" guiding him to exchange a poor and provincial See for a rich one with a good town-house ; or, finally, when "eminent saints" prove dishonest bankers,—how is it that we do not all wring our hands and cry that the heavens are falling? Why do we only nod our heads lugubriously and observe, "What a different sort of man is the Rev. A. B.'s brother, Captain C. D., of the Navy, or Colonel E. F., of the —th Dragoons!" or, "How the episcopal apron transforms a man into an old woman!" or, "How very dangerous it is to have dealings with the saints!"\*

Things like these ought to strike us dumb with amazement and horror, had not experience hardened us to a vague anticipation of a correlation between an extraordinary display of Christian sentiment and a proportionate lack of the element of manly honesty and courage. Without formu-

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\* We have heard an authentic story of a clergyman who, being present at a prayer-meeting at which Sir John Dean Paul engaged in devotion, immediately afterwards rushed up to town and drew all his money out of the too pious banker's hands !

larizing our ideas on the matter, there are few of us who, if we were attacked by robbers in a house with a saintly clergyman upstairs and a profane man of the world below, would not rush first to seek our defender in the lower story. Again, in matters of veracity, to whose recommendation of a servant or a teacher do we attach most value—that of the pious vicar of the parish, or that of the fox-hunting squire? Not to pursue these illustrations further, I think my position will be hardly gainsaid if I assert that, while the theological virtues, faith, hope, charity, purity and resignation, flourish abundantly in the vineyard of the Church, the merely moral virtues, courage, fortitude, honesty, generosity and veracity, are found to grow more vigorously elsewhere. It is not of course maintained that either side of the wall has a monopoly of either class of virtues; but that the priestly or evangelical character has a tendency to form a distinct type of its own; and that in that type there is a preponderance of the more fragile and feeble virtues, and a corresponding deficiency in those which are healthy, robust and masculine. “Muscular Christianity” is a modern innovation, a hazardous and not over-successful attempt to combine physical vigour and spiritual devotion; and the very convulsiveness of the efforts of its apostles to achieve such a harmony, affords the best possible proof of how widely apart to all our apprehensions had previously been “Muscularity” and “Christianity.”

But all these remarks apply to what has hitherto passed muster as the received type of piety, and not by any means to Piety in the abstract apart from its orthodox colouring. The unmanliness belongs wholly to the mould, and not to the thing moulded. No man has ever yet felt himself, or been felt by others to be, less manly because in public or in private he has professed his faith in God and his allegiance towards Him. The noblest line perhaps in all French poetry is that which Racine puts into the mouth of the Jewish High-priest,

“Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte.”

It must be admitted that the same cannot be said of the profession of belief in sundry doctrines of orthodoxy. The urgency of a man's dread of hell-fire, his anxiety to obtain the benefits of the Atonement, and his undisguised rejoicing

that "Christ his Passover is slain for him," are none of them sentiments to which we attach the character of manliness or generosity.

Perhaps there is no point on which the religion of the future is so certain to differ from that of the past, as in its comparative healthfulness of spirit. And just as a sickly creed, full of dreadful threats and mystic ways of expiation, appealed to minds more or less morbidly constituted, so it is to be believed that a thoroughly healthy and manly creed will harmonize no less distinctly with natures happy, healthful and normally developed.

From this branch of the subject we pass to a most curious and original analysis which Mr. Galton has made of what he considers the typical religious character. It must be premised that in another part of his book he has broached the theory, that the sense of incompleteness and imperfection which theologians define to be the sense of Original Sin, is probably only our vague sense that we are as yet not thoroughly trained to the conditions of civilized life in which we find ourselves, and that there yet remains in us too much of the wild beast, or at least of the hunter and the nomad, to accommodate ourselves perfectly with the polished forms of life in our age and country. "The sense of original sin," he says,\* "would shew, according to my theory, not that man was fallen from a high estate, but that he was rising in moral culture with more rapidity than the nature of his race could follow." Generations hence, when civilization has thoroughly done its work, and the instincts of sudden passion and unreasoning selfishness and impatience of law and rule have died out of the whole human family, then we may expect the vague sense of imperfection and guilt to die out too. We are, if I may venture to propose the simile to Mr. Galton, at the present day much in the condition of that unhappy bird, the Apteryx. Through long ages of gradual disuse of flying, our wings have grown smaller and weaker, so that if we desired to return to the habits of our remote progenitors, we should infallibly come to the ground. But the vestiges of the pinions are still there, more or less hidden under our plumage, and so long as they are to be felt, we cannot help

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\* P. 350.



flapping them sometimes and pining for a flight. The discovery that we can neither be happy flying nor walking, barbarous or civilized, constitutes the grand discontent of life. The sense that we are always inclined to make flaps and flights and fall on our beaks in the dust, is the natural element in the sense of Original Sin.

On this very singular idea Mr. Galton evidently proceeds, in the part of his book under present consideration, to define what he deems to be the typical Religious Character. He holds that its chief feature is its *conscious moral instability*. It is the conjunction of warm affections and high aspirations with frequent failures and downfalls, which makes a man alike sensible of his own frailty and inclined to rely on the serene Strength which he believes rules above him. The religious man is "liable to extremes; now swinging forwards into regions of enthusiasm, now backwards into those of sensuality and selfishness." David, in fact, the David who both slew Uriah and wrote the penitential psalms, is the eternal type of the godly man; and it is much more easy to find Davids among semi-civilized Judæan shepherds or Negroes or Celts, than among long civilized races such as the Chinese.

With this religious type Mr. Galton contrasts the ideal Sceptic, and concludes that the differences of character which, in the one case, make a man happy in the belief in a Divine Guide and Father, and, in the other, content in a mental state tantamount to Atheism, must needs lie in this, that while the Religious man is conscious of his infirmity of will and instability of resolution, insomuch that he needs the thought of God for his support,—the Sceptic, on the contrary, is sufficiently sure of himself and confident in his own self-guidance to feel comparatively no such need for external aid, and to be able without pain to stifle any instinctive longings for a Divine Protector which may arise in his heart. In other words, as Religion had been previously found to be correlated with a feeble physical constitution, so here it is identified with a moral constitution feverish, vacillating and incapable of self-reliance. The Sceptic, on the contrary, is no longer to be looked on, as we had pictured him, as a man in whom the moral sense never rises to the spring-tide where its waves break at the feet of God. He is the exalted being whose whole moral and

intellectual nature is in such perfect balance and harmony, that he can say with Heine, "I am no longer a child. I do not need any more a Heavenly Father."

These views, which Mr. Galton has by no means illustrated in the above manner, but which I think I do him no injustice in so translating, are, in my humble judgment, among the most original and striking of any of the theories propounded on these subjects for many a day. That there is a considerable element of truth in them, I must heartily acknowledge, albeit I would read it in a somewhat different sense from Mr. Galton. The impulsive temperament is beyond question by far the most genuinely religious temperament. The calm, cold, prudential nature, when it adopts religion, does so as an additional precaution of prudence, and is "other-worldly" neither more nor less than it is worldly. Real, spontaneous, self-forgetful religion, springs and flourishes in the heart which is swayed by feeling, not by interest. Nay, more: the sense of Sin, which is the deepest part of all true piety is (we cannot doubt) far more vivid in natures wherein much of the wild, untamed human being still survives, which are swayed alternately by opposite motives, and are yet far from having been so disciplined and moulded in the school of the world as to be mere civilized machines. Probably it has happened to all of us at some time or other to wish that we could see some self-satisfied paragon of steadiness and respectability fall for once into some disgraceful fault, get drunk, or swear, or do something which should shake him out of his self-conceit, and give him a chance to learn that Religion and Pharisaism are not convertible terms. Many of us also must have watched the deplorable delusion of some originally good and always well-balanced character, in which, as there seems no need for self-restraint, no self-restraint is ever tried, and amiability lapses into self-indulgence, and self-indulgence into selfishness, and selfishness into hypocrisy and hardness of heart.

On the other hand, the permanent Sceptic is probably equally fairly described as a man who has not only made up his mind to the intellectual conclusion that there is nothing to be known about God, but also has reconciled his heart to the lack of religious supports and consolations through the help of a sturdy self-reliance. Either he is a

sinner without any particular shame or hatred for his sin ; or, as oftener happens, he is of so passionless a temperament, so prudent and well-balanced a constitution, that he recognizes few sins to repent of in the past, and knows that no serious temptation is likely to overmaster him in future. In every case, the double sense of self-abasement and self-mistrust are absent. He has no need to be reconciled with himself, so he feels no need of being reconciled with God. He walks firmly along a certain broad and beaten path of ordinary honesty, justice and sobriety, without toiling up celestial heights in the pursuit of love and faith and purity ; and for his own road, and so far as he means to travel, he calls for no angels to bear him on their wings.

Lastly, it is easy to verify the fact, that these temperaments correspond in their main outlines to the races and sexes in which religion and scepticism are each most frequently developed. The impulsive races of mankind, the Southern nations of Europe, are more inclined to religion and less to incredulity than those of the North. The unstable Celt is more pious, whether he be Catholic in Ireland or Methodist in Wales, than the steady-going, law-abiding Saxon of any denomination. And, finally, women are more religious than men, while displaying at once more vacillation of the will and (probably in most cases) higher aspirations after ideal holiness and purity.

What is now to be our conclusion respecting Mr. Galton's theory of the Origin of Piety ? We have seen, in the first instance, that he identifies it with a sickly physical constitution, and we ventured so far to correct this result as to substitute for Piety in general, Piety in the particular form of Evangelical Christianity. We pointed out that it was only from among Evangelical Divines that the premisses of his argument had been taken, and that there was a very strong presumption that Piety equally deep and true, but of an opposite type, would, on experience, be found to shew a no less marked affinity for those "robust constitutions" wherein the orthodox seed finds an ungenial soil.

In the present case, we have to decide whether we can admit Mr. Galton's second correlation of Piety with moral instability of purpose. In my opinion, we may rightly trace in this case a relation between all true types of Piety and such instability, provided that we interpret the insta-

bility to consist, *not* in an unusual degree of frailty in acting up to a mediocre standard of virtue,—*not* in having merely, as he avers, a greater “amplitude of moral oscillations than other men of equal average position,”—but in a necessarily faulty and imperfect attempt to act up to a standard higher than that commonly received, and for which the man (to apply Mr. Galton’s system) has not been sufficiently *bred*.

What, then, is the bearing of our admission as regards this matter? It is tantamount only to this: that the temperament which contains the noblest elements and aspires highest, even if it fall lowest, is also the nature on which the crowning glory of the love of God most often descends. Just as Longinus decides that the greatest poem is not the one which longest sustains an even flight, but the one which ever and anon soars into the highest empyrean, even so the man who *in his highest moments rises highest* is truly the greatest man. It is he who, though his nature be a very chaos of passions—a den of wild beasts, as many of the saints have spoken of their own souls—yet has in him longings and strivings and yearnings after the Holy and the Perfect; it is he who is not only naturally predisposed to piety, but worthy to know the joy of religion. Out of such stuff demi-gods are made. Out of well-ordered, prudent, self-reliant sceptics, men of the world are made, and nothing more.

It is, I apprehend, a definite and very valuable acquisition to psychology, to recognize that it is not by accident, but natural law, that characters wherein flesh and spirit do hardest battle, and Apollyon not seldom gains temporary advantage, are yet precisely those who are “bound for the Celestial City.” Mr. Worldly Wiseman never descends into the Valley of Humiliation, but neither does he ever climb the Delectable Mountains nor push through the Golden Gates.

With regard to the hereditary descent of religions as well as other qualities, Mr. Galton develops his theory in the following manner. Starting on the assumption that the typical religious man is one who combines high moral gifts with instability of character, it is obvious that if one of the two elements whose *combination* makes the parent’s piety is *separately* inherited by the son, an opposite result will

appear. If the son's heritage "consist of the moral gifts without the instability, he will not feel the need of extreme piety," and may become Mr. Galton's ideal sceptic. "If he inherit great instability without morality, he may very probably disgrace his name." Only in the third contingency, namely, that of the son inheriting both the father's qualities, is there any security for his following in the parental steps.

Thus we have an explanation more or less satisfactory of the double phenomenon, that there is such a thing as hereditary piety, and that there is also an occasional (though I hardly think, a very common) tendency for the sons of a really religious man to turn out either sceptics or reprobates. So far as my judgment goes, I should say that the common disposition of children is to share in a very marked manner the emotional religious constitutions of their parents, that this is only counteracted when piety is presented to them in so repulsive a shape, as to provoke the over-lectured "little Samuels" into rebellion. There are two facts connected with such heritage which must have forced themselves on the attention of all my readers. One of them falls in with Mr. Galton's theories of heredity, but the other must needs be explained by reference to post-natal influences. The first is the tendency of strong religious feeling to pervade whole families. The second is the equally strong tendency of the different members of such religious families to adopt different creeds and types of piety from one another, insomuch that the sympathy which ought to have united them in closer bonds than other households is too often converted into a source of dissensions.

These two facts will, I think, be disputed by few readers. All of us are acquainted with families in which no vehement warmth of religion has ever shewn itself, and in which, according to Evangelical language, "conversions" never take place. Again, we all know personally a few, and by report a great many families, where for successive generations there are men and women of either saintly piety or fanatic zeal. As Hindoos would say, there are Brahmin races in which twice-born men are found, and Kshatriyas and Soodras in which the phenomenon of regeneration never occurs.

This remarkable fact may, of course, be explained doubly. There is the hereditary tendency to the religious constitu-

tion ; and there are all the thousand circumstances of youthful impression likely to bring that tendency into action. Family traditions of deeds and words, family pictures, and of course family habits of devotion, where these are maintained, are incentives of incalculable weight. It would be hard for the present writer to define how much of her own earlier feelings on such matters were due to a handful of books of the Fénelon school of devotion, left by chance in an old library, the property of a long dead ancestress.

But if the fact of hereditary piety be easily explicable, who is to explain to us the mystery of the radiation in opposite directions of the theological compass, so frequently witnessed in the sons and daughters of these particular homes? Do we see in an Evangelical family one son become a Roman Catholic?—then, ten to one, another will ere long avow himself an Unitarian. Does sister A enter an Anglican convent?—then brother B will probably become a Plymouth brother ; while C, having gone through a dozen phases of faith, will settle finally in Theism.

It seems to be a law, that though the *predisposition* to piety may be given by our parents both by blood and education, yet the awakening to strong spiritual life rarely or ever happens under their influence, or that of any one altogether familiar with us. The spark must be kindled by a more distant torch, the pollen brought from a remoter flower. When the mysterious process does not take place wholly spontaneously, it comes from some person who adds a fresh impetus and keener sympathy to elements hitherto dormant in our souls. Then happens the marvellous “*palingenesia* ;” and whether he who has helped to work it be of one creed or another, he colours the spiritual world for us at that decisive hour and evermore. We do not “adopt his opinions ;” we seize by sympathy on his faith, and make our own both its strength and its limitations.

If we admit, on the whole, Mr. Galton’s views with these modifications, the serious questions arise, What must be their general bearing on our theories of the Order of Providence ; and on our anticipations respecting the probable future of Religion? Is it not, in the first place (as our fathers would certainly have held), injurious to the Divine character to suppose that men are in this new sense “elected” to

piety by the accident of birth, or, conversely, left so poorly endowed with the religious sentiment, that their attainment of a high grade of devotion is extremely improbable? And, in the second place, if the impulsive character be the most genuinely religious, and the tendency of civilization be to reduce all impulse to a minimum, is there not reason to apprehend that in the course of centuries Religion, no longer finding its fitting soil in human characters, will dwindle and continually lessen its influence? I shall do my best to answer both these questions honestly in succession.

The blasphemy of the Calvinistic doctrines of Predestination and Election does not lie in their representing God as dealing differently with His creatures A and B, but in representing Him as inflicting on B an infinite penalty for no fault of his own, or, as we should say in common parlance, for his ill-luck in having been born B and not A. Repudiating all ideas of such penalties, and of any final evil for a creature of God, insisting, as the first article of our faith,

that somehow good,  
Shall be the final goal of ill,  
To pangs of nature, sins of will,  
Defects of doubt and taints of blood,

the doctrine of Election is reduced to dimensions which it would be hard for one who has cast an eye over history or society altogether to deny. The inequalities of moral advantages in education and the circumstances of life are as obvious as the inequalities of height, weight, ability, fortune, or any other of the conditions allotted to us by Providence. If we mortals would fain have constructed the world on the plan of the Spartan commonwealth, and given each man an equal share of the good things thereof, it is quite certain that God entertains no such scheme, and that the principle of infinite Variety which prevails over every leaf and blade of grass, approves itself to His supreme judgment no less perfectly, applied to the gifts and conditions of His rational creatures. Is there anything in this to hurt our sense of justice? It is to be trusted that there is not, seeing that, if it were so, religious reverence must be at an end, since no argument can possibly overthrow the omnipresent fact before our eyes. The uneasiness we feel in contemplating it arises, I believe, from causes all destined



to vanish with the progress of a nobler theology. Beside the idea of the final perdition of the sinful which it is so difficult ever thoroughly to root out of our minds, we are hampered with a dozen false conceptions all allied thereto. We think that all acts which we call sins, and which would be sins for us who recognize them as such and have no urgent temptations to commit them, are necessarily the same sins to the ignorant, the helpless and besotted; and we dream that Divine Justice must somehow vindicate itself against them in the next life. We make no sufficient allowance for the immeasurable difference of the standard by which the Pharisee and the Publican must be weighed. We forget how, when the poor bodily frames, so often disgraced, fall away at last into the dust, the souls which wore them, released from all their contaminations, may arise, cleaner than we can know, to the higher worlds above. Least of all do we take count of the comparative responsibility which must belong to what must be called the comparative *sanity* of human beings. In the very remarkable and exhaustive treatise whose title I have placed second at the head of this article, and which I deeply regret I cannot more thoroughly review, there is to be found a most elaborate analysis of scores of cases of heinous crime committed of late years in France. Making allowance for the author's zeal leading him to push his conclusions somewhat beyond what his premisses warrant, the multitude of these crimes, which he gives us good reasons to believe were committed either under temporary aberration of mind or congenital moral idiotcy, are perfectly appalling. Little doubt can remain on any reader's mind that multitudes of men and women are so constituted as to have but an infinitesimal share of moral responsibility. The most atrocious crimes are often precisely those which, on learning the utter insensibility displayed from first to last by the perpetrators, we are obliged most distinctly to class with such maniacal homicides as that of poor Lamb's sister, or with the ravages of a man-eating tiger in an Indian village.

Again, the inequalities of moral endowment become salient to our apprehension when we contemplate the different races of mankind. Who can imagine for a moment that the same measure will be meted to a Malay or a Kaffir assassin, as to an English Pritchard or a French Lapommerais?

But (it may be said) we are not now concerned about the righteous judgments of God on human transgressions. We are content to believe they will be meted out with absolute impartiality at last. What is painful in the theory of Hereditary Piety is the idea that, through such material instrumentality as natural birth, the most divine of all gifts should be bestowed or denied, and that, in fact, a pious man owes his piety not so much (as we had ever believed) to the direct action of the Holy Ghost on his soul, blowing like the wind where it listeth, but rather to his earthly father's physical bequest of a constitution adapted to the religious emotions.

It does not seem to me that the two views, that of the need for the free inspiration of God's Spirit, and that of the heritage of what we will call the religious constitution, are in themselves incompatible. The one is the seed which must needs be sown; the other is the ground, more or less rich and well prepared, into which it must be cast. That among those natural laws which are simply the permanent mode of Divine action, should be found the law that the ground-work of piety may be laid through generations, and that the godly man may bequeath to his child not only a body free from the diseases entailed by vice, but also a mind specially qualified for all high and pure emotions,—this, I think, ought to be no great stumbling-block. That there is something else necessary beside a constitutional *receptivity* towards pious emotions, and that there remains as much as ever for God to do for man's soul after we have supposed he has inherited such receptivity, is, I think, sufficiently clear.

But how of those who inherit no such character, but rather the opposite tendency towards absorption in purely secular interests, towards incredulity, towards that evenly-balanced nature which Mr. Galton attributes to the typical sceptic, which is alike without penitence and without "ambition sainte"? Surely we have only to admit that here is one more of the thousand cases in which this world's tuitions are extended only to the elementary parts of that moral education which is to go on for eternity. That God teaches a few of us some lessons here, which others must wait to learn hereafter, is as certain as that infants, idolators, idiots and boors, are not on the intellectual level of Plato or

the moral level of Christ. That it is all the *more* (and not the *less*) certain that an immortality of knowledge and love awaits these disinherited ones of earth and "trims the balance of eternity," appears to me the most direct of all deductions from the justice and goodness of God.

The truth seems to be that every human soul has its special task and its special help. Some of us have to toil against merely gross sensual passion. Others are raised a step higher and fight with the less ignoble irascible feelings and selfish ambitions. Yet, again, others rise above all these. But is their work therefore at an end? Not so. Metaphysical doubts, moral despondencies, spiritual vanities, meet them and buffet them in the higher air to which they have ascended; and who may say but their battle is not hardest of all? Again, to help us to contend against these difficulties, one of us is blessed with happy circumstances, another has a sunny and loving disposition, a third is gifted with a stern moral sense, and a fourth, with a fervent love for God. He who sees all these springs and wheels moving with or against one another, can alone judge which is the noblest victor among all the combatants.

Lastly, we have to touch the question, whether the tendency of Civilization to check the impulsive temperament and foster the more balanced prudential character, will in future time re-act upon Religion by suppressing the development of those natures in which it now takes easiest root.

At first sight, it would undoubtedly appear that such might be the case. Yet, as it is certain that in our day, while civilization increases more rapidly than ever and the power of mere creeds is evaporating into thin air, the religious feelings of mankind are by no means dying out, but are perhaps higher pitched than ever before, so we may fairly conclude that some other law comes into play to compensate for the rude zeal of semi-barbarism. One thing is obvious. The moral conception entertained by men of God, rises constantly with their own moral progress. When the nations shall have reached a pinnacle of ethical excellence far beyond our present standard, when the wild and fierce instincts now rampant shall have died out of the human race, and the ever-fostered social affections wreath the earth with garlands of grace and fragrance,—even when that far-off millennium comes, God will assuredly seem just

as far above man as He seems now. His holiness will transcend human virtue, as the Chaldæan sky transcended the Tower which was meant to reach to it.

Another point must not be forgotten in this connection. The instability of a nature capable alike of great good and great evil, is indeed often, as Mr. Galton teaches us, the first motive which makes a man religious. But *having* become religious, he does not normally remain in a continual tempest of contending principle and passion. That Supreme Guidance which he looks for from on high, and which he believes himself to obtain, leads him onward, as the years go by, out of the wilderness with its fiery scorpions of remorse, into a land of green pastures, beside still waters. The calm of a really religious old age, is a peace compared to which the equipoise of the sceptic is as the stillness of a mill-pond to that of the ocean on whose breast all the host of stars is reflected.

It must needs be the same as regards the race. *Now* it is ever those,

“Who rowing hard against the stream,  
See distant gates of Eden gleam,  
And do not dream it is a dream.”

But hereafter, in the far-off future, when the wilder impulses are dead, mankind may not need to strive always so violently to “take the kingdom of Heaven by force;” but glide on softly and surely, borne by the ever-swelling currents of Faith and Love.

FRANCES POWER COBBE

#### V.—ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D. IN MEMORIAM.

IF a religious faith which unites the extremest freedom of criticism to a profound sentiment of reverence, the affection for old institutions and forms to an eager welcome for all new truth whencesoever it may come, shall ever grow far more common among us than now it seems to be; if men shall then look back with wonder to days in which to

inquire was called disloyal, and a desire for reformation branded as destructiveness, and shall ask who were the honest and brave pioneers of the advancing armies of free thought,—no name will claim more honourable mention, no life will more seem to have been taken from the Church of England when most it was needed, than the name and the life of Dr. ROWLAND WILLIAMS.

Yet now, while his loss is so recent and his memory so green in the hearts of those who loved him, it may be doubted if more than a very few know what we have lost; his influence is as yet rather deep than extended; it has even been the misfortune of his career that he was best known in precisely the very modes in which he would least have chosen that in happier times his work should have lain.

Dr. Williams' more important writings were published before this Review came into existence. His latest, and by no means his least useful, have only been in part as yet given to the world. Hence we have not had many opportunities of speaking of him at any length or directly. But when we have mentioned his name, it has always been with affectionate admiration. A writer of a notice in our pages of the Broad-Chalke Sermon Essays remarked, that "if the spirit manifest in this volume could be found pervading the general pulpit utterances of England, we might feel assured that the interests of religion, and with them the true well-being of the nation, were so secured that they could never more be endangered."\* And the writer of this present notice, as well as other contributors, has again and again had reason to speak with gratitude of the teacher to whom he was so deeply indebted, and who, as it seemed, was in his own way and from his own standpoint working with the writers of this Review. Hence it is well that we should endeavour to estimate what is and what will be the action on English thought of one whom we regard as among the most remarkable theologians of our day.

It must not, however, be supposed that Dr. Williams considered himself as in any sense a worker with us. It would be in the highest degree unfaithful to a man who was so eminently straightforward and outspoken, did we not take

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\* Theol. Rev., Vol. IV. p. 440.

care that it should be quite plain he was not of, but rather that he was against, us. In September, 1865, he thus wrote to one who proposed that he should offer a contribution to this Review :

“As to the suggestion of writing therein, it may be very naturally addressed to me, since having been never connected with any Review since Lockhart’s death, nor having, except once casually, written an article anywhere, I may be supposed to be in want of an organ. I do not, however, feel in myself the redundancy of vigour which makes reviewing a necessity for some men ; and, so far as I am able to write, prefer writing in other ways.

“Besides this, having long stood alone in reality, I prefer doing so in appearance, and do not intend entangling myself with other men again. I need not enter on the ground of denominational doctrine, although it would have for me grave significance.”

There is every reason for supposing that his denominational position assumed ever more importance in his eyes, of which position he said at a somewhat later date :

“If you bear in mind that I have for twelve years taught pure Anglicanism, explaining and defending the Articles clause by clause, and facilitating signature of them on the principle of believing them, you will partly understand why the only thing left for me is to jog on alone.”

He was indeed alone. He speaks of “the intense mortification and embarrassment” caused by the want of any brother scholar with whom he could sympathize, and at his out-of-the-way parish, among the Wiltshire downs, there was probably no one in any degree able to appreciate the ripe culture, the subtlety of feeling, the polished style, of a man fitted to shine in one of our great centres of intellectual life.

And, again, he was alone by consequence of his extreme refinement of thought, under which he shewed himself sometimes intolerant of those who could not enter into his nice distinctions, and who did not see in the same light as he did the more involved questions of theology. This was especially the case in reference to those who claimed to follow his teaching to a very large extent, but did not always adopt his conclusions, or pressed them further than he saw there was need to press them. Some

few perhaps he alienated, and so made himself still more alone, by his keen epigrammatic style both in writing and in conversation. In this he spared neither friend nor foe; the sharp and delicate edge of his wit, playing so brightly, sometimes wounded those who, in the main, were on his side. But those who knew him well soon discovered that this trenchant blade was at the service of the intellect alone, that the heart was warm and tender and large; and they could then admire that brilliant wit even when it flashed towards them, and its light touch no longer gave pain.

The circumstances of Dr. Williams' life were in curious contrast to the part he played in the angry controversies of our day, and might have seemed to promise him the ordinary unruffled ease of a college don or a country vicar with a fair living. But it is the peculiarity of these times, and perhaps one of the trials they bring, that those who will reform and innovate are not usually called on to act. A Luther, a Cranmer, and in a measure the lesser men who took part in movements of which such are the chiefs, had to fling themselves vehemently into the whirl of the time, and endure sharp personal dangers from Duke Georges and Queen Marys, be ready for the inquisition or the stake. But amid the danger there is ever a sense of keen excitement which keeps a man up to his work, and which, so long as it stops short of the crowning martyrdom, is even pleasant. Luther, for instance, would seem to have enjoyed all the active part of his life, and the calm after storm at the end; but it was when secluded from all strife, and simply engaged with his pen, that he was most sorely tried, and, as he conceived, tempted of the devil. But in these days, when thought speaks more by pen than by means of deed and tongue,—when therefore each man, though his work may be larger and more effective, sees its results less,—many an one who leads a quiet life would fain cry with the poet,

“I must mix myself with action lest I wither with despair,”

and no action lies open; while taunts of desiring a martyr's name without a martyr's danger, are recklessly flung by those who do not know the suffering which comes of solitude and want of sympathy. We are far, however, from meaning that Dr. Williams was an unhappy man; but there



were no doubt many hours when solitude and inaction increased the *sæva indignatio* which made his printed words so scathing, somewhat like the taunts of an Homeric hero to the foe he was unable to meet except with the strife of tongues.

He was educated at Eton as a King's Scholar, and proceeded in due course to King's College, Cambridge, which then had the unfortunate privilege of conferring degrees on its members without their being required to pass the ordeal of the schools. Hence while dunces rejoiced, the really able men had no adequate means of shewing what was in them. Dr. Hawtrey, who was Head Master of Eton when Rowland Williams took his degree, offered him an Eton mastership, which he accepted, but, if our memory serves us aright, only retained during one term. It is a radical fault of the Eton system that a young man, whatever his abilities, is, on going there as a master, placed to teach the lowest forms, and usually has to deal with only such boys as there fall under his hand. Fresh from the very highest subjects which his college reading can supply, and full of the last subtle refinements of a progressive scholarship, he is obliged to teach children who need to be drilled to learn and to be kept in order. Surely some means might be devised to lighten this mere drudgery by the partial charge, at least, of some higher form where boys are ready and eager to gain a knowledge, which perhaps can less well be imparted by their own special teachers who have not come so immediately from their own studies. The work was not congenial to Dr. Williams, nor does a further tutorial employment at his Cambridge home appear to have been wholly satisfactory.

But when he accepted the post of Vice-Principal of Lampeter Theological College, he seemed to have found work into which he could throw all his energy, and for which he was peculiarly fitted. For he was a thorough Welshman, with an enthusiastic love for his land, its tongue, its literature, perhaps only restrained by his severely critical spirit from that exaggerated estimate of all things Kymric which Mr. Matthew Arnold finds in Wales and laughs at so gently, and with so great sympathy. He was an accomplished Hebraist, a good historian, as well as possessed of deep and varied culture and general literary and artistic tastes. And above

all, he loved the Church of England with a love which seems to even some of its members excessive, which would, as above stated, defend even the Articles "clause by clause." It is true that at no time would his explanation of the doctrines of the Church have squared with the popular theology; it was always his aim to combine loyalty to formulas and ecclesiastical organization with a wide and rational liberty of interpretation. Of modern divines, Archdeacon Hare—of elder, Bishop Jeremy Taylor—was most after his own heart. If it had been suggested to him that Bishop Taylor had in his mind two conflicting lines of thought, which drew him in two very different directions, it is possible that he might not have wholly admitted this, and yet have confessed that his sympathies were rather with the author of the *Liberty of Prophesying* than of the *Holy Living and Holy Dying*. For such a man, the Lampeter College afforded a favourable opening, though it may be doubted whether, save in a few conspicuous instances, the material on which he had to work was quite worthy of the pains he took with it and the talent he brought to bear upon it.

At Lampeter he published his work, "*Rational Godliness*," being sermons delivered for the most part in the College chapel, and somewhat expanded for the press. While in this book the most striking feature is the earnest, lofty, yet simple piety of the life and religion he would aid to form in his hearers, the teaching is "rational" in the best sense, that is, he does not admit for a moment that the reason and the faculties of man may not be exercised on things divine as well as on things human; he believes in the possibility of a strictly scientific theology, and touches on certain questions with a freedom which is quite familiar to the readers of this Review, but which is not even now common among religious people, and was less so at that time.

The volume was vehemently assailed, and with extreme want of candour. A local paper, the *Carmarthen Journal*, inserted some letters which, as it seemed to Dr. Williams, shewed "how little their authors understand the book which they attack, or practise the one which they profess to defend." On this Dr. Williams addressed to the editor a pamphlet, in which he threw into the form of propositions the entire theological portion of his work. Although these

theses professed to be a summary of the volume in question only, it was in reality that of the teaching of his whole life. No man ever more clearly defined for himself the lines of his theology, no man was more distressed if he was misrepresented ; yet for others the lines were not equally clear, and it is very important, therefore, that the more striking of these propositions should be given in Dr. Williams' own words. If the little pamphlet is still to be obtained, we commend it strongly to our readers, as containing in marvellously terse language the very sum and substance of a wholesome pious and Protestant system, which is a matter not always easy to formularize or render scientifically consistent.\*

"Propositions extracted from or connected with a book called *Rational Godliness*, which certain Pharisees have mishandled.

"Revelation is an unveiling of the true God, especially as Love and as a Spirit, to the eyes of our mind. Much of the evidence of revelation consists in its conformity to whatever is best in the moral nature given and kept alive in us by our Maker. Hence to vilify mankind overmuch is not honouring Almighty God so much as desecrating his handiwork, and is injurious to religion.

"There was a preparation for the Gospel of Christ, not only amongst Jews, but amongst Gentiles. God left himself nowhere without witness, but fashioned the hearts of the heathen, and put a scripture in their conscience.

"Holy Scripture . . . is a record of revelations to be regarded with veneration. It is to be universally read, and to be studied with reverence, with candour and with prayer. But it is by no means our paramount source of secular knowledge, in which the Hebrews were not our masters, and in which Divine Providence instructs us daily. Hence as regards things of earth it contains the thoughts of fallible men. It expresses the Hebrew range of ideas, which is not, and ought not to be, ours. We none of us go to the Bible to learn practically any trade or art, and it only causes confusion in our religious theories, with often distress of mind, for inconsiderate divines to speak as if we ought to do so.

"Scripture is the work of men divinely inspired, in the sense in which St. Paul meant inspiration. But the sacred writers did

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\* Read Before You Judge. The True Meaning of a Book called *Rational Godliness*, represented in Propositions, by the Author, with Additional Observations. Swansea : Printed at the Swansea and Glamorgan Herald Office. (No date : about 1856.)

not mean that they had revealed to them supernaturally the facts of daily life and experience.

"If any religious teacher does not see that the Bible contains a human element, liable to all the conditions of humanity, he has never studied the book as he ought. If he knows it and denies it, he sins against the religion of truth which he professes.

"As inspiration concerns things of Heaven, so is it principally and generally a right feeling of the truth of God, and bears but indirectly or by reflection upon things of earth. . . The books of the New Testament were not *dictated* in words audible from the clouds of Heaven, but are an expression by the writers both of historical and personal experience, and also of truths taught them through their feelings by the Holy Spirit of God. Hence Biblical language exhibits all the peculiarities of each writer's country, age and character.

"Inspiration, even in its proper sphere, does not imply omniscience. We may believe a message, though the servant who carries it does not pretend to know all his master's secrets.

"What Bishop Butler conceded hypothetically, that all prophecies of Christ in the Old Testament referred primarily to the Jewish people, kings or prophets, must in the present state of Biblical criticism be frankly accepted as a fact.

"The Holy Ghost was the sacred writers' teacher through the medium of their heart, rather than of their hands. Hence there is nothing in the text of Scripture but what had passed through the mind of the scribe.

"... The books of Holy Scripture are written by different authors in different ages, and will be understood better in proportion as their authorship is correctly known. . . If any bad consequences should hence arise" [from a discovery that certain books or portion of books are not by the authors whose names they bear], "it will not be from the facts, but from unwise concealment of them. Jesus Christ came into the world to bear witness to the Truth. All other hindrances to his religion have not together been so great, as those from the inconsistency of persons who defend it by falsehood.

"In considering our Saviour's miracles, we should lay more stress on the moral significance and beneficence, than on the mere element of power.

"In arguing for Christianity with a Hindoo, we might do so more forcibly from the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer, than from the passage of the Red Sea or the earthquake at the Crucifixion. The moral evidence would be in our hands, but the miraculous would be remote.

"The best evidence of Christianity is a Christian life.

"It is even now desirable that such a relaxation of our formularies should be granted, as might have enabled men like Baxter to conform to the Church.

"It is a subject for innocent discussion whether by demoniac possession the Jews did not mean a violent disease.

"Personality is a metaphysical term rather than a scriptural term ; and may convey to some minds a grosser or more material conception, but to others a more delicate one. If good persons think that by intensifying such an idea in reference to the Spirit of Evil, they are enabled to fight, as it were, more vividly against the hosts of darkness, I say nothing to disturb them. But if any one without authority imposes on me a metaphysical term, he must first define it clearly, and then prove his definition. Some theories on this point have been broached, savouring more of Zoroaster than of Christ."

Those to whom the principles sustained in these propositions have become as familiar as the air they breathe, a very part of themselves,—those who have been encouraged and enabled to speak out boldly on some points where these propositions were advanced only tentatively, may do well to remind themselves that even fourteen or fifteen years since, English theology was in a very different state ; and many may admit that it was in large measure in consequence of the discussion which this book raised, that their own opinions grew more definitely and willingly liberal. The number of those who digested the theses may have been small ; but each of them was a centre from which the views therein contained have been surely and sensibly spreading.

While still resident at Cambridge, Dr. Williams had written a Prize Essay on the Relation of Christianity to the Religions of the East, especially within our Indian Empire. This he expanded at a later period into a book less known than it deserves to be, but by far the most important of his works, *Christianity and Hinduism*. - In this, adopting the old form of the Platonic Dialogue, he passes in review the religious systems of the East, and endeavours to shew that the Theism which Jesus taught, and which we name Christianity, is really the fulfilment and crown of those imperfect religions, as it was of the imperfect religion of the Jews. He here develops the proposition stated above, that not only among the Jews, but among the Gentiles also, was a

preparation for the Gospel. If Christianity is ever to take hold of the higher intellects of the East, it can only be, we firmly believe, by means of missionaries who will go in the spirit of this book, of sympathy and even admiration for the nobler side of each grand old faith,—who will not hold as simply accursed religions in which millions of men live and die. But it is not with a view to missionary enterprize that this book is most interesting and useful. Competent scholars assure us that it is the best work on the whole subject of those strange religions and religious customs of the East which most of us know so ill. And incidentally there is scarce a difficulty presented by Christianity, or even religion, which is not touched on in this book, and on which, whether we agree with Dr. Williams or not, light is not thrown and help given by profound thought clothed in forcible and even beautiful language.

The subject which Dr. Williams regarded as peculiarly his own was that of Prophecy. To his eyes, the idea of it expressed above constantly grew clearer. We suspect that what is called Messianic interpretation had absolutely vanished from his system long since, though of course neither he nor any one else would deny that many words spoken by a prophet “of himself or of some other man” in his own days, proved afterwards to be even more applicable to Jesus, conceived of as the expected Jewish Messiah. Unhappily only one volume of a new Translation of the Prophets, on which he had been engaged for some years, was published before his death; another is ready for the press, and will appear very shortly; but we fear that a large part of the work, as he planned it, can never now see the light. In so much of the work as has yet appeared, the prefaces and notes give full proof of that fact which most of us feel instinctively, even when we have not made, as he had, the prophetic books the study of a life, that each word pronounced by a prophet refers to his own time, and solely to his own time, and that prophecy in the sense of prediction has never existed, save in the way in which all may prophesy who can draw conclusions from premisses and inferences from facts.

To Mr. Desprez’s interesting work on Daniel, Dr. Williams contributed a preface of great value and learning, but it is too controversial to allow the hope that it will

be a work lastingly read. It is almost entirely devoted to a refutation of Dr. Pusey on the same prophet, and most of those who would read anything on that side of the controversy would consider that it slays the already slain.

We have somewhat anticipated the few events of Dr. Williams's life, since we have now spoken of works published long after he accepted from his college the living of Broad Chalke; but the subjects of the books named flowed naturally from the quotation of the propositions which they severally expanded. We need not dwell longer on his useful life at Lampeter. His teaching, so vehemently assailed, drew him into much and distressing personal controversy with more than one Welsh Bishop, which, as well as similar ones which arose at a future time and called out "an earnestly respectful Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's," may now be suffered to sleep in peace. Another controversy, of historical and theological importance, cannot so be treated.

Little need be said about the volume itself called *Essays and Reviews*. It was not originally much, if at all, more remarkable than the various volumes of Oxford and Cambridge *Essays* which it succeeded; it was raised into importance by the exceeding folly of that exceedingly useless and fussy society, Convocation, and by the prosecutions directed against two of the writers, Dr. Williams and the Rev. H. R. Wilson. In the book were simply stated in a popular form the results at which many competent scholars have arrived on certain points of Biblical criticism. Dr. Williams' *Essay* was designed to shew the influence on modern theological knowledge exercised by the late Baron von Bunsen. That Dr. Williams rated this influence higher than we are inclined to do, is plain to such as have read the review of Baron von Bunsen's *Life* which appeared in these pages; but there can be no doubt that he extracted and condensed all that is best in the teaching of the great German scholar, and did much to make that teaching popular and useful. The good results of the trial which ensued from the prosecution of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson were, that the liberties of the Church of England were thereby asserted, it having been decided by the highest Court that all that they had taught in those *Essays* was not inconsistent with their legal obligations.



The evil result was personal—the estrangement between two men so excellent and so devoted, living so close the one to the other, as the late Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Williams; and the miserable suspicions, heart-burnings and strifes, which it stirred among the clergy who thought themselves called upon to express any opinion in the controversy. Who can wonder that this prosecution threw somewhat of bitterness into Dr. Williams' way of considering the orthodox party, and if he adopted the somewhat exaggerated conclusion, that he alone of living men represented the strictly Anglican rational theology? This feeling is strikingly exemplified in a pamphlet, privately printed, called "Hints to my Counsel in the Court of Arches." It was at first intended for publication, and is well worthy of being now given to the world, divested only of those personal allusions which time and death, the great peacemakers, render no longer needful. From this we extract a few sentences, clearly defining what the writer held to be his own position.

"The defendant accepts the Articles as they are, and claims to teach by them with fidelity and clearness unsurpassed by living man."\*

"In the death of Christ the Blood is the outward sign—either as the most striking feature, or because blood in the Old Testament stands for life, and bloody sacrifices were sacrifices of life. It does not follow that this *sign* should in practical exhortation be exalted above the patience and self-devotion of the dying Saviour, or that Almighty God should be represented as having a cannibal pleasure in blood, and not rather in the obedience to the Father's will which made the Son spare not his precious life's blood.

"Our soldiers ransomed half-lost Hindostan with their blood; that is, with their lives. If a mutinous regiment were pardoned because its officers died leading a forlorn hope, those officers would have bought the pardon with their blood; not that the Supreme Authority would rejoice in their blood-shedding, but in their self-sacrificing virtue.

"The defendant's doctrine under this head so little needs apology, that it is the doctrine of every thoughtful divine, if not of every saint, in every age."†

"It must on no account be conceded that the duty of exami-

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\* Hints to my Counsel, &c., p. 1.

† Ibid. p. 10.

nation ceases at the moment when a clergyman is ordained. More truly it may be argued, that previously to that date few men have the maturity of thought or extent of research which qualify them to arrive at conclusions.”\*

“Baxter ascribes the sharp controversial flavour of his own style to four reasons : (1) the growing sourness of his humour, or wearied familiarity with his subject ; (2) a hatred of the flattering humour which now prevaieth so in the world, that few persons are able to bear the truth ; (3) a long custom of studying how to speak and write in the keenest manner to the common, ignorant and ungodly people, without which keenness to them no sermon nor book does much good ; (4) a strong natural inclination to speak of a thing just as it is, and to call a spade a spade, so that the thing spoken of may be fullest known by the words.

“Such explanation of his own style the defendant pleads.”†

Dr. Williams’ ministry at Broad Chalke gave rise to a volume of Sermon-Essays, discourses delivered to a village congregation, and, as was his wont, afterwards worked out elaborately for more cultivated readers. This book has already been briefly noticed in these pages.

Such, and no more, were his public work and life ; but both were of the kind which continually bears fruit, and the more liberal thought advances, the more will his influence be felt. His books will not die ; it was the accident of his career that he was best known by the least important of them ; the rest will take and keep their place among the standard works of a liberal theology. And in future years it will be seen that he once, “in a minority of one,” proclaimed a truth become the intimate conviction of thousands ; he will be remembered with affectionate admiration, and not forgotten as a mere “sentinelle perdue.”

Those whom stern experience has not taught how unswerving and indiscriminate are those laws of God which regulate life and death, may find it strange that our master, as some consider him, and the friend of many more, is taken from us. For all things seemed to promise a long career of happy usefulness. The strifes engendered by Essays and Reviews were dying away, and much acerbity of feeling was buried in the grave of good Bishop Hamilton. A tinge of somewhat more pronounced orthodoxy was stealing over the thoughts and words of the tried liberal, though in all essen-

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\* *Hints to my Counsel, &c.*, p. 18.

† *Ibid.* p. 168.

tial matters he was unchanged. This had conciliated neighbours and not estranged old admirers, who saw him, even in the last months of his life, doing battle at Birmingham for the principles of the Education League. He was still within middle life, in full possession of bodily and intellectual vigour.

Perhaps even Broad Chalke seemed less lonely and out of the world when he had no longer to drive, as it were, through an enemy's country into Salisbury, the very headquarters of opposition and distrust. And friends came there to find from the vicar and his wife a genial and cordial hospitality, a freshness and wealth of conversation which carried the hearers back in thought to the *best* Oxford and Cambridge Common and Combination Rooms, where, as it always seems to us, human speech is at its very best, most unconsciously bright and deep. And though Dr. Williams once wrote, "We both enjoy solitude very much, but our enjoyment of it at Chalke is almost too complete," it was, when the sun shone and the chalk-mud was dry, a place with a peculiar charm. The long sweeps of downs, with their cliff-like sides, along which you walked looking into a sea of valley below, with the old water-lines so clearly marked that the country sounds rising to the height seemed almost mixed with murmurs of the ancient sea,—the heights fading off into the old woodland and the green glories of still fair Cranbourne Chase,—all these made the surroundings of that home very much that was congenial to one who had an eye for Nature and her works. Of the inner life of the home we dare say no more than that it was very happy, and full also of the love which flowed in from outside, from the hearts of parishioners who admired and respected their vicar, and found in him an unwearying, affectionate friend.

Speculation is idle now; yet it is impossible not to wonder if this was all that was reserved in this life for so real a scholar, had longer life been his; if, by the gift of Dr. Williams to his countrymen again, at the hands of a Liberal Ministry, would ever have been answered the request of Welshmen for a Welsh Bishop. Such were the idle thoughts of some who drove sadly, on a bright, cold winter day, January 24th, 1870, to attend the funeral of their friend, taken away after a few days' illness. But all such questions were stilled, in presence of the sad reality, by the one over-

mastering feeling that he was in the hands of God and needed no earthly honours. The funeral procession, moving, through a close line of parishioners nearly all in black, into a crowded church,—the hesitating notes of the choir, who sung two funeral hymns,—the agitated accents of the tried friend who read the service,—all testified to the strong love felt for the dead by those who knew his warm heart.

It was a day with a keen and biting wind, but bright sun-gleams striking up along the valley sides and on the churchyard graves. He was laid near the southern boundary of the churchyard, and his parishioners will pass his resting-place as they draw towards the southern porch. In their hearts, and in those of his friends, his memory will long be fresh; and when they are dead who knew him, all angry controversy will have fallen off from his memory, and the teaching of Christianity and Hinduism, Rational Godliness, Sermon Essays, and the Prophetic volumes, will no longer be dimmed by any thought of strife, but be regarded only as a part of that free, devout and critical literature, which shall foster the growth of a free and devout religious spirit like his own.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

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#### VI.—ROMA SOTTERRANEA.

*Roma Sotterranea, or some Account of the Roman Catacombs, especially of the Cemetery of San Callisto.* Compiled from the Works of Commendatore de Rossi, with the consent of the Author, by Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., President of St. Mary's College, Oscott, and Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge. London: Longmans. 1869.

THE soil of Italy has a strange fertility of its own. Its vines and its olives, its mulberries and its maize—these are produced as of old; and if methods of agriculture seem to want the largeness and the finish of more scientific lands, and implements are rude and clumsy, the whole aspect of

the country bears witness to the patient toil and persistent frugality of its cultivators. But it is marvellous how often the peasant finds quite another crop than that he is preparing for. He is driving his wooden plough a little more deeply than usual into the soil, and comes upon half-a-dozen fragments of stained marble, which, aptly fitted together, grow into some exquisite form of nymph or naiad, or perhaps reveal the presentment of Augustus or Vespasian "in his armour as he lived." He is dragging out of the crevices of the rock the roots of some gnarled old olive, to replace it by a sapling, and finds a stair which leads him down to some still Etruscan tomb, where lies the dust of warlike Lucumo, confined in its sarcophagus of marble, with the Medusa's head snakily threatening from the roof, and hissing serpents keeping angry watch upon the walls. He trenches the ground to plant his vines, and discovers that beneath his spade are the rooms where Roman nobles held high revel ever so many centuries ago, with the indestructible mosaics still bright upon the floors, and the faded frescoes telling their tale as when their affrighted owners left them to the pillage of the Lombard or the Goth. It is a suggestive subject for reflection, that of the enormous marble and brazen population of Rome—still enormous after we have deducted all the mediæval and modern statuary—only three statues or groups, the two horses of the Quirinal Hill and the Marcus Aurelius of the Capitol, have always been above ground. No doubt, if time and the barbarians had spared any others, they were melted into cannon or thrown into the lime-kiln. All that now exists in Italy of ancient sculpture, with the insignificant exceptions above mentioned, has been the produce of excavation. And the process still continues. No one re-visits Rome after an interval of four or five years, without finding that the centre of attraction is some newly-discovered statue. To all appearance, the archæological is as inexhaustible as the natural fertility of the soil.

But no discoveries beneath the soil of Italy affect the imagination so powerfully as the sepulchral monuments. Nor is this merely the natural awe which gathers about the silent resting-places of a wearied and worn-out humanity. To the inhabitant of almost every other country, these graves reveal a civilized antiquity, to find a parallel to which he

must go to Egypt or the farther East. In England, for example, almost all antiquities are mediæval. True, one may see here a fragment of wall which Roman hands have built, there a rude gateway under which Roman legions may have passed; here a mosaic pavement, and there a hypocaust; but they are exotics in the land, and like exotics, deprived of their native air and sun, shew but a stunted development. Even in England we may penetrate to a still more remote antiquity if we disturb "the grassy barrows of the happier dead;" but it is only to find a few mouldering bones, or fragments of rude earthenware, which witness rather of the potter's effort than of his skill, and contain within them little power of historical suggestion. But in Italy it is far otherwise. There are the Etruscan tombs, which, in their wealth of work in gold and bronze and earthenware, reveal so marked and so fascinating a singularity of national character. Why is it that Etruscan, like Egyptian art, has always a certain sameness in its variety, and, to any instructed eye, at once tells the tale of its origin? Where did the goldsmiths learn the method of drawing out their gold into link and line of such exquisite tenuity, as almost to defy the imitation of modern skill? These bronzes—they have not the soft outline and rounded forms of Greek workmanship, but in their hard and life-like vigour they far excel the clumsy effort of later Rome—whence came the artists who built the mould and fused the metal? Or by what law or custom did a whole people of potters confine themselves to the production of these vases, black and yellow and red, on which the old Italian life of gods and men still breathes and moves? Roman *columbaria* perhaps are not very interesting; there is a crowded primeness about them which does not touch the imagination; the name and the thing alike suggest the half-ludicrous idea of the remains of the dead being *pigeon-holed*; and it is hard to connect the thought of the men who once swayed the world being put aside, so far as concerns their mortal part, each in his tiny urn, each in his narrow niche, a tenant of the same grave with hundreds more. But hardly any burial-place in the world can appeal more powerfully to the imagination than those rude galleries in the volcanic rock, just before you pass out of Rome by the Appian Way, where the Scipios once lay entombed. The sarcophagus with the

mouldering bones of L. Scipio Barbatus has been barbarously removed to the Vatican ; the very inscriptions have been torn from the walls to enrich the same collection ; but even so, few things can be more impressive than to descend into the darkness, and, groping along the rough passages, to discern by the taper's feeble light the place where, twenty centuries ago, some of Rome's noblest sons were laid. Then there are the Catacombs, giving every year, as they are more completely excavated, a more distinct witness to the simple pieties of primitive Christianity, and carrying back the mind to a time when as yet the New Testament existed only in scattered fragments in this church and that, and Popes were no more than the obscure chiefs of an obscure and oppressed communion, and faith had not learned to deck itself out in the refinements of Nicæa. But the Catacombs, in some at least of their characteristics, are the subject of this paper : let us pause a moment to begin a more minute description and exposition.

We have placed at the head of this article the title of a beautiful and interesting volume, recently published by Dr. Northcote, the President of St. Mary's College, Oscott, and Mr. Brownlow, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who is, we believe, a convert to the Roman Catholic Church. These gentlemen modestly profess to be no more than the interpreters of De Rossi to the English reader. That distinguished antiquary, the value of whose contributions to Christian archæology cannot be over-estimated, does not possess the art of putting his discoveries and conclusions before the world in a compact or even in a connected shape. One work, "*Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*," in course of publication, gives in Italian a description of the catacombs and a history of their exploration. Another, in Latin, is devoted to the Christian inscriptions of Rome older than the 7th century. Besides these—to quote from a learned review of De Rossi's works which appeared in our own pages some years ago\*—"the indefatigable Cavaliere publishes a *Buletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, in which his most recent discoveries are from time to time made known. The whole work in both its parts will be very voluminous. The author's style is eminently Italian—that is, diffuse.

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\* Vol. II. p. 628.



The amplitude of sonorous phrase, which produces a grand effect from the lips of a Roman or Tuscan public orator, is wearisome in a work from which the reader seeks instruction only." Add to this the difficulty of collecting the facts from so many sources, and it will be seen that there is ample room for such a book as Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow have given us, in which the whole subject is put into orderly array and treated within reasonable limits. We have only praise to give to the general execution of the work. The arrangement is good, the style lucid, the external appearance pleasing, and the illustrative plates numerous and well executed. But for one drawback, we should cordially recommend it to all who desire information on this most interesting subject, yet who have not the ability or the opportunity to consult the original sources of information.

That drawback is the exclusively Catholic character of the book. This was of course to be expected. The excavation of the catacombs is naturally in Catholic hands; nor would we omit the expression of acknowledgment to Pius IX., that amidst many troubles and with a failing treasury he has so energetically supported this work. If we are compelled to accept Catholic testimony as to the character of monuments which are equally interesting and important to all Christians,—on the other hand, the catacombs are free to Protestant access; every possibility of criticism and controversy is open; and it is our own fault if the subject is exclusively left in Catholic hands. Nor do we complain of the dogmatic character of this book. Catholics who believe that their system is as old as Christianity, will naturally find its traces in the earliest Christian monuments; but as long as their reasonings and deductions are accompanied, as in this case, by engravings from which the reader may draw his own conclusions, no great harm is done. What we object to, knowing all the while that in a Catholic book it is unavoidable, is the passage, without break or check, from matter which has some valid claim to historical credibility, to that which, in the eyes of Protestant critics at least, is purely legendary. When our authors treat the arrival of Peter in Rome, not only as an event vouched for by "all ancient writers," but as one which only the perverse scepticism of Protestants would deny; when they

speak of the burial of Peter upon the Vatican, and of Paul in the church upon the Ostian Way which still bears his name, as facts as certain as the existence of the catacombs themselves,—our confidence is shaken both in their canons of historical credibility and in their method of applying them. Any student at all versed in the early annals of the Church will read this volume with perfect safety, for he will know what to accept and what to reject. But we cannot help fearing that a reader who casts himself unsuspectingly, as most readers do, upon the good faith of his author, would rise from the perusal of this book with very hazy notions as to the boundary-line between history and legend.

For the main outlines of catacomb lore, we refer our readers to the full and lucid statements of the article we have already mentioned.\* But it so happens that we are able to add to them the impressions of a recent visit to the Cemetery of St. Callixtus. It was on a fine afternoon in November last, that we left Rome by the Gate of St. Sebastian, and followed the Appian Way to the second milestone, when an inscription over a door, which had once led into a vineyard, informed us that we had reached the object of our quest. The road so far had passed between high walls, and the view, on emerging upon the higher ground within the gate, was very striking. Beyond the grey Campagna, dotted with ruins and cut in twain by the long lines of broken aqueduct, rose to the right the Alban Hills, on which more than one town, hanging upon the slope, was clearly to be discerned. In front, remoter summits were already covered with the winter's snow; on the left, the multitudinous towers of Rome were grouped on the picturesque undulations, which alone remain to tell of the Seven Hills; while a little further down the Appian Way, bounded on both sides with graves, were the tomb of Cæcilia Metella and the Basilica of St. Sebastian,—monuments than which no other could bring more vividly to mind the Rome of the Republic and the Rome of the early Church. Accompanied by a distinguished ecclesiastic, to whose great knowledge and ready kindness we incurred a large debt, we descended a narrow stair and found ourselves in the topmost

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\* T. B., Nov. 1865. *Recent Researches in the Roman Catacombs.*

story, if we may use the word, of the five tiers of galleries which make up the cemetery. Our first impression was that of the narrowness of the galleries, which, rarely more than three to four feet wide, and altering their direction by sharp and sudden turns, were cut out of the grey tufa. The circulation of air was singularly perfect, and, probably owing to the porous character of the rock, all was sweet and dry. On each side of the galleries were excavated graves, exactly like berths in a ship's cabin (we can find no other illustration so apt), most of them rifled long ago, and having lost the inscribed or sculptured stone which had once enclosed them. No doubt, built into the long corridor walls of the Vatican or the Lateran, and lighted by the full glare of Italian day, they are more easily studied than in these dim recesses of the earth ; but many of them are but repetitions of familiar types, without a special scientific value ; and the often touching sentiment of these simple memorials is apt, at least in part, to exhale when they are torn from their original site. Out of these long galleries opened here and there chambers of not more than a few feet square, some of which might have been used for secret and private worship. Here the graves were of a somewhat more elaborate type, being surmounted by arched or square recesses, often adorned with paintings. Without going so far as to say that these arched graves, or *arcosolia*, were in all cases the resting-places of saints and martyrs, we may very well concede that their more careful construction is a tribute of respect to the dead ; while, here and there, the existence of a common grave cut through the painting above such a tomb, shews the desire of some pious person of an after time to lie near the bones of those who had the reputation of sanctity. One of these chambers has a peculiar interest in being the burial-place of four of the earlier Popes ; while close to it is another, which from an accumulation of evidence appears to be, if not the actual grave of St. Cecilia, at least the place from which her relics were translated in 821. To this curious account we shall presently return. It was with peculiar interest that we read the simple inscriptions upon the tombstones of Bishops who were not yet Popes, and deciphered upon the original marble, once more put together from many fragments, and in the elegant characters which so many antiquaries have admired,

the touching inscription in which Pope Damasus records that here too he would have wished to be buried, but that he was reluctant to disturb the ashes of the saints :

Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra,  
Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum.

Gallery succeeds to gallery, chamber to chamber: here is one all covered with dim fresco of Hebrew or Christian story; here another contains a Damasine inscription, again built up of scattered pieces, and revealing the long-forgotten name of the inscribing sculptor. In one place is a yet unrifled grave, with perhaps the dove, or a palm-branch, or the fish, upon its cover: there you may see where a glass vessel—one hardly knows for what purpose—has been placed in the still wet mortar when the *arcosolium* was closed. We pass out of this cemetery, still underground, and, after traversing a net-work of galleries, find ourselves in the Catacomb of St. Lucina, with which that of St. Callixtus is now practically one. Here is the tomb of Cornelius, Saint and Pope and Martyr; and near it, a half-obliterated painting on the wall, representing two Bishops standing side by side, with a yet legible inscription, declaring one to be the Pope, the other his friend and correspondent, the great St. Cyprian. Back again into the labyrinth of St. Callixtus, and deeper into the bowels of the earth: everywhere the repetition of the same narrow galleries, the same small chambers, the same arched or recessed graves; but all empty, a desolation beyond death. A melancholy monotony is the characteristic of the place; the very paintings repeat themselves perpetually both in subject and in treatment; and what incised symbols are still to be seen, are few and simple. Yet there is an impressiveness, almost a grandeur, in the want of variety; the very air breathes truth and reality; if much has been taken away, at least nothing that remains has been manufactured or altered. It was strange to think, as we emerged once more into the afternoon sunlight, that by this time was throwing long shadows upon the plain and touching the distant snows with roseate glory, that Papal Rome, clad in all her meretricious splendour, should be condemned to preserve, beneath her own foundations, the irrefutable witness of an earlier and better time.

One distinguishing merit of our authors is, that they succeed in making very clear the stages of Catacomb history. They point out that though some sand-pits, or *arenariæ*, were converted into catacombs by means of walls to support their crumbling sides (in which walls, and not in the sand itself, the graves are made), the greater part of the cemeteries must have been excavated for their special purpose. They are dug in a stratum of the tufa, which, too soft for building stone, too coherent for the manufacture of cement, is yet easily excavated, and holds itself up without artificial support; while, on the other hand, the narrowness of the galleries and the sharpness of their turns—now a great hindrance to the removal of the rubbish with which they are choked—seem to shew that they could not have been quarried for the sake of the material. At first, catacomb burial was without concealment. It is not improbable that the earliest cemeteries were formed in the private burial-places of wealthy Christians, who, in the expansive spirit of their new faith, granted to their poorer brethren a privilege which, with their heathen fellow-citizens, would have been confined to the family or the household. Our authors find a proof that the burial of Christians in the catacombs was not regarded with disfavour by the State, in the fact that the oldest cemeteries are those where the workmanship is most careful and the art decoration of the highest type, as if there had been neither haste nor dread of interruption in the work. Be this as it may, there came a time of persecution, at the end of the third century, at which the Christians were not only forbidden to visit the cemeteries, but were even attacked and put to death in their recesses. To this period answers an activity of which clear traces are yet to be seen. The access to cemeteries was hidden; new entrances were contrived in quarries and sand-pits; staircases were cut off; galleries blocked up. Again all this was altered by the conversion of Constantine at the beginning of the fourth century, when many fresh interments were made. But now the Christians, no longer compelled to hide in holes and caves of the earth, and careless of the sanitary precautions enforced by their wiser predecessors, began to bury their dead in graves in and around their basilicas, and the catacombs entered upon a new phase of their history. They became places of pilgrimage rather than

places of burial. Of this period the representative name is Pope Damasus (A.D. 367—384), who, in the midst of a Pontificate disgraced by broil and bloodshed, found time for what in modern Catholic phrase would be called a great devotion to the catacombs. He repaired the broken staircases; renewed and enlarged the blocked-up entrances; by means of *luminaria* or chimneys for the admission of light, admitted the day to some celebrated shrines; and everywhere marked his activity by inscriptions in hexameter verse, carved in a singularly beautiful character, which is easily recognized by all who have once seen it. Burials in the catacombs seem to have ceased altogether at the beginning of the fifth century; but the eighth was far advanced when the next great change took place. In 756, the Lombards, under Astolphus, had committed great ravages and desecrations in Rome and the country round about; and Pope Paul I., elected in 757, resolved upon making a wholesale translation of relics into the city, and brought the bones of more than one hundred saints to hallow a church which he had lately built. His example was followed by many of his successors; an inscription in the church of Sta. Prassede attests that Paschal I. translated thither, on July 20, 817, two thousand three hundred bodies; while relics of martyrs in cart-loads are said to have been carried to the Pantheon. With this transaction, the ancient history of the catacombs may be considered to have closed. When the citizens of Rome had the bones of the saints under the altars of their own parish churches, and could there revere them at their ease, why should they go out into the Campagna to look at the empty graves from which they had been taken? So, one by one, the cemeteries fell into decay, their entrances were choked up, and their very existence was forgotten. Only one, that of St. Sebastian, remained open throughout the middle ages,—probably from the fact that it is entered by a door within the well-known basilica of that name. When, in 1578, some labourers who were digging for pozzolana in a vineyard on the Via Salaria, came upon a subterranean cemetery, Rome was startled as at a new discovery. Since that time between forty and fifty such cemeteries, of various importance and extent, have been discovered, and there is no reason to suppose that the list is yet complete.

We transcribe our author's account of the discovery of the cemetery of St. Callixtus :—

“It was in the year 1849 that De Rossi found in the cellar of a vineyard on the Via Appia, but much nearer to Rome than St. Sebastian's is, a large fragment of a marble slab ; having on it the upper part of the letter R, followed by the complete letters NELIUS. MARTYR. He immediately divined that this fragment was part of the tombstone of St. Cornelius, Pope in the middle of the third century. He persuaded Pope Pius IX. to purchase both this and the adjacent vineyard ; and three years afterwards, during the excavations of 1852, the other half of the same marble slab came to light in the depths of the subterranean cemetery which underlay this vineyard. It was found at the foot of the grave, for which it had evidently been made at the first. It contained the other half of the letter R, preceded by CO, with the letters EP on a lower line, so that De Rossi's happy conjecture was thus crowned with the seal of absolute certainty. Moreover, he had satisfied himself by a diligent study of all ancient documents within his reach, that the tomb of St. Cornelius was very near, though not absolutely within the limits of, the famous cemetery of St. Callixtus, and that in this cemetery there was a single chapel more famous than the rest, in which had once been laid the bodies of many Popes of the third and fourth centuries, and in another chapel adjoining it, St. Cecilia. Excavations having been made in accordance with his suggestions, a fragment of marble was at length discovered, bearing on it three letters, or rather the same letter (H) repeated three times, one over the other, as the beginning of three successive lines. His keen eye recognizing the well-known beauty of the Damasine characters, immediately fastened upon this as ‘a confirmation strong as text of Holy Writ,’ that this was the Papal vault in which Damasus had set up one of his most celebrated inscriptions. As the work of excavation proceeded, a hundred and twenty other fragments of the same inscription were recovered. These all have been put together, and the few missing portions having been supplied in letters of a different colour, the whole may now again be read, just where our forefathers in the faith first read it fifteen hundred years ago. We shall have occasion to examine it more closely by and by, when we meet with it in its own place in the interior of the cemetery. We appeal to it now as a decisive proof, from which it is impossible to escape, that the cemetery of St. Callixtus has been re-discovered.”\*

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\* Pp. 117, 118.



The celebrated Papal crypt is restored, and the feeling upon entering it is one of disappointment. It was, however, inevitable that it should be so.

“The truth is, that when this chamber was re-discovered in 1854, it was in a complete state of ruin ; access was gained to it only through the *luminare*, which, as usual, had served for many centuries as a channel for pouring into it all the adjacent soil, fragments of grave-stones, decaying brick-work, and every kind of rubbish. When this was removed, the vault of the chamber, deprived of its usual support, soon gave way, so that if any portion of it was to be preserved, and put in a condition to be visited with safety, it was absolutely necessary to build fresh walls and otherwise strengthen it. This has been done with the utmost care, and so as still to preserve, whenever it was possible, abundant tokens of the more ancient condition of the chapel, and of its decoration in succeeding ages.”\*

At the same time, the real interest of this singular chamber lies, not in De Rossi's conjectural restorations, or his guesses, however accurate, at its probable origin and history, but in the fragments of the Damasine inscription already quoted, and in the broken tombstones of the four Popes which were found upon the floor. They are those of Anteros, who succeeded Pontianus in 235 ; Fabianus, successor of Anteros in 236 ; Lucius, who in 253 followed Cornelius, of whose burial in the adjoining cemetery of St. Lucina, we have already spoken ; and Eutychianus, who ascended the chair of St. Peter in 274. The inscriptions are very rudely cut in Greek capitals. Lucius is spelt Loukis. After the names of the other three Popes is added the title Bishop ; and a later hand seems to have subjoined the initial of the word Martyr on the tombstone of Fabian. The excessive simplicity both of the graves and of the inscriptions upon the stones which covered them, is a strong argument for their antiquity. It is impossible not to feel that this little subterranean chapel was the genuine burial-place of the Roman bishops of the third century, or to avoid contrasting its antique rudeness with the pompous monuments of later pontiffs which deface the great Vatican basilica.

Much is made in this volume of the discovery of the grave of St. Cecilia. Her story is well known, though our

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\* P. 135.

authors admit that the Acts of her Martyrdom "cannot lay claim to any higher antiquity than the fifth century," and that "their corruption and interpolation" may "be freely admitted."\* She was a noble Roman maiden, contemporary with Pope Urban (A.D. 222—230), who, although she had made a secret vow of virginity, was given in marriage to a Pagan, Valerian. But she persuaded both Valerian and his brother Tiburtius to be baptized, and, with her husband's consent, kept her vow. They were soon publicly rewarded with the crown of martyrdom; though Cecilia, for some unknown reason, was reserved for a more secret death. She was shut up in the *Caldarium*, or hot-bath-room, in her own house, and, all the pipes being heated, was left to die of suffocation. Of course, as is often the case in Roman Catholic legend, the Saint could not be killed by any such circuitous method; like the three children in the fiery furnace, she was miraculously preserved, and recourse had to be taken to cold steel at last. Three strokes of the axe hardly sufficed to slay her, and she breathed her last upon the floor of the bath-room, after three days' lingering, amid the grief and the admiration of the faithful. Then she was buried in the cemetery of St. Callixtus. So far the Acts: next comes the story of the translation of the relics. Pope Paschal I., he who in 817 removed into the city the bodies of 2300 martyrs, greatly wished to transfer the relics of St. Cecilia also, but he could not find them. Some four years afterwards, however, the Saint appeared to him in a vision, "and told him that when he was translating the relics of the Popes she was so close to him that they might have conversed together. In consequence of this vision he returned to the search, and found the body where he had been told. It was fresh and perfect as when it was first laid in the tomb," &c.† Being taken up then with all care and reverence, it was deposited in a sarcophagus of white marble, under the high altar in the church of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere. Here in 1599 the body was found by Cardinal Sfondrati, still incorrupt, still in the self-same attitude in which death had seized it upon the floor of the bath-room. All Rome crowded to the church to wonder and adore, and the celebrated sculptor Stefano Maderna preserved the me-

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\* P. 152.

† P. 155.

mory of the miracle, in the recumbent statue of the Saint which is still one of the sights of the Eternal City.

What is there in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus that answers to this story? De Rossi found that there was a chapel, all blocked up with earth and rubbish, close to the Papal crypt. In this chapel, as it was gradually excavated (for the full details we must refer our readers to Brownlow and Northcote, p. 158), were found various mural paintings; a niche, such as is used to receive the vessel of oil for the lamps kept burning before shrines, with a head of Christ of the Byzantine type at the back of it; a painting which "might well be intended to represent St. Cecilia;" and "a figure of St. Urban in full pontifical dress, with his name inscribed." "When we add," continue our authors, "that immediately by the side of these paintings is a deep recess in the wall, capable of receiving a large sarcophagus, and that between the back of this recess and the back of one of the papal graves in the adjoining chamber there is scarcely an inch of rock, we think the most sceptical of critics will confess that we have here certainly recovered a lost thread of tradition, and may claim to have discovered the original resting-place of one of the most ancient and famous of Rome's virgin saints."\*

The discovery is certainly remarkable and interesting; but let us ask a little more exactly what it amounts to. We may admit that there is a fair probability that some distinguished Roman lady, named Cecilia,—whatever may have been the circumstances of her life and death,—was laid here. There are many indications that this cemetery was a burial-place of the Cæcilii, and she would naturally be interred with her kindred. We may admit, too, that it was from this crypt that Paschal I. translated the relics now beneath the high altar of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere. No more than this can be said to have received even a semblance of proof by De Rossi's discoveries. The whole legend in its first form, the vision of the Pope, the story of the incorrupt body in 821 and in 1599, are left to rest upon their own evidence and find no fresh confirmation now. Supposing it certain that this was the burial-place of St. Cecilia (and, after all, what is more strictly proved is that

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\* P. 160.

Pope Paschal thought it to be so), all we can say is, that the Acts, compiled three centuries after the events which they narrate, preserve in one particular a genuine tradition. Our authors admit that of the mural paintings of the chamber, the head of Christ and the figure of Pope Urban are of a date *posterior to the translation*; while of the painting which they only suppose to represent the Saint, they say no more than that it "may be attributed perhaps to the seventh century." And, in addition to this, the only method they are able to propose of bringing the Acts within the scope of credible history, is by throwing *Pope* Urban overboard altogether, and supposing the existence of a *Bishop* Urban, whom the mistaken reverence of a later time elevated to the chair of St. Peter. We are afraid that we cannot subscribe to their statement, that "in substance the accuracy of the Acts has been marvellously confirmed by all that has since been discovered."

We are again at issue with our authors as to the doctrinal teaching of the catacombs. In regard to their honesty in stating the evidence, we have no word of complaint to utter. So far as we are able to form an opinion, they are scrupulously exact in placing the means of independent judgment within reach of their readers. But we are not prepared to assent to their method of interpreting the facts. Nothing is easier than to get a dogmatic meaning out of pictorial symbols—if you first put it in; but then the symbols retain their original and direct signification also, with which the student may fairly claim to be satisfied. For instance, we find figured here a woman with a child upon her knee; and we are assured that the representation, which is frequently repeated, is that of Mary and the infant Christ. Nothing, we are willing to admit, can be more probable; but what dogmatic evidence can fairly be drawn from the fact? The household of Nazareth, the childhood of Christ, the domestic side of his life, of which the Gospels say so little, have always powerfully impressed the imagination of Christian artists; and there has never been a time, in all likelihood, at which their pencils were not actively employed upon this engaging subject. But what has this, if unsupported by other evidence of a quite different kind, to do with the peculiar place of Mary in Roman Catholic theology? So there exist in the catacombs various representa-

tions of the Eucharist, some of them direct representations of the Lord's Supper, others couched in enigmatical form. In some cases, we have a man sitting behind a table, on or in front of which appear baskets of bread, and platters upon which lie the mystic fish; in another, we have the fish itself, carrying upon its back a basket of bread, in the midst of which is a red somewhat, which is taken for wine. The fish, no doubt, almost always stands for Christ; but recollecting the miracle of the loaves and fishes, as well as the words with which the Lord's Supper was instituted, can any unbiassed critic deduce from this mass of confused but yet natural symbolism, the doctrine of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice? Or is it possible to indicate any method in which a metaphysical subtlety like Transubstantiation can be expressed in pictorial form? It is admitted on all sides that the catacombs contain no symbol of the Trinity. And we have not yet seen any evidence which convinces us that, in order to explain any symbol or picture which actually exists, it is necessary to abandon the literal and straightforward interpretation of Scripture, and to have recourse to the developing doctrine of the Roman Church.

Nothing, indeed, can be more natural and appropriate than the subjects which were selected for the pictorial decoration of the catacombs. They are not numerous, and are found repeated over and over again, with but slight difference of treatment. There is the Good Shepherd (Luke xv. 3, John x. 11) feeding his flock, watering his flock, bringing back the lost sheep upon his shoulders, even piping to his flock, like Pan, or charming them with his lyre, like Orpheus. Some half-unconscious desire to reconcile the old and the new may have influenced the artist here; his mind may not have been wholly purged from Pagan beliefs and associations; or he may have felt, not without justification, that the Old Testament was not the only place in which it was lawful to find types of Christ. In any case, no parable seems to have touched the early Christian heart so deeply as this; its significance was so obvious, its pathos so natural and so deep. Is it a refinement to suppose that when, in one instance at least, the Good Shepherd was represented as bringing back, not a sheep, but a goat to the fold, there was more in it than the mistake of an ignorant painter,—a consciousness that the love of God and Christ must be

conceived of as extending even to the lapsed and the lost? There is Moses striking the rock, from which pours forth the fresh stream at which the sheep drink eagerly: a double allusion to the living water (John iv. 13, 14) whereof who drinks shall never thirst again, and Christ, the mystic Rock, which, in the rabbinical tradition quoted by St. Paul, followed the Israelites in the desert (1 Cor. x. 4). There is Noah in the ark, fit type of a church saved by the water of baptism (1 Peter iii. 20, 21). There is the whole story of Jonah, from the voyage to Nineveh to the bower beneath the gourd, which justifies its place among the tombs by the words of Christ himself (Matt. xii. 40), "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." There is the raising of Lazarus, which needs no justification wherever there are bereaved hearts and fond regrets. And then, when times of persecution came, the three children in the fiery furnace, and Daniel in the lions' den, were there, to give their silent exhortation to faithfulness and their promise of Divine help in the hour of peril. What is there in all this that is not reconcilable with any form of Christian belief, the simplest as well as the most developed?

But we must stop here. For much that may appear to be wanting in these desultory pages, we refer our readers to the criticism upon De Rossi's books which has already appeared in our pages. And while we are often unable to agree with our authors' conclusions, we take leave of them with a cordial acknowledgment of the service which they have rendered to Christian archæology in the publication of their beautiful volume.

CHARLES BEARD.

## VII.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Joannis Wyclif Trialogus, cum Supplemento Trialogi.*  
Ed. G. Lechler. E Typogr. Clarend. 1869.

THIS is the first instalment of that publication of the chief works of John Wyclif, Latin and English, of which the Delegates of the Oxford University Press have undertaken the superintendence. The book, which makes a good-sized octavo volume, is well printed, and has been, so far as the text is concerned, very carefully edited by Professor Lechler, of the University of Leipsic, who has written an introduction in Latin, throwing a clear light on many points of interest, such as the date at which the work was composed, its literary form, the editions through which it has passed, and the merits of the different MS. texts. The section (D, p. 8) which treats of the contents of the work, might perhaps have been more fully elaborated; in particular, some account, from a theologian so well versed as Dr. Lechler has proved himself to be in the controversies that prevailed in the English Church of the middle ages, of the relations in which the writer of the *Trialogus* stands to the theological and philosophical thought of his age, would have been exceedingly welcome. In the absence of such an account, the following paper is intended, not indeed to settle, but to stir the question, by contributing, under the form of an analysis of the *Trialogus*, a few facts tending to explain how it was that Wyclif's influence as a theologian was so great, and as a philosopher so small.

From the Prolegomena of Dr. Lechler, the polished Latinity of which has the unfortunate effect of making the style of Wyclif appear all the more barbarous, may be gathered many interesting facts. The date of the composition of the work is shown to have been 1382; the arrangement into books and chapters, the conversational form of the argument, the ever-recurring ground-tone of the appeal to Scripture, are then noted; particulars are given respecting the previous printed editions (of which one was published, probably at Basle, in 1525, the other at Frankfort in 1753), and also concerning the existing MSS., which are all at Vienna; lastly, the plan on which the present edition has been prepared is described.

To any reader who has the slightest acquaintance with



the theology of the middle ages, a clear general notion of the contents of the *Trialogus* will be conveyed, when we state that it is a system of theology,—*Corpus Theologiæ*,—and resembles in form and plan many other systems, produced both earlier and later. The type, and also the first example, of these systematic treatises, was the Book of the Sentences by Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Paris in the 12th century. The *Liber Sententiarum* is in four books; so is the *Trialogus*. The first book of the Sentences is “De Mystério Trinitatis;” the first book of the *Trialogus* is “De Deo.” The second book of the Sentences treats of the Creation and Formation of Things, corporal and spiritual; the second book of the *Trialogus* is headed “De Mundo.” The third book of the one treats of the Incarnation of the Word, of the cardinal virtues, the Decalogue, &c.; the third book of the other is “De Virtutibus Peccatisque et de Salvatore.” The fourth book in each treats of the Seven Sacraments and the four last things.

But the reader would be widely in error who from this agreement in external literary form should infer any similarity in the tone and contents of the two works. The *Trialogus* reminds one of some old castle or minster-church, the shell of which has remained entire, while time, or fire, or violence, has destroyed the interior. So it is here: we have the outward aspect of the majestic temple which scholastic theology raised to the God whom it adored; but when we enter, all is changed; the former symmetry and internal harmony are gone; a new spirit has entered in and dwells there. A corroding element, “mining all within,” has disintegrated the once solid structure; its parts no longer cohere; and though the shell remains, one sees clearly that it is no longer either necessary or suitable to its new inmate; that innumerable ties and secret supports are gone; and that the outer case will soon go the way of the internal economy.

Any one who is but slightly acquainted with Peter Lombard, or the *Summa* of St. Thomas, and then opens the *Trialogus*, will certainly admit that the metaphor I have used does not exaggerate the extent of the differences between them. But I must attempt, though the rough diction and extremely technical style of reasoning make the task difficult, to illustrate my meaning by a few extracts.

In the first book, "De Deo," the conclusions differ little from those generally received, but Wyclif has always his own way of arriving at them. The object of § 6 is to shew *Deum esse trinum*. The doctrine of the Trinity, it is asserted, is capable of being proved by the light of nature, and of this thesis Wyclif proceeds to give a scholastic demonstration. Novelty and temerity are here, as everywhere ; yet although the method is strange, and the logic of the most abstruse and hair-splitting description, the doctrine as ultimately reached appears to agree with that of the orthodox schools.

It is with reference to those parts of religion which coalesce with human life, that the destructive force of Wyclif's genius is most clearly apparent. Thus, in ch. v. of Book iii., which treats of the distinction between mortal and venial sin, it seems as if, though he begins by accepting in a limited sense the received doctrine, the course of his thoughts presently swept him away into a region of opposition and defiance. First he admits that there is such a thing as mortal sin : "Potest autem peccatum dici mortale, quod dignum est morte secunda puniri ex arbitrio Dei nostri. Et sic solum peccatum finalis impœnitentiæ (quod est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum) proprie est mortale ; quodcunque autem aliud peccatum, cum sit dignum veniâ, potest dici rationabiliter veniale." But after a while he comes to the clear conclusion that *every* sin, be it small or great in man's judgment, is infinitely detestable and heinous in the eye of God. "In quantum dominus, contra quem peccatur, est altior, in tantum peccatum commissum contra illum est gravius ; sed Deus est infinitum magnus dominus, ergo peccatum contra illum commissum proportionaliter est grave. Similiter ut malum est plus detestabile, est proportionaliter magis malum ; sed omne peccatum videtur esse infinitum detestabile, et per consequens ita malum." But when Pseustis, the "devil's advocate" of the dialogue, says that at this rate "omne peccatum est irremissibile, et per consequens, cum omnes peccamus, nullus nostrum salvabitur," Wyclif, like an expert schoolman, has an equivocation ready. By calling sin infinite, he merely meant that it was without a "finis laudabilis" ! "Peccatum dicitur infinitum quodammodo privative, hoc est, peccatum caret fine laudabili, gratia cujus deberet fieri."

Again, in the discussion on the sacrament of Penance, the

subversive tendency of his thoughts, which seems to increase upon him the more he gives them free play, is remarkably apparent. He has of course to speak of private confession, and begins by admitting that, considering its utility in numerous cases in preventing sin, it is "simpliciter necessaria." "Videtur mihi quod sit ex suppositione necessaria, et sic est simpliciter necessaria, quia aliquibus quos Deus ad hoc preordinat taliter confiteri, cum multi ex erubescencia Deo confitendo peccatum commissum, et ex completionem pœnitentiæ injunctæ, cum timore alias taliter confitendi, a peccato iterum committendo communiter se præservant." But he explores the subject further; the bull of Innocent III., commanding that every man should confess his sins at least once a year, recurs to him; and the spirit of resistance rises high within him. "Videtur mihi quod ista observantia hujus legis papalis debet admitti præcise de quanto discretio confitentis judicat ipsam sibi proficere." Soon the tide rises higher yet: "Prospiciamus igitur in lege perfectæ libertatis, quid præcipitur et mandatur a Domino, et illud perficiamus et a vetito abstinemus abque attentione ad leges ordinatas noviter, et est satis." Finally, so far from "simpliciter necessaria," confession appears in the light of a positively bad institution. Being superfluous, "nedum a malo est, sed est malum, communiter cæcans multos."

There runs through the *Trialogus*, amid all its eccentricities and temerities, one governing principle, which, in the judgment of many, will be held more than sufficient to counterbalance all defects, were they ten times as numerous as they are. This principle is that of the constant appeal to Scripture (interpreted, one must suppose, by private judgment), with a view to overthrowing, on whatever subject the need may arise, the verdict of ecclesiastical tradition. In this respect Wyclif was a true harbinger of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Just as Latimer, in his disputation held at Oxford in 1554, refused to bow to the opinions of Chrysostom, St. Austin and the Fathers generally, unless so far as each "bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word," so Wyclif, in a hundred passages of the *Trialogus*, makes substantially the same appeal.

A word in conclusion as to Wyclif's philosophy, and the position which he held in relation to the two great schools

which divided the thinkers of his age. Wyclif was a Realist, a fact which not one of his biographers appears to have taken note of; that is to say, he belonged to the conservative and stationary school in metaphysics. The immense services which our great countryman, William of Ockham, had just rendered to science, could hardly have been unknown to, but they do not seem to have been appreciated by, Wyclif. A single illustration will shew what a gulf separated them. Wyclif (Trial. i. 6) considers that the motion of the heavenly bodies demonstrates the existence of a *Primus Motor*. But Ockham (I quote from M. Haureau's *Histoire de la Philosophie Scholastique*, Vol. II. p. 422), when asked, "if the divine intelligence is the first efficient cause of all that exists, answered that, as philosopher, he did not know, since experience did not inform him as to the *modus agendi* of the first cause, and reason possessed neither the right nor the power to penetrate into the divine sanctuary." Yet Wyclif distinctly repudiates the extravagances of Realism,—that tendency to multiply entities and ideal forms indefinitely which occasioned the aphorism of Ockham, *Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*; he scouts the notion that "quælibet creatura, immo quidlibet nominabile, est idea;" or that there is or can be, "ydea ydeæ et sic ad infinitum."

It is curious to find Wyclif belonging to the backward school in metaphysics, just as Luther, by his denial of free-will, ranged himself with the backward school in ethics. In both cases the theoretic finality was compensated by the impetus which they communicated to practical reformation in all forms of the temporal life, domestic, social, and political. The German intellect could find no permanent resting-place in Luther's theology; but the German character, rising against a centralization, the practical outcome of which was, not the peaceful primacy of Peter's see among the Christian communities of the world, but the meddling of wily Italian priests in German politics, and the abstraction of countless German thalers for Italian purposes,—found in Luther a tribune, a colossal man, able to champion its cause with effect. So the philosophy of Bacon and Locke cannot be connected by any ties of filiation with that of Wyclif; and yet that fidelity to contract, that veracity in work, that aversion to sham spirituality, which characterize

modern England, may be traced in large measure, with all the momentous consequences that flow from them, to the teaching of Wyclif.

THOMAS ARNOLD.

## 2. *Some Philosophical Books.*

In two lengthy Letters,\* Mr. Hazard seeks to refute the well-known doctrine of J. S. Mill respecting Cause and Will—i.e. that Will is a particular species of Cause, and all Cause a simple relation of invariable antecedence—and to establish in its place the theory that Volition is the source of all power, and that the consciousness of productive energy in our acts of will is the experience, on occasion of which arises both the idea of Force, and the necessary judgment that everything which happens has its efficient Cause. In his first letter, Mr. Hazard skilfully and, we think, successfully combats Mr. Mill's dictum, that in popular usage the words Cause and Effect indicate merely a time relation among phenomena. In ordinary discourse the word Cause, as Mr. Hazard maintains, certainly carries with it the idea of a dynamic and not of a merely temporal nexus; and even if it could be shewn that Mr. Mill's definition covers in point of extension the same ground as the idea of Cause, it nevertheless misses the essential feature in that idea, inasmuch as it drops out that element of efficient energy, without which the word loses its usual meaning, and assumes one quite distinct, and quite unrecognized beyond the narrow range of sensational psychology. For scientific purposes, i.e. for the discovery of natural laws and for the consequent power of scientific prediction, no doubt, the knowledge of the uniform sequences that obtain among phenomena is the great desideratum; and such knowledge is also useful to the philosopher as marking out the track along which the creative energy is exerted; yet no invariable antecedent, when discovered, is ever felt to satisfy the soul's craving for a cause unless it be also regarded as the vehicle for the manifestation of some power or force. It is quite true, as Mr. Mill urges, and as Hume urged before him, that this productive energy is cognizable by no one of our senses; but this is no argument against

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\* Two Letters on Causation and Freedom in Willing, addressed to John S. Mill, by Rowland G. Hazard. London: Longmans and Co. 1869.

its reality save with those who are wedded to the theory that all our mental furniture is imported through this channel of sensation. The idea of Power, of Force, of Cause, is unquestionably present in the mind, and it rests with Mr. Mill to explain its genesis and its inextricable complication with all our conceptions and trains of thought. The experiential philosophy has hitherto failed to discover the parentage of this irrepressible notion, and we feel satisfied that the true clue to its history is in the hands of those who recognize (as does Mr. Hazard) that its birth is intrinsic to the soul, that it grows out of our personal consciousness that in our volitions we are true originators of influence ;— not simple links in the transmission of prior energy (as the older Necessarians believed), still less mere items in a train of sequences (as Hume and Mill contend), but genuine effectors of those changes which we speak of as produced by our Will. Mr. Hazard's exposition on this question is worth reading ; but he is apparently unaware how little there is in it of novelty, and that this region of psychology, in which he seems to think he is about the first explorer, has really been to a large extent surveyed and mapped out by thinkers of greater acumen and wider culture. Our thanks, however, are due to him for earnestly insisting on that originating and dynamic element in volition, the ignoring of which is, we think, a momentous error in Mr. Mill's philosophy. The second Letter, on the Freedom of the Will, the Libertarian will find to be a very disappointing one. It is rich in asseverations of this freedom, and very poor in that accurate analysis of the testimony of consciousness, on which alone a sound doctrine of liberty can be erected. While well aware that all attempts to *prove* our moral freedom (that is, to reach it inferentially from prior knowledge) are inevitably self-destructive, we yet accept it in simple faith as a primary truth unequivocally announced by the soul, nor (in spite of Kant's third antinomy) do we find it clash with any necessary law of thought. Mr. Hazard, however, fails to interrogate those facts in our consciousness which form, in our opinion, the main witnesses in the case. In respect to our ethical nature, Freedom, in his judgment, means simply power to act in accordance with our moral decisions : freedom, in our view, is to be recognized rather in the antecedent stage, in the autonomy we possess in the formation of these moral decisions. Ac-

cordingly Mr. Hazard denies that Choice is at all an affair of volition ; whereas to us it seems that the power of selection which the mind exercises in reference to motives of various moral worth, is not only a case of volition, but even the crucial test of genuine free-will. Unless the advocate of Liberty uses as his fulcrum in this controversy the power of free election among springs of action of different ethical rank, he will never succeed, we feel assured, in heaving off the dead-weight of necessity. As natural consequences of this radical mistake, Mr. Hazard sees no essential difference between the volitions of a man and those of an oyster, and informs us that his doctrine of Freedom is as compatible with "power of prediction" as is Mr. Mill's Determinism. The same fundamental error leads to his assertion that we always act in accordance with our character. The study of consciousness does not, we think, reveal this : it tells us that our characters determine the range and nature of the moral problems we are called upon to solve, of the moral conflicts we are called upon to decide, but that the act of preference, the volition whereby the *ego* sides with the nobler or the baser prompting, has not a certain state of character either for its Cause or for its Invariable Antecedent. It is the original act of a creative Spirit, and to inquire further, *why* the ego in the last resort lays the stress of its volition on one out of several competing motives, and by thus selecting it makes it the successful one, is to ask a meaningless question,—it is to seek to bring the Real within the laws of the Phenomenal, to treat as an Effect that which in its very essence is a Cause. Our Volitions are the *Causes* of our Character ; but our Characters only furnish the *Conditions* of our Volition. He who forgets this, deserts the side of Liberty, and virtually yields an unconditional surrender to Necessarian claims.

Of the little space that can be afforded for these notices, we have given the greater part to Mr. Hazard's book, partly because it deals with a question so momentous in its bearings upon moral and religious philosophy, and partly because we think that a failure to base this doctrine of Free-will on a sure foundation tells detrimentally upon a book of far higher value, at which we have now to glance.\* This work

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\* The Metaphysic of Ethics. By Immanuel Kant. Translated by J. W. Semple, Advocate. New Edition. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clarke. 1869.



(of which we are glad to see a new and neat edition) gives us the most important of Kant's teachings on Moral Philosophy. The translation is esteemed for its accuracy, and is now enriched with an able Preface from Dr. Calderwood. It is through his ethical writings that the genius of Kant finds readiest access to English thought; and though among us at present Utilitarianism possesses in Mr. J. S. Mill a modern Epicurus who can dress it up in all that is amiable, we still believe that the sterner Stoical tone of Kant's morality is fitted to awaken a deeper response in a land where Puritan sentiments are, we trust, not yet extinct. It is well known that, in his celebrated Critique of the Pure Reason, Kant, notwithstanding his masterly severance on psychological grounds of *d-priori* from empirical knowledge, yet teaches that the former does not legitimately admit us to any supersensual realities; and thus recognizing it only as regulative forms of thought, he leaves his readers to all appearance hopelessly imprisoned in the comfortless realm of subjectivity. However, in the Critique of the Practical Reason (a portion of which is contained in Mr. Semple's volume), a way of escape is revealed. The voice of consciousness, which Kant regards with mistrust when it tells of the objective reality of Space and Time, of God and Human Liberty, he recognizes as reliable when it speaks in tones of command, and, with regard to Duty, utters its Categorical Imperative. The solemn injunctions of the conscience cannot be subjective creations; they are *in* us, but not *of* us; and being such, they imply our freedom, our immortality, our relation to a perfect Deity. Thus the Critical Philosophy gives back to Ethics what it snatched from Metaphysics. "All's well that ends well;" yet we think the reader of this volume will feel with us that Kant's decided refusal to admit the objective claims of psychology, in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, weakens the professed basis of his Ethical System, and renders it dubious, after all, whether Liberty is with him pure freedom of choice, or only spontaneous conformity with the moral law.

By the side of Kant's treatise, we may put a recent translation of a work of his pupil, J. G. Fichte.\* Those who

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\* New Exposition of the Science of Knowledge. By J. G. Fichte. Translated by A. E. Kroeger. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

have made acquaintance with Fichte's thought through Mr. W. Smith's translations of his more popular writings, may be glad to have a sample of his systematic lectures. We do not profess to be able to follow the line of deductive reasoning whereby out of the most abstract conceptions the principles of all knowledge are evolved. Our inability to do this is, however, by no means surprising, as the Preface tells us that "five or ten years may be needed to get full possession of it; but he who has possession of it has possession of all sciences." The translator laments over the degeneracy of an age that classes "the crude individual reflections of men like Herbert Spencer and Stuart Mill" under the head of philosophy. We agree with him that the writings of these men, easy reading though they be, smack little of that "divine philosophy" that satisfies and cheers the soul; but we believe that we shall reach more substantial possessions in the realms of truth by following in the sober steps of teachers like Maine de Biran, Jouffroy and James Martineau, who cautiously advance by the light of psychology, than we could ever win by seeking to accompany the Post-Kantian Germans in their too ambitious flights.

We need not, however, go to Germany for audacious theorizing. An Inner Templar\* has made a discovery which he truly says "cannot boast of any one philosopher or physicist in ancient or modern times as its authority," viz., "that a careful study of Phenomena reveals the nature of Noumena." All, however, that this defiance of Kantian theory means is, that the writer has embraced the view which Boscovich and Priestley held, and which Faraday looked upon with favour, that the atoms of which the universe is supposed to be made up are simply centres of forces or powers, not matter in which these powers reside. Developing this idea in connection with the theory of light, he believes he has discovered the size of the respective atoms which compose water, air, &c. The book is a medley of Physics and Metaphysics. The Metaphysics are of the shallowest sort, and as to the Physics, it is very questionable whether Dr. Tyndall will endorse them, as the author (deter-

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\* *What is Matter?* By an Inner Templar. London: Wyman and Sons. 1869.

mined, it would seem, to exasperate the *manes* of Bacon as well as of Kant) tells us, with apparent pride, that he has not made a single experiment. One pleasant thought we get from the book: the reminder that Dr. Priestley's sagacity forecast the theory of matter that is now seen to best accord with electrical phenomena. Suppose, too, the centres of force to be the loci of Divine Volitions, and his much-abused "materialism" may well blend with the loftiest spiritual philosophy.

One little book remains. The Rev. W. R. Burgess\* gives us a thoughtful criticism of the views of recent writers on the relations of thought to expression. Admirers of the philosophy of Mr. Mill and Mr. Bain will find useful hints and corrections in this tract. There is also some interesting philological information culled from Bopp and Max Müller, though here we could wish that the author had had the advantage of hearing Professor Key's lectures.

CHARLES B. UPTON.

### 3. *Mr. Voysey's Sermons and Defence.*†

Mr. Voysey's last volume of Sermons, while marked by the same intellectual characteristics as its predecessors, is pervaded by a certain tone of pathetic appeal to the consciences of men, natural to a preacher who has been driven by forces, less and less controllable, to seek a refuge from the heat of the world, "under the shadow of the Almighty." The best justification of Mr. Voysey's heresies is the spirit from which they evidently spring; and yet "the Spirit" is the last authority which can be recognized in an ecclesiastical court. Mr. Voysey was tried for heresy in the "Chancery Court of York;" but the only plea to be urged in defence of such sermons as he has preached is to be found in the words of Paul: "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." As a preacher, Mr. Voysey judges texts of Scripture by a more

\* *The Relations of Language to Thought.* By W. R. Burgess, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1869.

† *The Sling and the Stone.* By Charles Voysey, B.A., Vicar of Healaugh. Defence of the Rev. C. Voysey, B.A., on the Hearing of the Charges of Heresy preferred against him in the Chancery Court of York, on the 1st of December, 1869. Trübner and Co.

literal standard than he would probably wish should be applied to his own words, and rather sees clearly the character of isolated facts and principles, than grasps their subtle relationships to each other and to the mystic history of human faith and sin; but, by reason of his own earnest religious convictions, he undoubtedly tries to awaken the world out of its apathy and indifference, and to persuade the halting and timid to take bolder measures and to trust in God. The world needs not only mediators to smooth the paths between old dogmas and new thoughts, but prophets to declare distinctly what are the differences between the present and the past, and prepare in the desert a highway for the coming Lord. Mr. Voysey's sympathies are with the prophets and not with the mediators; but since ecclesiastical authorities recognize mediators and not prophets, the grounds of his condemnation are not far to seek.

To our mind, no heresies, either plainly uttered or ingeniously discovered, in Mr. Voysey's sermons, can destroy the strength and worth of his reverent fear of limiting the power and glory of God, his solemn eagerness to identify the primal demands of conscience with the sanctities of faith, and his manifest conviction that the God who inspires men to love and respect each other, no matter what religious opinions they may profess, is indeed the true God, and there is none other than He.

We confess our preference of the larger part of the heresies of the sermons to the grounds of the "Defence." The very fact that a preacher needs by ingenuity of argument to reconcile his living thought with the fixed creed of his church, is itself a restriction of the "liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." Is it satisfactory to justify the freedom of a Christian minister by the plea that it is lawful to "contradict any explanation of any mystery which is not inserted in the Thirty-nine Articles, and that without being called upon to supply any other explanation," and that he has only signed an "unintelligible proposition"? Is it any fair part of the work of a religious teacher to profess what is unintelligible and carefully avoid attempts at explanation? The lines of an independent man are surely cast in strangely unpleasant places, when he indicates his claim to think at all by the statement, that he is "not obliged to attach any special meaning" to certain Articles

established by law as the creed of his Church. It may be granted (as Mr. Voysey claims) that the 9th and 11th Articles are confessedly mysterious and exceedingly vague, and that the meaning of the doctrines they contain has been the subject of endless controversy; but is not this very defence a sufficient objection to subscription itself, and a valid reason of escape from entanglement with the yoke of their bondage? In endeavouring to describe in human forms of speech the relationships existing between the soul and its Maker, is it fitting to employ words which to the ignorant may express the strangest superstitions, and to the subtle analyst be destitute of meaning?

The position assumed by Mr. Voysey with reference to the legal aspects of his case is, we believe, just and wise. He has fairly challenged the decision of the only Court which can give an opinion upon the harmony of his doctrines with the standards of his Church, and honourably resolved to abide the issue. The tender mercies of ecclesiastical prosecutors have always been a bitter satire upon the charity which "suffereth long and is kind;" and Mr. Voysey's experiences do not differ from those which have so repeatedly broken the melodies of holy worship with the cries of the victims slain at the altar; but he is undoubtedly right in his conviction that he can only withdraw from the contest by the sacrifice of his manly independence. There can be no "drawn game" in the struggle of the individual soul against ecclesiastical authorities. Church may contend against Church, and in special cases, "draw" the game for power; but the prosecution of Mr. Voysey does not raise a question between Church and Church, but between a living soul and an authority which bids it neither speak nor teach in the name of Jesus.

Whatever the issue, Mr. Voysey has nothing to gain and nothing to lose, for he has neither conceded or retracted any principle he holds; and the verdict of acquittal or condemnation will leave him what he is, a free and honourable preacher of the gospel of Christ according to the grace given unto him.

H. W. CROSSKEY.

4. *Ewald's Introductory Hebrew Grammar*. Translated from the Third German Edition by J. Frederick Smith. 8vo. London: Asher and Co. 1870.

Since Ewald's large Hebrew Grammar (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*), an early edition of which was translated into English by Dr. John Nicholson in 1836, has grown in successive editions to its present bulk of 1000 somewhat closely printed pages, it has become useless as a grammar by which to learn the language, and is to be used mainly as a thesaurus for consultation by maturer scholars, who will find every phenomenon, even the minutest points and rarest phrases, duly recorded and explained there. The latest edition of Ewald's shorter Grammar ("*Hebräische Sprachlehre für Anfänger*"), consequently, is the book which expresses the author's most matured views in a form and scope suitable for learners. This work has, notwithstanding its author's eminence as a Hebraist and the great labour and time he has devoted specially to these grammatical works, never been translated. The Hebrew teachers and learners of this country are therefore greatly indebted to Mr. J. F. Smith for presenting them with a translation of this very handy book, in which, partly through the philosophical arrangement and divisions of the subject-matter itself, and partly by the help of excellent indices and table of contents supplied by the translator, there ought to be no difficulty in finding whatever is wanted. One excellent feature of the book is, that all the tables—alphabet, schemes of nouns and verbs—are placed at the beginning, and can therefore be found in a moment. The want of this occasions frequent trouble in the use of Gesenius' and other grammars.

It is impossible to use this Grammar without a sense of the great advance made by it upon earlier attempts on the same field. Everything is here traced to its source in some general principle, until hardly anything is left to appear arbitrary or anomalous. Scarcely any of the various vowel-changes have to be learned as capricious; the fundamental meanings of the two tenses are so firmly laid down, and so clearly expressed in the names now given to them of *Perfect* and *Imperfect*, in place of the old *Preterite* and *Future* (a change which even the modern editors of Gesenius have

been forced to adopt), that the various uses to which they are put, including even their force after the *Vav conversive*, follow naturally therefrom; and in the syntax the distinction between the principal sentence and the dependent clauses of state or condition is infallibly recognizable. The language thus loses that ambiguity which was really only the result of ignorance of some of its essential principles; so that it ought never again to be said, as I have heard, that Hebrew is admirably fitted for theological dispute, since nearly every sentence may with equal plausibility be made to mean half-a-dozen different things.

At the same time it is quite open to doubt whether Ewald's philosophical arrangement of the facts of the language, followed even in this Grammar for beginners, be the best suited for the learning of the language. To learn all the laws of the collocation, changes, disappearance and insertion of vowels, of the formation of syllables, and of the accent, before a single word has been given upon which to practise them, is to charge the impatient memory too heavily. It is easy to see that no schoolmaster has written the book, but one used to impart only the higher instruction to pupils accustomed to handle books. The difficulty has been so much felt in Germany, that even in schools where this Grammar is adopted as a foundation, exercise-books have been published which take the rules in a very different order, and lead the pupil gradually on, much in the same way as on the Ollendorff or Kerchever-Arnold method. Such exercises as these German masters have provided, including translation in both directions, are much wanted as a companion or introduction to even this introductory grammar. At least three such in German are known to me, based on this grammar, and more have probably been published since the latest of them.

The style of Ewald's book is not very perspicuous, and terms are used without explanation which may be generally intelligible in Germany, but which ought to be defined in a translation; and I fancy the want of such explanation will cause difficulty to students. Thus the word *tone* is never explained, although it is certainly an innovation on English usage to use it of the accented syllable of a word; and, what is worse, the newly-coined word *pretone* is explained in vague terms which will be intelligible only to those who



previously know its application. There is no explanation of the sounds of the letters of the alphabet ; yet the difference between the two *ts*, the two *ks*, and the two *ss*, as well as the nature of *ayin* (which is noted in the table as *gh*), should have been described. The translator would have done better to work more freely, and aim less at producing Ewald's *ipsissima verba*, than at making everything clear to an English student. He is, indeed, far too literal throughout, translating every German particle, even where English idiom either has none exactly equivalent or could better dispense with it. His English will sometimes bear a different meaning from that intended, as at § 216, "The only feeble attempt to form case-endings," by which is meant, not that there were other strong attempts, but that this is the only attempt, and that a feeble one. This Grammar is said to serve for "purely *scientific* readers." I protest against the introduction of this Germanism, *scientific*. *Wissenschaft* is not the equivalent of *science*, but rather of *method*. *Wissenschaftliche Behandlung* is the *methodical treatment* of a subject, laying down its first principles, and proceeding thence to all the legitimate deductions and developments which follow. *Science* is in English absolute knowledge, such as can be had only of the phenomena resulting from the unchanging laws of physical nature or of mathematical and logical truths, and cannot rightly be applied to the products of the free and uncalculable workings of the human mind, whether in language or in thought. Max Müller's *Science of Language* was bad enough, but his lecture the other night on the *Science of Religion* will surely open people's eyes to the absurdity of the German-English use of the term *science*. Much as I regret defects such as I have shewn in the translation, I believe it is generally clear enough to be quite intelligible, and it is certainly a great boon to English students. R. MARTINEAU.

### 5. *Miscellaneous.*

The first work upon our list is entitled, "Judged by his Words : an Attempt to weigh a certain Kind of Evidence respecting Christ."\* There is nothing either new or of great

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\* Judged by his Words. An Attempt to weigh a certain Kind of Evidence respecting Christ. Longmans. 1870.

worth in it. By the employment of a method which most readers, we think, will pronounce fatal to the usefulness of the undertaking, all that could be of true value to an intelligent reader is carefully cut out. The book is an attempt to collect from Christ's words, as recorded in the Gospels, evidence with respect to his nature and character. The method of the writer, however, is to name only by chapter and verse the passages where the words occur, and to accompany each reference with a sort of paraphrase of the passage, followed by suitable reflections or deductions. Perhaps an actual collection of the sayings of Christ, separated from other matter, and given without note or comment, might present in a purer light some points of his character, and so facilitate the weighing of this kind of evidence respecting him; but it is certain that under the method employed in this book the words of Christ meet us, not in their proper integrity, even so far as that is to be found in the Gospels, but notably bent and spoilt by passage through a mind which, like most minds, is not altogether pellucid. Sufficient difficulties surround the subject, without our being called upon to correct unnecessary errors of mental refraction. In addition to this fault of method, the leading design of the book possesses inherent weakness. It is not clearly made out why we should attempt to judge of Christ by one particular class of actions rather than by the whole known record of his life. The plea which is set up for this preference, that "there are very few of his reported acts which do not partake of the miraculous,"\* and that the miraculous must not be relied on as historical evidence, loses its force when we find that throughout the work these miraculous acts are assumed as matters of known fact, and are used even to throw light upon the words of Christ. Besides this, it will surprise no one to discover that this writer finds it impossible to separate words from incident and deeds. In the case, for example, of the stilling of a tempest on the lake of Galilee,† is it from the words only of Christ that evidence is to be gathered as to his character, or rather is not our author right and wise, however unfaithful to his professions, in judging from the whole behaviour of Jesus on the occasion? Though wise enough,

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\* P. 6.

† P. 59.

however, to be thus inconsistent, the writer becomes involved in confusion ; and after a careful perusal of the volume, we find it difficult to say whether the deeds or the words of Christ have after all had the greater share in leading up to the final results. The case is not rendered more palatable to a student by the betrayal everywhere, and sometimes avowal, of a strong bias and prejudgment. We do not say that the mind which undertakes such a task as is here attempted, is not to be itself previously confirmed in some opinion on the subject ; but the impartial sifting and weighing of evidence does require a certain power of detaching the mind from its prepossessions, and of judging from the sceptical side : and this power seems to be wanting to the author of this book. There is, however, much display, and we feel sure a very honest display, of candour. Besides the intention to avoid in the plan of the work all help from anything of a miraculous nature, the evidence from the words of Christ recorded in the fourth Gospel is entirely left out from the final summary. This Gospel, although it appears to the writer "authentic and genuine, and as honest and true as the others,"\* is considered by him as written by John the disciple in his old age, as later in date than the other three Gospels, as supplementary in its purpose and execution, as giving the meaning of what fell from Christ's lips, in the language not of Christ but of John, and, above all, as having been written by John with an ulterior object, beyond that of simply recording acts and words. John "wrote for the purpose of supporting the doctrine of Christ's divinity."†

The actual results attained in this volume are arranged under the two heads of things Proved, Shown or Displayed, and things Claimed or Asserted. They are not in any striking way different from the results ordinarily arrived at by readers who take all that appears in the Gospels as historically reliable. The steps of reasoning which are involved in passing from the things shown or claimed in the words of Christ to a judgment concerning his character and nature, are either omitted, or when given are not sufficiently logical in their process. It is obvious that the extraordinary claims and assertions made by any historical personage may count

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\* P. 284.

† P. 292.

as easily against him as in his favour; and that if he is to come to trial at all, it is necessary to make a further inquiry.

The "*Homiletic Analysis of the New Testament*"\* belongs to a class of works which we cannot greatly admire. Its object is to assist the preacher in his preparation of sermons; and of course it aims primarily at the exhibition of telling points suitable to the impression of a general audience. The subject, in Dr. Parker's own words, is "looked at homiletically."† This is a delusive species of commentary, at best; and, in our judgment, assimilates the exposition of Scripture a little too closely to the sensational sort of literature. We see this tendency even in the title-page, which announces as the introduction to the work, "*An Essay on the Life of Christ considered as an Appeal to the Imagination.*" Our impression of Dr. Parker's writings, so far as we are acquainted with them, is, that they deal somewhat too largely in this speculative and imaginative kind of material, offering it, that is to say, when what is more substantial and satisfying might have been expected. The best advice we can give to those who are disposed to put themselves under such guidance is, that they should be on their guard against being led to neglect the dictates of sound reason, learning and good sense, for what appeals only to the imagination, and is certainly, to our judgment, not always in good taste. For example, at p. 131 and p. 132 of this volume, in reference to the sympathy of Jesus at the grave of Lazarus, we read thus: "The tear of sympathy need not have preceded the shout of power at the grave of Lazarus. But it did, and we thank God for it. God walked forth on the wings of the power, but man trembled in the tear. It was a glorious union. Power with a tear in its eye,—the eyelids of Omnipotence wet with the tears of sympathy. Ay, that is mystery—that is God!" Mystery, indeed. But where would the character and influence of the Gospel narrative have been, if it had followed this style of fine writing?

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\* *A Homiletic Analysis of the New Testament.* By Joseph Parker. Vol. I. *The Gospel by St. Matthew.* 1870.

† P. 215.

Mr. Godwin's "Gospel according to St. Mark"\* is a different kind of book. It is concise, sensible, historical, full of matter, and, we cannot doubt, will be a useful aid to those who read it, whether "homiletically" or otherwise. We must add that we do not like the translation, although no fault need be found with it on the ground of accuracy. But we think the author often departs quite needlessly from the time-honoured and familiar common version. For example, in the first verse of the Gospel, he renders, "The beginning of the Glad-tidings of Jesus Christ, God's Son." Is "Glad-tidings" an improvement upon "Gospel," on any account whatever? And we would similarly ask, what advantage has "God's Son" over the far more euphonious and dignified rendering, "the Son of God"? The former, indeed, omits the article, and in that point is more close to the Greek; but the advantage, we submit, is in this case too dearly purchased.

But, indeed, we would further ask, ought these words to be retained at all? Tischendorf, in his latest edition (1869), omits them as spurious. We put this question the more emphatically because Mr. Liddon in his Bampton Lectures† makes a wonderful use of the words in question. Under the pressure, we suppose, of great need, he appeals to the first verse of St. Mark, as proving that this Evangelist's idea of Christ's relation to God, as Son, is essentially the same as that conveyed by the narratives of the miraculous conception, in the first and third Gospels. This he does on the authority of the words *υιου θεου*, which, however, Tischendorf now tells us are no part of the original text. We do not suppose that Mr. Godwin retains them for any such reason; but we wonder that he does not allude to their doubtfulness, more especially as he gives his readers due notice of the uncertainty which attends the last twelve verses of this Gospel, himself defending their authenticity.

Mr. Bosanquet tells us, in his Preface to the work named below,‡ that a primary object aimed at in it is "to remove

\* The Gospel according to Saint Mark. A New Translation, with Critical Notes and Doctrinal Lessons. By John H. Godwin. 1869.

† P. 511.

‡ Messiah the Prince, or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel, &c. By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S., &c. Second Edition. 1869.

the date of Belshazzar's feast and the change of dynasty at Babylon," and "to place these events exactly forty-six years later than the common date." He believes Daniel to have been the author of the whole of the book bearing his name, with the exception of certain passages in chapters x. and xi. These, he thinks, may have been the comments of some later writer, written probably in the time of the Maccabees, and afterwards incorporated with the original text. He takes the old orthodox view of prophecy, and considers that the words *Messiah the Prince* (Dan. ix. 25, 26) refer directly to Christ, and that the "little horn" signifies the Papacy. He believes that in the "latter days" the Jews will be restored to their former position as a nation, and he dedicates his book to them, as the "inheritors of the kingdom 'which shall not be left to other people.'" What we have said will sufficiently indicate the nature of this work, and we may add that a long and complicated chronological disquisition appears to be conducted throughout with great ingenuity and learning. It is not in our power to enter here into any minuter criticism of the details introduced.

"The Visible Unity of the Catholic Church"\* is the title of a vigorous polemic, which Mr. M. J. Rhodes maintains through two stately octavos, against Dr. Pusey and the Anglo-Catholics. The position of the latter is, that the English, though forced by circumstances into a situation of visible separation from the Catholic Church, is nevertheless not in a state of actual schism, and that the true Catholic Church exists, not embodied in any single communion, but in three branches, Roman, Greek and English, which, though apparently three, are really and substantially one. Against this artificial, we had almost said fantastic theory, Mr. Rhodes contends with considerable success, and his work, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, may be accounted convincing. Reasoning from data and by methods which Anglo-Catholics would find it difficult to impugn, he shews that the unity of the Church, as they and he understand the term, must be a visible unity; while he has no difficulty in heaping up proofs that between Rome and Canterbury there is

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\* The Visible Unity of the Catholic Church, maintained against Opposite Theories, &c. By M. J. Rhodes, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1870.

not, and never has been since the Reformation, anything but disunion. A large part of his work is taken up with the examination of historical precedents, in which he treats his readers to numerous legends of the British Church in the sixth and seventh centuries, which he narrates as if the events of that dark and distant age were as well known to us as those of the eighteenth century. He has indeed throughout an eye to the general reader; his style is clear, lively, sometimes even rhetorical; and he does not hesitate to diverge from the main line of his argument when any opportunity of interesting digression offers itself. At the same time, Mr. Rhodes' work would have no power of persuasion to any but an Anglo-Catholic reader. It begins with a theory of the Church which Protestants reject, and continually assumes what they would regard as requiring proof. Even to such, however, it may be useful in rendering still more clear a fact, of which Anglo-Catholics apparently cannot be persuaded, that Rome will never make terms with them, but will accept their allegiance only on the basis of unconditional surrender. We are much mistaken if they do not find that the Holy Apostolic Church of Greece, upon which they are just now lavishing compliments and caresses, is in the same mood.

Those persons who content themselves with the reports of the public press, can have very little conception of the extent to which Catholic doctrine and practice are making their way in the Church of England. A prosecution here and there, the results of which are easily evaded, rather draws away the attention of the public from the thousand cases which are not prosecuted; while the unofficial utterances and private aspirations of the party are far in advance of the positions which they elect to defend in courts of law, whose jurisdiction they dispute and whose decisions they affect to despise. But then no external authority at all can be brought to bear upon forms of private devotion. Mr. O. Shipley, an indefatigable purveyor of advanced Ritualistic literature, furnishes a practical manual of Invocations of Saints and Angels,\* confining himself at present indeed to scriptural saints and angels (though he promises a volume

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\* *Invocation of Saints and Angels*; compiled from Greek, English and Latin Sources, for the Use of Members of the Church of England. Edited by Rev. O. Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1869.



wholly devoted to the Virgin), and preserving for the most part an indirect form of supplication. Suppose it pleases a clergyman to pray after this fashion, who is to prevent him?

"O heavenly physician and most faithful companion, holy Raphael, who restoredst the sight of Tobit and leddest Tobias through the whole course of his journey and so broughtest him back safely to his home, be thou the physician of my soul and body, drive from me the mists of ignorance, and constantly stand by me amid the dangerous pilgrimage of this life, until thou leadest me back to my Heavenly Fatherland, where I may enjoy the Beatific Vision for ever."

Or if another, adopting Mr. Shipley's "*Ritual of the Altar, according to the Use of the Church of England*,"\* by help of pauses and private prayers and unseen gestures, really turns the service of the Communion into the sacrifice of the Mass, how can the congregation help it? What they see and hear is the familiar Office—often rendered, it is true, in an unfamiliar fashion—and they have nothing to do with the priest's secret and personal devotions. Still less can they meddle with his personal preparation for his work; and if he chooses to make use of a manual of piety like this of Tronson's,† which is just a preparation for confession and communication after the true Roman pattern, they have nothing to say. Yet the object and effect of all such works as these, whether intended for the use of clergy or laity, is to assimilate Anglican with Catholic modes of thought. It is to change the use of Canterbury into the use of Rome. It is to take English religion out of the Protestant into the Papal hemisphere of feeling. So long as this is clearly understood, we have nothing to object against the process. Anything that hastens the time when the principles of Authority and Liberty will come into clear and decisive collision, with no force of insincere and illogical Protestantism between to break the shock and to confuse the issue, is a gain to truth.

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\* *The Ritual of the Altar*; containing the Office of Holy Communion, with Rubrical Directions, Private Prayers and Ritual Music, according to the Use of the Church of England, &c. Edited by Rev. O. Shipley, M.A. London: Longmans. 1870.

† *Examination of Conscience upon Special Subjects*; translated and abridged from the French of Tronson. Edited by Rev. O. Shipley, M.A. *Ascetic Library*, Vol. IV. London: Rivingtons. 1870.

Several recent publications, as well as the proceedings in Convocation, have borne witness to the wide-spread and growing conviction, that the people must have brought before them those questions of scriptural criticism which have hitherto been for the most part confined to scholars. The Roman Catholic author of "*Bible Difficulties*"\* dwells upon the problems that demand solution, in fixing the true text and determining the right translation of the canonical books, in order to lead his readers to the conclusion that the Bible is absolutely useless, as a guide to truth, without an authorized interpreter. He displays considerable ingenuity and scholarship in the suggestions he makes as to the interpretation of the texts he adduces in illustration of his arguments. But he entirely ignores the possibility of the needful interpreter being found in the mental and spiritual powers of the individual inquirer. In a totally different spirit, another writer grounds his appeal solely on the letter of Scripture, and endeavours to justify a modification of current orthodox theology by textual arguments.† But he is compelled, in his very first chapter, to propose a new translation of texts he adduces, changing the meaning generally found in them. The author is evidently sincere and earnest, has thought for himself within certain limits, and has gained an emancipation from some dogmatic errors ; but the style is so bad and the reasoning so unphilosophical, that, though the book is a small one, reading it is a great task. Who can argue with a writer who insists that his own translation and interpretation of Old-Testament texts shall be received as unanswerable proofs of the truth of his assertions respecting the nature and destiny of man, and the whole course of God's dealings with our race?

"*Sermons by J. A. Mackay*,"‡ is an instance of the cruel kindness of well-meaning but mistaken friendship. The author, having been Chaplain of Penang for nine years, was presented on his departure with a testimonial and a request that he would publish a volume of sermons, with his portrait. The portrait, a singularly pleasing one, is the best

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\* *Bible Difficulties: their Teaching Value.* Williams and Norgate.

† *Man next to God in his Original Status and Final Destiny. A Plea for Redemption.* Longmans.

‡ *Molochology not Theology: Penang Sermons.* By James Aberigh-Mackay, B.D., Senior Chaplain of Meerut, &c. Trübner and Co.

thing in the volume. The sermons were probably interesting to the hearers, but to the reader they appear commonplace, marked by no clear logic, no deep scholarship, no novelty of thought or diction. We look in vain among them for a reason for the extraordinary title of the volume. The tone is generally kindly; but even this characteristic vanishes when "infidelity" is spoken of, and the preacher, after alluding to "the Tübingen school," exults in the hope that "God, in His own time, will put a hook in the nose of that Leviathan." Is this the "molochoology" referred to in the title?

The state of thought to meet which "*Primary Truths of Religion*"\* is intended, is a very common one, and the volume will be found interesting and useful by many persons. It is, however, much too small for the magnitude of the topics treated, and the consequence is, in some instances, a baldness and incompleteness that are eminently unsatisfactory. The tone is good throughout, with a union of candour towards opponents with a steady grasp of clear opinions by the writer. The principal blemish is, that among the "primary truths of religion" are included historical questions, with which religion is only incidentally connected.—Africa sends us a volume of sermons† which England might be proud to have produced. The dedication and preface tell us that they were preached to the "Free Protestant Church" in Cape Town, and that they are "the work of a youth,—a licentiate just returned from the University, who therefore has had no practice in the art of writing sermons." They were originally preached in both Dutch and English, and editions are published in both languages. The tone is free and at the same time reverent. The style is at once clear and forcible. The firm hold of the writer on essential truths is as remarkable as his rejection of the forms in which such truths are often presented. Some expressions he may wish to soften and some opinions he may modify, as more years pass over his head; but the value of this volume, as a monument of free thought and

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\* *Primary Truths of Religion.* By Thomas M. Clark, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Rhode Island. Bell and Daldy.

† "*Modern Theology.*" Sixteen Discourses held in the Mutual Hall, Cape Town. By the Rev. D. P. Faure. Cape Town: Van de Sandt de Villiers and Co. London: Trübner and Co.

bold expression, will be perceived far beyond the circle of those among whom it was originally published.

Dr. Adler's volume of Sermons\* on the passages in the Jewish Scriptures usually quoted in defence of the Trinity and of the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy in Christ, is a valuable contribution towards a sounder theory of the connection between the Old and New Testaments than commonly prevails. He naturally makes very light of the argument for the Trinity drawn from the plural form of the name Elohim; and of such passages as Is. vii. 14, ix. 6, 7, gives the historical interpretation commonly adopted by modern scholars who are not caught in the meshes of old prejudice. To such Psalms as the 2nd and 110th, he assigns no Messianic meaning, and interprets Is. liii. of Israel as the servant of the Lord. All this has been set forth often enough before, and is slowly making its way among thoughtful students; but we are not sanguine that it will be listened to more attentively from Jewish than it has been from Unitarian lips. It only remains to add, that nothing could be more admirable than the moderate and cautious tone of Dr. Adler's controversial writing.

"The German Working Man"† is the title of a very interesting little volume, in which Mr. James Samuelson gives the result of inquiries which he has recently made into the "details of the life of the artizan abroad." He describes in a clear and lively way educational institutions and amusements at Elberfeld, a Catholic working man's institute at Cologne, unions for self-culture at Munich and in Switzerland, and the People's Bank and Hall of Industry at Mayence. We cannot attempt to discuss the innumerable practical questions which these various institutions suggest; but the facts of this book ought to be familiar to all who are working for the organization and elevation of the English working classes. Could we but set our insular prejudices aside, France and Germany might teach the middle and lower sections of English society many a lesson of a simple, free, natural life. We heartily commend this book to the attention of our readers.

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\* A Course of Sermons on the Biblical Passages adduced by Christian Theologians in support of the Dogmas of their Faith, preached in the Bayswater Synagogue. By Hermann Adler, Ph.D. London: Trübner. 1869.

† The German Working Man: his Institutions for Self-culture and his Unions for Material Progress. By James Samuelson. London: Longmans. 1869.

Mr. Alabaster, the interpreter of the British Consulate at Siam, gives us, in "*The Modern Buddhist*,"\* much food for thought in a very small compass. This curious little book consists of extracts translated from a volume entitled, "*Kitchanukit*," or "*A Book explaining Many Things*," the author of which is Chao Phya Praklang, who "successfully conducted the foreign affairs of Siam from 1856, when Sir John Bowring's treaty opened the country to foreign trade, until two years ago, when he retired into private life stricken with blindness." The Foreign Secretary of Siam is a cultivated and thoughtful gentleman, with a considerable knowledge of European affairs and methods of thought, who has seen nothing attractive in Christianity in any of the forms under which it has been presented to him, and prefers to abide in his Buddhist faith. The book is one of singular interest to all students of religion, but we particularly commend it to all who are exercised in mind to account for the ill success of missionaries in the East.

Mr. Cox's "*Latin and Teutonic Christendom*"† contains the substance of more than one brilliant essay, which, having originally appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, are here welded together into a whole. We will not say that the operation is so scientifically effected as to have rendered invisible the lines of junction; but, at all events, the result is a very interesting volume, which, while better adapted than a larger one might have been to the habits of modern readers, may suggest inquiries and stimulate studies of wider and deeper scope. At the present moment, when the Œcumenical Council raises many questions in men's minds which are not to be answered without some accurate knowledge of the course of ecclesiastical history, Mr. Cox's essay has a peculiar value. We cordially recommend it to the attention of our readers.

So far as we can penetrate Mr. Gorman's meaning in his "*Athanasian Creed and Modern Thought*,"‡ he greatly

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\* *The Modern Buddhist*; being the Views of a Siamese Minister of State on his own and other Religions. Translated, with Remarks, by Henry Alabaster. London: Trübner. 1870.

† *Latin and Teutonic Christendom: an Historical Sketch*. By Rev. G. W. Cox, M.A. London: Longmans. 1870.

‡ *The Athanasian Creed and Modern Thought*. By Rev. T. M. Gorman, M.A. London: Longmans. 1870.

desires to retain that formula in use, and with this view furnishes an explanation of it, which it appears to us is heretical in the sense of "confounding the persons." The merits of Mr. Gorman's book are the clearness with which he sees that the propriety of worship paid to Christ is the real dividing-line between orthodox and rationalistic religion, and his honourable acknowledgment of the services rendered to theology by Unitarian divines, while, at the same time, he is most strenuously opposed to their characteristic conclusions. — "Church Membership on Church Principles"\* is an essay, apparently by a clergyman of the Irish Church, written with a view of supplying some theoretical guidance in the present disorganized condition of that communion. It contains nothing novel or brilliant either in thought or language, but is throughout characterized by moderation, good sense and a genuine religiousness. The "Church principles" it aims to enforce are what in England we should call only moderately high; but in Ireland they would no doubt assume a more pronounced aspect, in contrast with the prevalent type of decided Evangelicism. "The Religion of the World,"† by H. Stone Leigh, is a thoughtful and sometimes eloquent essay, in which the author advances the thesis, that all religions have a common foundation in human nature, that their several peculiarities fit them for the special work they have to do, and that their position in the intellectual and moral scale chiefly depends upon the degree of civilization in those who hold them. But this theme is not one that can be adequately worked out in a few pages, and we have grave doubts whether Mr. Leigh's learning is equal to the largeness of the task which he has set himself.—Mr. Page Hopps' "Life of Jesus, re-written for Young Disciples,"‡ is hardly to our taste. It is simply and pleasantly written, but we cannot help feeling that for the young nothing is gained by substituting other words for those of the evangelists, and we

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\* Church Membership on Church Principles: an Essay on the Gifts and Functions of the Christian Society. By Rev. R. T. Smith, M.A. Dublin: Hedges, Foster and Co. 1870.

† The Religion of the World. By H. Stone Leigh. London: Trübner. 1869.

‡ The Life of Jesus, re-written for Young Disciples. By J. Page Hopps. London: Trübner.

greatly object to the introduction of statements for which there is no historical evidence, and which are no more than the product of the writer's consciousness. We much prefer the same author's "Church of the Future foreshadowed in the Unitarian Church of To-day,"\* which is a manly and vigorous sermon.

We desire also to give a word of special welcome to a new and cheap edition of Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul,† in one volume, which ought to bring this valuable work within the reach of all Sunday-school teachers. While we refrain from estimating the critical results of this volume, it is only fair to say that it brings together an accumulation of *external* illustration of the life and letters of St. Paul, which the English reader will find nowhere else.—Among other well-known works which are before us in new editions, we would mention Mr. Samuel Greg's "Scenes from the Life of Jesus,"‡ which embodies many alterations and contains two chapters wholly new; a re-issue of Ullmann's "Sinlessness of Jesus,"§ translated from the seventh altered and enlarged edition of the German original; and Mr. Constable's "Duration and Nature of Future Punishment,"|| in which the author reiterates, with fresh illustrations, his thesis of the ultimate annihilation of the lost.

Some three years ago we noticed in favourable terms a pamphlet by Dr. Maziere Brady, impugning the alleged apostolical descent from St. Patrick of the present Irish Episcopate; the answer now comes in the shape of a "Narrative"¶ by Mr. W. H. Hardinge, published for the "National Protestant Union." It chiefly consists of statements extracted from the State Papers and thrown into a tabular

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\* The Church of the Future foreshadowed in the Unitarian Church of To-day. A Sermon, &c. By J. Page Hopps. London: Trübner.

† The Life and Epistles of St. Paul (Conybeare and Howson). New Edition. Longmans. 1870.

‡ Scenes from the Life of Jesus. By S. Greg. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1869.

§ The Sinlessness of Jesus an Evidence for Christianity. By Carl Ullmann, D.D. Translated by Sophia Taylor. Third Edition. Edinburgh: Clark. 1870.

|| The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment. By Henry Constable, M.A., Prebendary of Cork. Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1870.

¶ Narrative in Proof of the Uninterrupted Consecrational Descent of the Bishops of the Church of Ireland, &c. &c. By W. H. Hardinge, Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans. 1869.



form. Upon the very complicated historical questions which it raises, we do not feel inclined or competent to express an opinion. Other pamphlets which lie upon our table are, "A Plea for the Study of Hebrew in Preparation for Holy Orders in the Church of England,"\* in which the author, Mr. Wilkinson, at once laments the paucity of Hebrew scholarship among the clergy, and pleads with convincing urgency that some knowledge of the language of the Old Testament ought to be made a condition of ordination; "The Church in Wales,"† a sensible letter to Mr. G. O. Morgan, M.P., by the Rev. E. St. J. Parry, in which the writer admits the unpopularity of the Church of England in Wales, and frankly confesses its mistakes and shortcomings; "Theological Colleges and Cathedral Reform,"‡ in which is urged the application of cathedral organization and revenues to the work of specifically theological education; and an admirable sermon, on the death of Dr. Rowland Williams, preached at Broad Chalke the Sunday after his funeral, by the Rev. John Owen,§ a clergyman formerly very closely connected with Dr. Williams in ministerial work, but now rector of East Anstey, North Devon.

We especially desire to draw the attention of our readers to Mr. Sedley Taylor's pamphlet on "Clerical Subscription,"|| and Mr. Clarke's on "The Present Dangers of the Church of England."¶ Each the production of a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of a clergyman who has signified his desire to give up his orders, so far as the law permits, they resemble one another in clearness of thought, in sincerity of purpose and in honesty of speech. Taken in

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\* A Plea for the Study of Hebrew in Preparation for Holy Orders in the Church of England. By Rev. W. F. Wilkinson, M.A. London: Longmans. 1870.

† The Church in Wales: a Letter to G. O. Morgan, Esq., M.P. By Rev. E. St. J. Parry, Balliol Coll., Oxon. London: Longmans. 1870.

‡ Theological Colleges and Cathedral Reform. By Rev. G. W. Pennethorn, M.A., Vice-Principal of the Theological College, Chichester. Oxford: Parker. 1869.

§ The Ideal of the Christian Minister. A Sermon, &c. By Rev. John Owen. Published by Request. London: Williams and Norgate.

|| The System of Clerical Subscription in the Church of England: its Unjustifiable Character and Injurious Results examined. By Sedley Taylor, M.A., Vice-Master of Trin. Coll. Cam. London: Macmillan. 1870.

¶ The Present Dangers of the Church of England. By W. G. Clarke, M.A., late Fellow of Trin. Coll. Cam. London: Macmillan. 1869.

connection with Mr. Leslie Stephen's outspoken article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for March of this year, they seem to indicate that at least a section of Broad-Church clergymen are beginning to be dissatisfied with a position which their friends, for them, have long felt to be ambiguous and irksome. Without attempting to estimate on general grounds the comparative advantages of remaining in the Church to leaven it, and seceding from the Church to protest against its errors, we may at least say that the former course has been tried for some time with little effect, and we should be curious to watch the issue of the latter. In any case, whatever practical results may follow, we very heartily welcome and approve both these pamphlets.

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# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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No. XXX.—JULY, 1870.

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## I.—IRENÆUS, POLYCARP AND THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, IN RELATION TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

*An Attempt to ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel ;  
especially in its Relation to the Three First.* By the late  
John James Tayler, B.A. Second Edition. 1870.

*The Evidence from Tradition and from the Fathers applied  
in Support of the Apostolic Origin of the Fourth Gospel.*  
By Daniel Rowland. 1869.

THE following essay relating to the earliest evidence for the fourth Gospel's apostolicity, may be considered supplementary to the discussion in the second volume of our Introduction to the New Testament recently published.\* Written to corroborate the view there given, it professes to examine Irenæus's testimony fully, in connection with Polycarp's on which it is assumed to rest. What is the precise value of the argument for the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel which apologists build on Irenæus? To what does the rhetoric of partizans who appeal to the bishop of Lyons amount? Can it stand the test of historical criticism? If not, why should it foster a traditional belief which it is unable to support?

The testimony of Irenæus respecting the four Gospels has been dwelt upon by recent apologists as if it were exceedingly valuable. This father belonged to the end of the second century, for he was bishop of Lyons from 177 A.D.

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\* An Introduction to the New Testament, critical, exegetical and theological. See Vol. II. (Longmans, 1868.)

onward, and is supposed to have died A.D. 202. His great work against Heresies was written in the days of Eleutherus bishop of Rome (177—190); while a letter of his to Florinus was of later date (190—200). The importance of Irenæus's evidence regarding the present Gospel is deduced from the fact, that in his youth he had sat at the feet of the venerable Polycarp a disciple of John the apostle, who had known many eye-witnesses of Jesus's life. His words to Florinus are these: "I saw you while I was yet a boy, in Lower Asia, with Polycarp, when you were living in scenes of princely splendour and striving to be well-pleasing to him. What took place there is fresher in my memory than what has occurred more recently, for instructions we receive in childhood grow up with our soul and are incorporated with it; so that I can even tell the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and conversed, how he looked as he came in and went out, the character of his life, the form of his body and the conversations he held with the people, how he used to relate his familiar intercourse with John and the rest who had seen the Lord, how he rehearsed their sayings and what things they were which he had heard from their lips about the miracles and teachings of the Lord. All these things Polycarp related in accordance with the writings, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the Word of life."\* Is it credible that Irenæus never heard one word from his teacher respecting the Gospel of John? If he did not, can he have fully accepted it? Would not the very circumstance that Polycarp made no mention of it have convinced Irenæus of its non-authenticity? The fact that the bishop of Lyons used the Gospel as the authentic work of John against false teachers in the early church, shews, not only that he accepted it as the production of an eye-witness, but that Polycarp too considered it such; which is tantamount to the assertion that it was unquestionably John's, since Polycarp was John's disciple. Thus the testimony of Irenæus carries us directly to the true authorship, through Polycarp.

Tischendorf and other apologists lay great stress on the preceding argument. It looks conclusive, and is appealed

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\* Eusebius *Histor. Ecclesiast.* v. 20.

to as such. Many are captivated by its plausibility. Let us examine it.

1. Keim's reasoning effectually disposes of the argument in question. It supposes that Irenæus made an involuntary mistake in confounding John the apostle with John the elder, and making Polycarp the hearer of the former instead of the latter. It is certain that he speaks of one John only ; and that he regularly calls Polycarp's John the Lord's "disciple," not "apostle."\* It agrees with Keim's hypothesis that Polycarp was the friend and contemporary of Papias, the latter being a hearer of Aristion and John the elder, not of John the apostle, since he collected traditional accounts of the apostles from persons who had seen and heard them.†

In Irenæus's letter to Victor he makes Polycarp the hearer of "the apostle" John ;‡ and it is natural to interpret the commoner way of describing him by this fact. It seems improbable that the bishop of Lyons confounded the two individuals. He could scarcely invert a plain matter of fact relating to a person, else his mind and memory were strangely at fault. We believe that he was not mistaken in supposing Polycarp a hearer of the apostle. Eusebius interprets his testimony in the usual way, at least in his Ecclesiastical History. Jerome also understood it so. He even makes the apostle ordain him bishop of Smyrna. But he often misinterpreted earlier writers. Hence Keim's hypothesis, ingenious as it is, does not commend itself to our mind. As to Zahn's idea that the presbyter John had no existence, it is too extravagant to deserve attention,§ though some have caught at it. Traditional theologians getting him out of the way arrive at *apostolic* testimony more easily than they could with his distinct personality intervening.

2. When it is asked, Is it possible that one taught by Polycarp was deceived as to the authentic writings of John? or, Is it possible that he decided otherwise than his first master? the answer is obvious. We cannot tell how Polycarp decided about the fourth Gospel, because no informa-

\* ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου ; discipulus Domini.

† Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, Vol. I. p. 163.

‡ Πολύκαρπος ἄτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, κ. τ. λ.

§ In the Studien und Kritiken for 1866, p. 643, et seq.

tion exists on the subject; and as to Irenæus mistaking John's authentic writings, the supposition is natural, because he followed tradition. He *did* make mistakes about one of the apostle's works, the Apocalypse, which is a presumption that he was inaccurate in relation to another.

3. Irenæus does not appeal to Polycarp's testimony on behalf of the Gospel, though it was directly to his purpose to do so when writing to Florinus who had embraced Monarchian doctrine and pushed it to the extreme of making God the author of sin. We have no means of determining whether Florinus doubted the Gospel's authenticity, though even Tholuck allows its possibility. Still the fact remains, that Irenæus refers him, through Polycarp, to John's *oral teaching*, not to *the written Gospel*. Would not the latter have been more effectual in convincing the heretic of his wrong opinions?

4. Irenæus affirms that the Revelation was written towards the end of Domitian's reign (A.D. 96). For its Johannine authorship he refers to "the elders," not to what he had heard from Polycarp. He also states that John published his Gospel during his abode at Ephesus in Asia. For its Johannine authorship he neither refers to the elders nor to Polycarp. Why did he not adduce vouchers in both cases? It was of greater importance that he should appeal to good authority on behalf of the Gospel than the Apocalypse, because he controverted heretics who rejected the former. What stronger argument against them than a direct appeal to Polycarp, John's hearer? The fact that he does not refer to Polycarp shews that he had heard nothing from him on the subject, either in youth or mature age.

5. To prove that Irenæus's knowledge of John's writings was not derived from Polycarp, it is only necessary to point out its incompleteness. He asserts, for example, that the fourth Gospel was written against the Nicolaitanes and Cerinthus. If this information proceeded from Polycarp, it is erroneous in part. If he learnt the authorship of the Gospel from Polycarp, he must also have learnt its object, since the two things are closely connected. We must hold consistently that Polycarp gave him both pieces of information, or neither. If he gave both and one is erroneous, the other too is erroneous. As he could not, however, have told what was incorrect respecting the main object of the



Gospel (for the contrary supposition is out of the question), neither did he instruct Irenæus in its authorship.

Irenæus is mistaken in saying that the Apocalypse appeared at the end of Domitian's reign; a date contradicted by internal evidence. He did not know the meaning of the number 666, symbolizing the beast. He supposed that the Apocalypse and the Gospel proceeded from the same person within the space of three or four years; which is inconsistent both with the characteristics of the two, and with mental psychology. How could the apostle's mind, casting off its Jewish-Christian, sensuous, narrow type, become anti-jewish, philosophical, spiritualizing, idealistic, in the space of four years; or the reverse, if the Apocalypse followed the Gospel? The best critics, Lücke, De Wette, Bleek, Ewald, admit diversity of authorship, believing that no length of time could metamorphose an individual so thoroughly as the authorship of both works implies. To say that the Apocalypse comprehends all the essential points of the Gospel's theology, as has been affirmed, is to shut one's eyes to its teaching; since the personal coming of Christ to punish the heathen enemies of his people especially Antichrist in the person of Nero, and to reign over his elect, is unknown to the Gospel, where the future advent of the Redeemer merges into the sending of the Paraclete.

Irenæus was an uncritical and credulous man. On the authority of the elders who saw John the apostle, he believed Jesus to have taught that in the millennium vines would spring up each having ten thousand stems, and one stem ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed would give twenty-five measures of wine. And when any of the saints shall have taken hold of one cluster, another shall cry out: I am a better cluster, take me; through me, bless the Lord.\*

Irenæus also believed, on the authority of all the elders, those conversant in Asia with John the disciple of the Lord, that our Lord's ministry included more than ten years.

6. There is good ground for supposing that Papias was one of the authorities to whom the bishop of Lyons refers,

for he belonged to the elders who are sometimes styled "disciples of the apostles." But Polycarp, who would have carried more weight, is never cited. Irenæus's references are vague, consisting at times of secondary, unreliable traditions. He listened to reports. If he treasured up Polycarp's words, why does he not quote them even for the disputed authenticity of the fourth Gospel? The only answer is, that Polycarp had said nothing about it. Why? Because he was unacquainted with the work. How could he speak of it about 140 A.D., if Justin himself did not know of its existence? Irenæus, born about 140, may have listened to Polycarp about 150—155. If so, the latter could hardly have been aware of its existence at that time. And had he heard of or seen it, the fact of his not receiving it as John's would account for his silence. The old man's conversations must have consisted of practical counsels and exhortations, rather than the authentication of books. Besides, if Irenæus was a mere boy when he heard Polycarp, it is possible that all his youthful recollections were not faithfully retained. In the course of fifty years, they were probably confused or coloured. Later blended unconsciously with earlier ideas; and memories were distorted.

7. Some circumstances make it probable that the bishop of Lyons *exaggerated*. He speaks of Polycarp's "familiar intercourse with John and the rest who had seen the Lord." One born about 80 A.D. *may have* seen and heard the apostle John, in early youth; but that he was his "familiar associate" is most improbable. Much less can we suppose Polycarp to have been the companion or disciple of "the rest who had seen the Lord," i.e. of all the apostles. His alleged intercourse with the apostles is a puzzling fact in whatever way it be considered; indicating more zeal than clear recollection on the part of its voucher. The same remark applies to the statement about Polycarp's appointment by the apostles as an overseer in the church at Smyrna. An impartial reader cannot but suspect, that Irenæus's repeated assertions about Polycarp's companionship with the apostles, and his learning from them the true doctrines of the church, are coloured by orthodox fervour.

8. Though *the elders* (seniores), who are Irenæus's chief authorities, elude a critic's grasp, they are made much of by apologists. That he knew little of them appears from

the manner of his references. "As I heard from a certain elder ;"\* "an elder refreshed us and said ;"† "one superior to us said ;"‡ "one of the ancients says ;"§ "an elder disciple of the apostles disputed ;"|| "one of those who have gone before us said ;"¶ "a divine elder and herald of the truth has proclaimed," &c.\*\* Should any contend that he knew his authorities exactly, be it so. But let them be valued aright. If they carry us back to a time close upon that of the apostles or the first part of the second century, as is asserted, let it be conceded for argument's sake. According to Irenæus, they testified to the absurd teaching of Christ respecting the millennium and his ten years' ministry. Their authority for the existence of John's Gospel prior to 140, is as good as it is for the teaching of Christ about vines in the millennium or his ten years' ministry, i.e. it is worthless. Elders who saw the apostle John represent our Lord uttering ridiculous sentiments regarding the millennial period ; "all the elders" testified to his ten years' ministry ; "elders" (so it is alleged) quoted words of his from John xiv. 2. Let the authority of the witnesses be accepted in all cases, or rejected in all. Will the advocates of the Gospel's authenticity abide by that result ?

It is not certain, however, that the elders quoted from John xiv. 2. The passage which Irenæus gives from them is the following : "[At the restoration of all things] as the elders say, they who have been counted worthy of life in heaven shall go thither, and others shall enjoy the indulgence of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the city ; for everywhere the Saviour shall be seen as they who see him shall be worthy. This distinction of dwelling, they taught, exists between those who brought forth a hundred-fold, and those who brought forth sixty-fold, and those who brought forth thirty-fold ; of whom some shall be taken up into heaven, some shall live in Paradise and some shall inhabit the city ; and it was for this reason the Lord said, in his Father's house are many mansions."†† The concluding clause of this paragraph may either belong to

\* Adv. Hæres. iv. 27.

† iv. 31.

‡ i. 13, 3.

§ iii. 23, 3.

|| iv. 32, 1.

¶ v. 17.

\*\* i. 15, 6. See Routh's Reliquiæ Sacræ, Vol. I. p. 47, &c.

†† v. 36, 1.

Irenæus himself or to the elders. The whole is given, not as an exact quotation from the elders, but as an indirect one expressed in the narrator's own way. How far he modifies or adds to the words and ideas of the elders for the sake of illustration, does not appear. The last clause may be his addition, or it may be the elders' testimony. But whatever be thought of this, we know that in Irenæus's phraseology Papias was one of "the elders." Now the *Exposition* of this father can scarcely be dated before 150, and he lived till 164 A.D. *The elders*, therefore, do not necessarily belong to *the beginning* of the second century; and John's Gospel is not carried up by the quotation to that date. The title is employed loosely, comprehending those who lived in any part of the second century prior to Irenæus himself.

9. Our conclusion is, that Irenæus had no authority for assigning the fourth Gospel to John except a vague ecclesiastical tradition. Could he have appealed to Polycarp, he would have done so. Instead of that, he resorts to allegorical reasoning to prove that there could be neither more nor fewer than four Gospels; which implies a deficiency of substantial evidence. "Since there are four quarters of the world in which we are, and four principal winds, while the Church has spread over all the earth; and the pillar and foundation of the Church is the gospel and the spirit of life; it follows that she should have four pillars breathing forth immortality everywhere and quickening men. Whence it is manifest that he who is the artificer of all things, the Word, who sits upon the cherubim and contains all things, he who was manifested to men, gave us a fourfold Gospel which is bound together by one spirit. As David also, asking for his advent, says, 'Thou that sittest on the cherubim, shine forth.' For the cherubim are four-shaped, and their forms are emblems of the working of the Son of God. . . . . Such as is the working of the Son of God is the form of the animals; and such as the form of the animals is the character of the Gospel. The animals are quadriform, the Gospel is quadriform, the working of the Lord quadriform. For this reason also four principal testaments were given to the human race. . . . . By so many and so great arguments we shew that they alone are true and firm; and that it is not possible to receive more or fewer Gospels than those

mentioned before."\* The many and great arguments (*tot et tanta*) adduced by Irenæus doubtless comprehended all that he could state on behalf of four Gospels. It is for the reader to judge how far they are convincing. The four quarters of the globe, the four winds, the fourfold shape of the cherubim, the four testaments or covenants, require four Gospels! Mystic reasons these, not historical proofs. It is clear that they imply a lack of better grounds. There is not a trace of historical research in Irenæus as to the questions, whether apostles completed four Gospels, or when they recommended the completed number to the church. All he could say was, that four were necessary because there are four winds, four pillars of the church, fourfold cherubim. Hence it is decidedly untrue to say, with a writer in Herzog's *Encyklopædie*, that Irenæus "attests the authenticity of the Gospel out of the tradition of Polycarp." Irenæus's polemic zeal had an interest in upholding the Gospel, because it was useful to him in combating the dualism of the Cerinthian Gnostics. The fact that it had been already accepted as an apostolic document in churches, its manifest excellence, its dogmatic utility, recommended it to the bishop of Lyons.

10. The preceding observations make it easy to believe that the good bishop's mental habits would not prove a barrier to his acceptance of the fourth Gospel as Johannine after it had been current as such for about thirty years. He also lived at a distance from Asia Minor, the seat of the aged apostle's ministry. It is true he heard Polycarp when a boy; but that fact does not make his testimony to the Gospel's authenticity conclusive, without assuming that Polycarp, speaking to him of John's writings, attested their authenticity, and that Irenæus retained a correct recollection of what he heard. The latter's mistakes about these very works, and his frequent appeals to "the elders," often to individuals whom he does not name, prove that Polycarp gave him no such information as is alleged. In short, the bishop of Lyons was in the same position as Justin Martyr

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\* *Adv. Hæres.* iii. 11, 8: "Quoniam autem sola illa vera et firma, et non capit neque plura præterquam prædicta sunt, neque pauciora esse evangelia, per tot et tanta ostendimus." What is the nominative to *capit*? Is it used impersonally? Is it an idiomatic expression, equivalent to, "it is possible"? Unfortunately we cannot tell what was the original Greek.

for ascertaining the authenticity of the New-Testament writings; or rather in a more unfavourable one, because he lived later.

Those who rely so much on Irenæus in proof of the Gospel's authenticity, expose the weakness of their cause by entrusting it to an uncritical man who believed in the infallibility of the seventy translators, in the truth and canonicity of the histories of Susanna and Bel written by Daniel (!),\* in Ezra's miraculous inspiration which enabled him to restore all the lost Scriptures, and in the performance of miracles *in his own day*, such as the exorcism of evil spirits, the healing of the sick, prophetic communications, visions, and the raising of the dead. Mental characteristics affect testimony. If one be biassed and credulous, if he be more zealous than critical, his credibility is lessened. Honest orthodoxy does not exclude unreasoning faith. Its direct tendency is rather to foster it. Irenæus was an ecclesiastical realist, who attached himself to the traditional doctrine of the apostles, and was averse to speculation. Episcopal succession, Scripture and tradition, were the guides he followed. Hence Dean Waddington candidly says, "Admitting that Irenæus, who presently succeeded Justin, by his oriental birth and correspondence may have received some uncorrupted communications transmitted through two generations from the divine origin, *we shall still find it very difficult to distinguish these from the mere human matter with which they may be associated.*"

The mode in which the interests of the Catholic Church influenced Irenæus is evident from his making Clement a direct disciple of the apostles, which is irreconcilable with a third place in the line of bishops who presided over the Roman Church after the apostles, i.e. Linus, Anacletus, Clement. As it was important, in the view of this father and others, to bring celebrated names of the past into immediate connection with the apostles, he does not scruple to say that Clement "had seen the apostles themselves and conversed with them; that he still had the preaching of the apostles ringing in his ears and their doctrines before his eyes." Yet Clement could not have been the scholar of Peter or Paul. That he had heard the apostles is most

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\* At the beginning and end of the Greek version of Daniel.

improbable, and we are surprised at Dr. Donaldson's thinking Irenæus's statement to that effect very likely in itself. The Clementines first bring him into contact with the former apostle, by taking him out of his true historical position ; though they attribute his conversion to Barnabas, and forthwith attach him to Peter who appears as the apostle of the Gentiles. Yet the bishop of Lyons was long enough in Rome to have consulted authentic sources, if they existed ; or to have ascertained the fact of Peter's official life there, and Clement's association with him. We cannot rely on the testimony of a man whose mind was perverted by a tendency to connect documents, men and doctrines with the apostles, while he was building up a Catholic Apostolic Church with inspired books and divine dogmas, against the heretics of his time. He was not only uncritical, but an advocate of traditions whose incorrectness he might have found had he wished, because they related to matters of fact. The tradition about Peter and Paul laying the foundation of the Roman Church together, could hardly have originated earlier than the middle of the second century, when the Petrine and Pauline Christians began to approximate, and their differences had lost the sharp antagonism of early times. Surely Irenæus could have looked back thirty years or more had he been so disposed, and seen the baselessness of the tradition. But that would not have suited the interests he had at heart. How readily he resorts to tradition appears from the fact, that he adduces all the elders who assembled in Asia with the apostle John, to attest the almost fifty years' age of Jesus. John himself told the elders that age. And not only the last apostle, but other apostles too, related the fact to some of the same elders. John and other apostles are constituted vouchers for the fifty years' age. Hence language to the effect that Irenæus had "peculiar advantages for obtaining accurate information ;" "that he was the very man to make sure that the sources to which he looked for a knowledge of Christ were of the most trustworthy character," proves empty sound.

11. It is unnecessary to examine the Epistle of Polycarp, because it contains no quotation from the fourth Gospel. Were its authenticity even granted, nothing in it bears upon our subject. Ebrard asserts the contrary ; but his supposed proof is erroneous. The arguments and manner of this



scholar do not commend themselves to good critics. The letter, however, is either interpolated in various places, as Ritschl supposes, or it is supposititious. The author of the Ignatian Epistles had probably something to do with it. Were the entire authenticity conceded, the defenders of John's Gospel would not gain, but lose, because the influence of the Gospel does not appear in the letter. That of Peter's first Epistle and of the Pauline ones is prominent. The mould of the fourth Gospel is wholly absent from Polycarp's production. How can this fact be explained consistently with the writer's association with an apostle from whom that Gospel is supposed to have proceeded? Could the bishop of Smyrna have failed to receive a mental stamp from the man who presided over the church at Ephesus and penned a work so distinctive? We cannot think so. Words are cited from John's first Epistle in the production of Polycarp, a fact consistent with the priority of that letter to the Gospel.

12. Those who advocate the Johannine authorship of the Gospel, discovering testimonies to their purpose in the Epistle of Barnabas, the Clementines, and Justin Martyr, must be puzzled to explain why the Barnabas-letter, so far from making a direct quotation from it, avoids all mention of the Logos-doctrine, the Comforter, and the kingdom of God *as present*. They must also find it hard to account for the fact that Justin Martyr and the Clementines employed other sources, the Synoptists among them, where the fourth Gospel was more to their purpose; that they believed Christ's ministry to have lasted only for a year, and his usual mode of teaching to have been by short parables. We agree with those who think that the Gospel was used in the Homilies, as they did not appear till towards 170 A.D.; but the writer of them employed the Synoptists chiefly, having little acquaintance apparently with the later work. It is, however, impossible to shew that Barnabas and Justin employed the fourth Gospel; though Keim, departing from most of the critics with whom he denies its Johannine authorship, has tried to do so. Apologists should also explain Papias's silence about the Gospel, while he used the first Epistle of John, instead of simply asserting that "the two writings are so especially united, that their apostolical authority must be decided by one inquiry;" a statement

notoriously incorrect. What Papias thought of the first Epistle's authorship is unknown, because Eusebius says nothing about it. That the historian quotes *the title given to it by Papias* (ἡ Ἰωάννου πορεία) is most unlikely. It has been alleged, indeed, that *Eusebius's* silence respecting the express testimonies of Papias to the Gospel does not necessarily infer *Papias's*; that we are ignorant of his special plan; that the title of his book shews it was not intended to include *all* the "oracles of the Lord;" but the historian had an interest in giving what the bishop of Hierapolis said about the books of the New Testament; and it is most improbable that in an "Exposition of the Lord's discourses," the author would take no notice of a Gospel emphatically characterized by its record of them. It may be true, that the book was not meant to include *all* the discourses; but would those belonging to Matthew and Mark's works be singled out, to the exclusion of the Johannine ones? Would not the latter be first attended to? In the assertion of anonymous writers that John dictated the Gospel to Papias,\* we have perhaps an old conjecture to account for the silence of the Hierapolitan father respecting it.

Why did the ancient church so generally represent John as *reluctant* to write?† Whence arose traditions which gave disciples a share in the Gospel?‡ Do not these facts imply a feeling of difficulty in believing that the apostle was sole author? Again, why was no general interest in our Gospel awakened till toward the close of the second century? Why did the condemned Gnosis first help to procure esteem for it? Why did it encounter opposition after it had been raised to the same rank with the Synoptists and even preferred to them by Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, the author of the Muratorian fragment and others; as we learn

\* Prolog. in Cod. Vat. Alex. No. 14: "discripsit (Papias) vero evangelium dictante iohanne recte." Catena apud B. Corderium; ὑπαγόρευσε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῇ παπία ἐμβιώτῃ τῷ ἱεραπολίτῃ, κ. τ. λ.

† ὕστερον ἀναγκάζει τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸν Ἰωάννην παραιτούμενον εὐαγγελίσασθαι . . . . . ἀναγκάζεται ἐκθέσθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Eriphan. Hæres. li. 12. See Lücke's note on this passage in his Commentar ueber das Evangelium des Johannes, dritte Auflage, Vol. I. pp. 163, 164. "Coactus est ab omnibus pene tunc Asiæ episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus," &c. Jerome's Proem. in Matth. "Compulsus ab episcopis Asiæ de coeterna patri divinitate scripsit adversus hæreticos." Pseud-Augustinus.

‡ συνεγράφη ὑπο τοῦτον ἰωάννην ὅτε ἦν ἐν ἐξορίᾳ ἐν πάτμῃ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ τραϊάνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐξεδόθη ἐν ἐφέσῳ διὰ γαίον, κ. τ. λ.

from the first paschal dispute ; and from the Alogi of whom Epiphanius speaks ? The explanation of its origin given in the Muratorian canon implies anything but universal reception. It is there related that John said to his fellow-disciples and bishops who exhorted him to write, "Fast with me for three days, and let us relate to one another the revelation we receive to whichever of the two parties the revelation may be given. On that very night it was revealed to Andrew of the apostles that John should describe all things in his own name, all sanctioning it." As the canon calls the apostle John a *disciple*, his *fellow-disciples* seem to be the apostles. Hence it is declared that *all* the apostles attested his Gospel, which is represented as a *universal* one,\* in contrast with the earlier and one-sided. Thus the narrator is not only a defender, but an encomiast of the work. Is it not therefore a significant fact that the earliest account of the Gospel's origin is legendary ? A correct knowledge of its occasion and authorship would have precluded recourse to legend.

Clement of Alexandria, according to Eusebius, speaks of John being encouraged by his friends to write ; and Jerome, apparently following the Muratorian canon, says that John was "*compelled* by almost all the bishops of Asia at that time, and by embassies from many churches ;" while in another work he states that John was merely *asked* to write, by the bishops of Asia.† Irenæus asserts, that the Gospels can neither be fewer nor more than four ; "so great is the certainty about these Gospels, that the heretics themselves bear testimony to them ; and setting out with them, each one endeavours to strengthen his doctrine by that means."‡ Polemic zeal (*disputationis æstus*, as Massuet calls it) prompted the worthy father to employ such exaggerated language. He forgot the Alogi who rejected the Gospel. In another place he himself states that the Ebionites used Matthew's only (i.e. the Gospel of the Hebrews). The majority of the Docetæ held to Mark's. The Marcionites accepted a mutilated Luke as the only genuine Gospel, rejecting those of Matthew and Mark. Antimontanists (?)

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\* Ut recogniscentibus cunctis, Iohannes suo nomine *cuncta* describeret.

† Adv. Hæres. iii. 11, 7.

‡ Rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis. De Viris illustr. cap. ix.

did not admit the Gospel in which the Lord promised that he would send the Comforter.\* Heracleon and Marc, disciples of Valentinus, used other Gospels besides the canonical. Irenæus himself asserts this of the Valentinians. Heracleon, for example, employed the *Preaching of Peter*. Hegesippus, who was at Rome between A.D. 160 and 170, used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, without giving offence. It is therefore incorrect to say that those outside the Church, as well as those within, employed the four canonical Gospels authoritatively or exclusively. The heretics, in Irenæus's time, did not believe them inspired. His own opinion is different. What he tries to establish is a complete recognition of Catholic tradition respecting the New Testament. He wishes to shew that the books then received by the Catholic Church were the only authentic ones that had authority. In this endeavour he could not prove that they alone were universally admitted in Christian circles, but only that they were *ecclesiastically* recognized; in other words, that the Catholic Church of his day had begun to adopt them as the only authoritative, inspired writings for orthodox Christians. His attempt to fix the canon was perhaps a laudable one, since the Gnostics were troublesome on the one side, and Jewish Christians on the other; but his judgment and accuracy were inferior to his zeal.

The testimonies of the Muratorian Canon, Clement and Jerome, indicate that an explanation of the origin, and a justification of the apostolic authorship, of the fourth Gospel were needed. When the diversities between it and the Synoptists began to be noticed, as they were by the Alogi; when heretics disturbed the Catholic Church by their rejection or mutilation of canonical books, and *authoritative* documents seemed necessary, the latest Gospel was formally assigned to the apostle John, agreeably to its own intimations, and a suitable mode of origination was devised. A fast, with a divine revelation, inaugurated the work, and the apostles sanctioned it.

The preceding remarks shew that *all* did not receive the

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\* Alii vero ut donum spiritus frustrentur, quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quæ est secundum Ioannis evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit, etc. (Ad. Hæres. iii. 11, 9). The *alii* is ambiguous, some referring it to Montanists, others to Anti-montanists. See Scholten's discussion in his *De æltesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften d. N. T.* p. 143.

fourth Gospel as John's immediately after it appeared. Even in Theophilus's time (about 180) its acceptance was not universal. And a passage in Irenæus plainly implies that its authenticity and canonical authority were not established when he wrote.\* A degree of reserve still attended its adoption; a fact explained both by its late appearance and unknown authorship. Even in the third century all opposition to it had not disappeared; for Hippolytus wrote in its defence, with a view to suspicions still attaching to the authenticity. Soon after it was written, the Church, feeling the need of *divine* or *inspired* books to appeal to in their controversies with heretics—books as authoritative as the Old Testament—fastened on *apostolicity* as the test of *Scripture*. Mark's Gospel was rested on Peter; Luke's on Paul. Who then but the last apostle could be found to father the supplementary Gospel?

The careful student of history knows that at the close of the second and commencement of the third century, a doctrinal conviction regulated the acceptance of writings handed down from a prior time, rather than historical criticism. This is plain from Irenæus, and from Tertullian's treatise against Marcion, as well as his "De Præscriptione Hæreticorum." It appears also from the application which Clement of Alexandria makes of the word *apostle* to Clemens Romanus and Barnabas. The estimate of traditional writings depended on doctrinal interest. Works current in the church were valued from a dogmatic point of view, not from an independent estimate of their origin and character.

13. The following fallacious argument has been quietly insinuated. Because Irenæus looked upon the Gospels as *scripture*, i.e. inspired and authoritative, the Christians of the second century before him did the same.

The earliest source of Christian doctrine was oral tradition, on which believers mainly relied. Documents were but partially circulated, and many were in process of composition. The same basis of faith continued into the second century, co-existing with an appeal to writings, in different proportions. When oral tradition receded as the source of Christian doctrine, the process of investing the four Gospels with divine authority was gradual. It had not been effected

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\* Adv. Hæres. iii. 11, 9.

when the Epistles of Clemens Romanus, Ignatius and Polycarp appeared. Papias did not assume it, but preferred oral tradition to writings. Celsus drew his arguments not only from the four Gospels, but from tradition or apocryphal writings;\* for the former were not clothed with exclusively divine authority even in his day. The first Catholic father who contributed largely to the formation of a canon infallibly inspired was Irenæus. His confutation of the Gnostic sects facilitated the completion of a New Testament list of *Scripture* books. Till about 170 A.D., no part of the New Testament was elevated to the rank of "Holy Scripture," i. e. inspired and authoritative. The first clear trace of the sacred writings being considered *Scripture* is in Dionysius of Corinth (A.D. 170). After him, Theophilus of Antioch (180) and Irenæus quote several parts of the New Testament as such. But the separation of canonical from uncanonical productions was not *completed* in the time of these fathers; the Epistles of Clemens Romanus and Barnabas, with the Shepherd of Hermas, being still adduced as *Scripture*.

Thus the manner in which some throw back the ideas of Irenæus to the commencement of the second century is unhistorical. His notion of canonicity is as little apostolic as that of the Catholic Church. Both were the result of a conflict of opinions between Jewish, Pauline, and Gnostic Christians in the last half of the second century—a result brought about by the three great teachers, Irenæus, Clement and Tertullian. It is therefore fallacious to transfer their belief to a prior time, even to that of Justin. A canon did not exist in the days of Justin and Hegesippus, and consequently in the time of Marcion. As the two former neglected Paul and his writings, the last rejected the other apostles and all existing Gospels, save that of Luke which he adapted to his purpose. Marcion could do so the more readily since there was no settled list of inspired books. After Irenæus, Tertullian, and other leaders of the Catholic Church, fixed a canon equally authoritative with the Old Testament, heretics did not reject or mutilate sacred writings, but interpreted them differently from the orthodox, i. e. in an esoteric sense.

These remarks shew the incorrectness of a learned arch-

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\* Origenes contra Celsum, i. 40, ii. 74, v. 54, viii. 71.

bishop's assertion, "From the first the four Gospels were recognized as genuine and as inspired." They were not raised to the rank of *inspired* writings till after the middle of the second century.

14. Traditionalists often refer to the great chasm between the canonical writings of the New Testament and those of the apostolical fathers. In point of excellence the two are separated by a vast interval. The same remark is applied to apocryphal works—the Gospels, Acts and Apocalypses, which appeared in the second and following centuries. There is truth in it. A great difference between the two classes of writings is perceptible. The uncanonical are inferior to the canonical. But one element is overlooked, viz. that the best of the fictitious works have been adopted as canonical. The spiritual instincts of the Church selected the finest parts of early Christian literature, leaving the remainder to neglect. This fact serves to account for a phenomenon which is often adduced against deniers of the fourth Gospel's authenticity as well as that of the Pastoral Epistles and other books now in the canon. Since the best works of the second century have been added to the authentic ones of apostles or apostolic men, and the inferior left, it is easy to say, Look at the extra-canonical literature of the second century, how poor and feeble it is compared with the canonical. The second century was not so barren in excellent productions as is alleged. It gave birth to the Epistle to Diognetus, Clement's letter to the Corinthians and to the Clementines, portions of which are conceived and written in a spirited style. Are not these worthy to be put beside the canonical letters of Jude and James? The genius of the new religion did not exhaust all its strength in the first century. Its creations animated the second, fading only as the pure teaching of Jesus was encumbered with dogmas and definitions foreign to its nature. When *writings* took the place of living spirit, the Church's inspiration became cold, and creative power decayed. Christ's presence was realized feebly. The souls of his followers were not sufficiently penetrated with the ardent convictions or elevated by the divine enthusiasm, which are the outcome of such a religion. The promised Comforter found an ungenial atmosphere amid the construction of creeds and ecclesiastical machinery.



The excellence of a work does not depend on apostolic authorship. The Gospels of Mark and Luke proceeded from non-apostolic men. *Intrinsic value* is the true test of a Gospel or Epistle. But why, it is said, adopt the work of a *forgery* and elevate it into a rule of belief? If it did not stand in actual connection with the person of John, it must have been an intentional, systematic deception. So Baumgarten-Crusius asserts, a scholar from whom a better judgment might have been expected, had his perception not been so obtuse as to allow the obvious misstatement that a Jewish Christian of Palestinian origin is definitely shewn in the character, form and language of the Gospel! The term *forgery* or *impostor* is absolutely unsuited to the man who wrote the fourth Gospel, because he did not wish to deceive but to instruct. An innocent device employed for the sake of wider usefulness should not be stigmatized from a modern point of view. The author of Ecclesiastes personated Solomon; yet his work is in the Jewish canon. The vehicle he employed did not exclude his writing from the inspired list. The author of Daniel personated a prior prophet; yet the Jews admitted the work as divine. Why should the early Christians be denied a similar privilege? Did not the orthodox Roman writer of the Muratorian canon accept the Epistle of Jude, with the second and third of John, for the use of the Catholic Church, *because they were composed in honour of apostles*, though he looked on them as supposititious? Does not Tertullian testify to the admission of the presbyter who wrote the history of Paul and Thecla, that *he did so out of love to Paul*?† Thiersch himself allows that there may have been *Christians* in the first half of the second century who took the liberty of composing religious books under the false names of predecessors, like the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, *The Acts of Paul*, and *The Apocalypse of Peter*. The fourth Gospel is indeed a wonderful composition, the emanation of a pro-

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\* "Epistola sane Judæ et superscripti (?) Johannis duas in catholica (ecclesia) habentur, ut sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta." There is little doubt that the *et* of the MS. should be *ut*, as it is read by most critics. Bunsen, who retains it, resorts to improbable conjectures.

† Sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum, id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Tertullian de Baptismo, 17.

found spirit ; so is the book of Job. So also is the Deutero-Isaiah. What though the names of the three authors have perished, they live in their works. The great unknown of Asia Minor had the help of traditions and writings. He may possibly have conversed with some of John's disciples at Ephesus, and learned a few particulars of their departed master. He may even have heard the aged disciple himself. Much that was embodied in the Synoptists he may also have known, and probably had them before him. He never roundly asserts that he was the apostle, but merely *hints* that the work comes from that source ; chiefly, however, in the twenty-first chapter, which was added by another, not by himself ; for in the nineteenth, the eye-witness of the crucifixion and the writer himself are distinguished (verse 35).<sup>\*</sup> The author's veil is thin and inartificial. The truth is readily seen, because the great unknown idealizes the disciple whom Jesus loved, and undertakes to set forth the *spirit* actuating the Master's life rather than the external history of that life. In addition to all, he lived in a phi-

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<sup>\*</sup> Ewald, who conjectures that John had a kind of secretary who put the Gospel into writing for him, attributes the attestation of the verse to that friend. In like manner Bunsen makes the bishops and elders of the Greek cities in Asia Minor edit the Gospel in good Hellenistic Greek and add the 21st chapter. But he assigns John xix. 35 to the apostle. The Epistles are attributed to the same editors or amanuenses, who are freely given to John to account for some of the distinctive peculiarities of his writings. Baumgarten-Crusius too, admitting that there is something doubtful in the belief that the Gospel proceeded from the apostle in its present form, conjectures that the substance of it may have been put together from his oral teachings and written down by another. But this substance of the work, its whole framework and spirit, is so anti-Jewish, as to require a different author from him who wrote or dictated the Apocalypse. After the admission that another put the ideas of John into shape and style, the difficulty still remains ; the Gospel breathes another spirit than the Apocalypse. It embodies the mental width and depth of a Gentile spiritualist, in contrast with the half-Jewish contractedness and fiery vengeance of the prior work. The stand-point of the one is the spiritual kingdom of the Eternal Word, the present reign of truth ; that of the other is the future advent of Christ to reign personally and visibly on earth. The Danielic view of Messiah re-appears in the Apocalypse, where the attributes ascribed to him, so far from being the highest, as has been asserted, are essentially Ebionite. The eighth verse of the first chapter, "I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord God, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty," refer to *Jehovah*, attesting the words of the preceding verse in the manner of the Old Testament prophets ; and the similar attestation of chapter xxii. 13, where the language seems to be John's, contains titles of *Jehovah*, not of the Messiah. Even in the middle of the second century, John was third among the leaders of the Jewish Christians, proving that the Gospel, if it existed so early, was not universally accepted as his.

losophical atmosphere wafted from Alexandria. Could we tell the united influences by which he was surrounded, it might not seem miraculous that a reflective mind moulded by the Spirit of God should give birth to the Gospel. That Spirit was not the exclusive possession of apostles. It dwelt in others in larger or smaller measure, and is still in the Church. True, most of the members are now puny ; yet the groundwork of the soul is none the less suited for its presence.

15. It should be remembered that the ecclesiastics of the second and third centuries were uncritical men, as the literature of their period attests. Justin Martyr used another Gospel, probably that "according to the Hebrews," as much as the Synoptists, if not more. He looked upon the "Acts of Pilate" as authentic, and believed the Sibylline books inspired. Irenæus cites the Shepherd of Hermas as *scripture* ; while Clement of Alexandria uses it as a sacred document. The Epistle of Barnabas was commonly accepted as the work of Paul's companion. Origen reckoned it canonical, as did Clement of Alexandria sometimes. The latter styles its author, together with Clemens Romanus, *apostles* ; and he commented on the Epistles of Jude and Barnabas, with the "Apocalypse of Peter," as on canonical works. He thought the "Preaching of Peter," to have proceeded from the apostle himself, and believed the Sibyllines inspired. The Epistle to the Hebrews he considered a Greek translation made from Paul's Hebrew original by Luke. Tertullian thought that the book of Enoch was an ante-diluvian work, which, after being lost in the flood, may have been restored by Noah, the author's descendant. And what did he know about John, except that the last of the apostles when cast into a furnace of oil came forth unhurt and was banished to an island? The letters of Ignatius were accepted as authentic. The Apocalypse was assigned to Domitian's reign. The Pastoral Epistles were accepted as Paul's. There was indeed *some* discrimination among these Catholic writers, but it was neither sufficient nor thorough. It was especially unfortunate in assigning the authorship of the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark, in their present state, to those evangelists ; the preposition *κατὰ* (according to) after *εὐαγγέλιον* (gospel) being transferred to direct authorship. Some of the so-called heretics shewed more

sagacity respecting the New Testament books than the Catholic Church ; for Basilides and Marcion perceived that the Epistles to the Hebrews, Timothy and Titus, were not written by Paul.

The force of this reasoning is unaffected by the assertion, that the early fathers *might* ascertain the origin of the New Testament books by personal inquiry or direct testimony. The question is, Did they do it? Were they disposed to do it? *They were not.* Their inclinations, habits, modes of proceeding, writings, tell against it. Personal inquiry or direct testimony imply a discriminating process to which they were averse. It is easy to assert that "Tertullian could appeal to the autographs of the apostolic epistles preserved in the churches to which they were addressed ;" but Tertullian was a Carthaginian ; the post-office did not exist in his day ; and it is all but certain that the autographs of the epistles were not preserved till his time. The idea of Tertullian sending a messenger from North Africa to Jerusalem to inquire, for example, about the autograph of the Apocalypse, one hundred and fifty years after its first appearance, is preposterous. Again, Irenæus's aim and object saved him the trouble of inquiring whether John's Gospel had come into circulation only thirty years before. He was too anxious to establish the authority of the New Testament books, and make a canonical list of them, to allow of inquiries involving time and trouble, which might possibly end in disappointment. The distance of Lyons from Asia Minor was great ; and he was considerably isolated from the Asiatic churches. It is therefore beside the mark to say, "Irenæus must have known whether the Gospel of John had come into circulation some thirty years before." *He did not know or care to inquire into its origin*, as is evident from his own statements. Still farther, when it is confidently asserted that "Justin Martyr *could not* be ignorant what books were read in the Christian assemblies throughout the many lands he visited," we reply he *could*, if he took no interest in the matter. The books read in the congregations did not always give clear evidence of their authors, because they included documents which were subsequently kept out of the canon. Justin himself used the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" as well as the Synoptists.

If these remarks be correct, any attempt to make the

question respecting the early fathers' acceptance of books one of *testimony* instead of *criticism*, is nugatory. It is true that their uncritical character does not render them the less competent witnesses on subjects which were plain matters of fact to them; but when they said that the four Gospels were written by the persons whose names they bear, were they witnessing to *plain matters of fact*? Certainly not. Were they even testifying of what they had been careful to examine? No. Tertullian and Irenæus did not live early enough to know the truth of the fourth Gospel's origin by inspection of the autograph; nor did they inquire into the matter. They simply accepted the current ideas of their day. Had they been desirous to ascertain the exact truth, they must have been to all intents *critical*, by sifting the testimony of their predecessors. The distinction between a question of *testimony* and of *criticism* vanishes in their case. One of the chief circumstances affecting the value of testimony is the character of the witnesses. If credulity, dogmatic bias, polemic ardour, belong to them, the testimony is weakened. It is useless to talk about Justin or Irenæus knowing the authenticity of sacred books as plain matters of fact, when they simply accepted current ideas. The real authorship of the Gospels was *not* a matter of fact which they could have ascertained easily had they wished. The main point is, do they speak of it like men who had taken pains to get at the truth; or were they the recipients of traditional notions on the subject? A study of their works favours the latter view. With respect to Justin, the orthodox should explain why he applies the Logos-doctrine to the Jesus of the Synoptists without reference to the fourth Gospel; and why he uses another Gospel at least, besides the first three, giving canonical authority to none of them, and never styling them *Scripture* or *sacred writings* like the Old Testament. We do not care to learn what he *must* or *might have known* about the fourth Gospel; we look for his opinions to his writings alone, discarding the hypotheses of such as tell us his esoteric views. Many things doubtless he *might have known*; we are content to dwell upon *what he says*, leaving others to *guess* what he did not say.

While we admit the evidence of the three leading fathers at the close of the second century, Irenæus, Clement and

Tertullian, for the authenticity of the books they used as Scripture ; while we acknowledge their appeal to antiquity ; the value of their testimony is not great, because they had doctrinal interests. They wanted to build up a canon, a traditional belief, in opposition to the heretical sects. Their appeal to antiquity was manifestly vague. They had not investigated the tradition on which they relied. It is a convenient statement that their appeal "was made at a time when it was easy to try its worth;" but it was not easy even *for them* to get back to the origin of the Gospels, nor had they any desire to enter upon the question. They and the contemporaries against whom they wrote, did not look at the authenticity of books in the light of modern times. When it is asserted that "their appeal was never gainsayed," the fact, even if granted, is unimportant, because their opponents usually took the books of Scripture for what the Catholic Church alleged they were, and interpreted them differently. To challenge the appeal and shew its hollowness was a task for which they had neither inclination nor ability ; indeed, they believed it unnecessary.

16. The preceding observations shew the baselessness of all such assertions as, that the historical use of the fourth Gospel in the Church can be traced back to the age of John's own contemporaries. Papias does not mention it ; Polycarp's testimony is wanting. So is Barnabas's. Neither Valentinus's use of it nor Marcion's appears. We are aware of what Tertullian says of these heretics and their use of all the Gospels, but cannot accept his testimony as reliable, since he seems to have transferred the current ideas of his own time to a prior one, without reflection.\* It does not follow that because the fourth Gospel was commonly admitted to be canonical and authoritative in his day, it was

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\* It is unnecessary to justify our suspicion of Tertullian's occasional assertions to those who know his mental idiosyncrasy, his credulousness and subtlety, his fervid and powerful genius expressing itself in vehement declamation or rhetorical invective. When he sometimes rejects the true readings of Greek MSS. and makes new ones which he represents as genuine, implicit faith cannot be placed in his words. See on 1 Cor. vii. 39 in his *Lib. de Monogamia*, c. xi. (Opp. Vol. III. p. 159, ed. Semler). To doubt that he made thorough inquiry into the capacity of the Apostolic Church to pass an authentic judgment on the Christian documents, so far from being an unworthy suspicion, as Tischendorf suggests, is conformable to his character.

so regarded fifty years before, and by heretics too. Why should Marcion have taken Luke's Gospel and adapted it to his purpose, had the fourth existed? Was not the latter much more in harmony with his anti-Jewish ideas? Is it not allied to Gnosticism? Who is the contemporary of John that had the Gospel in question? Even if we grant that Basilides quotes it, which we do not after all Bunsen's assertions, he lived *after* the last of the apostles. Only a desperate cause prompts statements without foundation. But while partizans are unscrupulous in their affirmations, historical criticism, calmly surveying evidence, may draw its conclusions without partiality, believing that truth is above the most ancient creed, and that one-sided theologians can only retard progress, not prevent it. If it sift the chaff from the wheat, it will do much towards the restoration of a faith both simple and rational which shall emancipate the mind from the trammels of professional operators whose watchword is Tradition, and who continually appeal to *the Church* as if it were a united body with a definite, incorrupt creed derived from Christ and his apostles. The true Church is nothing more than an aggregate of individuals who, believing that faith in the living Christ is the essence of religion, not faith in the authenticity of books, concede free scope to all who pursue honest inquiry into the primitive documents of sacred literature; and without undervaluing a historical, place it below a spiritual, Christianity. The members of this comprehensive Church are fully persuaded that true faith may exist apart from ecclesiastical dogma; that it should even be disenthralled from the formulas of the sects, and not tied inseparably to the authority of the Bible or the traditional history of the Gospel.

17. It has been gravely asserted, that the reception and use of the four Gospels, and of them only, was as unquestionable throughout the Church in the last quarter of the second century, as it is at the present time.

This is directly contrary to fact. Serapion, bishop of Antioch (about 190), found the Gospel of Peter in use at Rhossus in Cilicia. After a thorough examination of the work, he allowed it, finding that most of its contents agreed with the right doctrine of the Saviour, though some things had been added which he thought erroneous. Thus one, who filled the see of Antioch not long after Theophilus,



permitted the public use of an apocryphal Gospel, besides the four canonical ones.\*

18. It is instructive to observe how the very persons that rely on Irenæus's testimony respecting the four Gospels, reject any part of it which does not suit their preconceived notions. When he states expressly that Matthew wrote "the discourses" in Hebrew, agreeing in this with all the fathers, many orthodox apologists say no; Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek. The good Irenæus was mistaken. But in asserting that *John* wrote the Gospel bearing his name, the same father could not be mistaken. What reason, we ask, is there for believing him in the latter case and disbelieving him in the former? Had he not the means of knowing the one fact as well as the other? Must we believe, cry the traditionalists, that a man like Irenæus was deceived in accepting the fourth Gospel as authentic and apostolic? Must we hold that all his contemporaries too were victims of the same illusion? The thing is absurd. Irenæus and his fellow-christians could not be mistaken.

The picture has another side. The voice of Irenæus and his contemporaries unanimously declares that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, not in Greek. Must we believe that they were all deceived? Were all victims of the same illusion? *They were*, say our opponents, who disbelieve the testimony of Irenæus and all writers down to the Reformation respecting the original language of the first Gospel, while upholding the correctness of the same testimony with relation to the fourth. The orthodox can deal summarily with ancient testimony whenever they please. Why refuse others the smaller liberty of sifting it?

Who led the bishop of Lyons into error about the original language of Matthew's Gospel? Papias, it is answered. We have already cited a passage from Irenæus, whose concluding words contain a quotation from John xiv. 2. It has been inferred that the passage is taken from Papias, because Irenæus alludes to the elders at its commencement; and if that be so, Papias must have been acquainted with the fourth Gospel. In this way Papias is a good authority for Irenæus when the Gospel of John is concerned; a bad

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\* See Eusebius's *Hist. Ecclesiast.* vi. 12, and Credner's *Beiträge*, Vol. I. p. 262.

authority when Matthew's is in question. The bishop of Hierapolis stating that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, was a weak man, and his account of the first Gospel is absurd; the same bishop writing about the elders or presbyters, and citing John xiv. 2, becomes a bulwark of evidence for the early existence of the fourth Gospel. A mode of argument like this may be *convenient* to special-pleaders, but its hollowness is easily detected.

19. Mr. Rowland makes a "chain of eminent persons connected with the Christian Church who lived and flourished in the time of the apostles, and from thence to the time when the four Gospels were openly cited and proclaimed. Such a chain would perform the duties of custodians of the Gospels, and would preserve the fidelity of the tradition. The Fathers Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias and Irenæus, make up such a chain or succession." Having examined the links of the chain in question, we find that they break at the first touch of a critical hand. Of Ignatius's testimony we know nothing, since all the letters ascribed to him are later than himself. Polycarp, admitting, as we may do for argument's sake, the authenticity of the Epistle ascribed to him, never cites the fourth Gospel. He was acquainted with John's first Epistle; but that preceded the Gospel and is of different authorship. Papias does not allude to the fourth Gospel, though he expressly mentions those of Matthew and Mark. Irenæus had nothing but tradition to support his belief in the authenticity of the four Gospels. That was a vague tradition, having no sure basis—no credible testimony of persons who knew the apostles and evangelists. Thus the links of the alleged chain fall asunder.

20. The English champions of the fourth Gospel's authenticity seem incapable of understanding the evidence of contrariety existing between the Synoptists and the later document, and continue to assert what is plainly contrary to fact. One states that the first verse of the 13th chapter of John's Gospel is "the opening of the record in that Gospel of the feast of the Passover,"\* though the precise words are, "*now before the feast of the Passover*," and though the second verse says, "when there was a supper," the latter expressly distinguished from the former as being prior to it. If any

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\* See Rowland, p. 51.

fact be clear, it is that the supper described in John xiii. 1—17, was not the Paschal meal, but one held before the Passover season began (comp. xiii. 29). Another author tells us that the washing of the disciples' feet took place at the Paschal supper,\* which is incorrect. It happened at the last meal Jesus partook of with his disciples; not *at* the Paschal supper, but *before* it. The Synoptists record his last meal as the true Passover supper; the fourth Gospel records no Passover supper, but another than the legal one, occurring on the day in which Jesus was crucified. In like manner Mr. Orr blunders over the preposition *before*, as though "John meant to assign Christ's reason for keeping the Passover in the first hours of the 14th Nisan, *before* the usual time of day that the Jews were wont to keep it;"† whereas this evangelist ignores all observance of the Paschal supper, regarding Christ himself as the sacrificial Passover, the antitype who fulfilled the type. Mr. Orr denies the discrepancy of the Synoptists and the fourth Gospel as to the day on which Jesus suffered, saying that "the eve of the 14th Nisan was the evening of the day on which our Lord was crucified," from the mistaken belief that the eve of the 14th Nisan was the beginning, not the end, of that day; whereas it coincided with the commencement of the 15th, not the 14th, of Nisan. Misapprehending the meaning of the expression, "between the two evenings," in Exod. xii. 6, he falls into the error of supposing that Jesus and his disciples "may have eaten the Passover in the early part of the 14th Nisan, after sunset on the *first* evening, when the Jewish day commenced, and the priests may not have eaten it till the *second* evening before sunset, and after the crucifixion." Those who uphold the authenticity of the fourth Gospel against historical criticism, should try at least to understand the arguments they undertake to refute.

21. A learned archbishop asserts that "many of Justin Martyr's quotations are found verbatim in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke and *St. John*." Now Justin has not a single verbatim citation from the fourth Gospel, though many of his expressions resemble some that occur in it.

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\* The Jesus of the Evangelists, by C. A. Row, M.A., p. 396.

† The Authenticity of John's Gospel deduced from Internal Evidence, &c., p. 50.

The same writer affirms, that "Athenagoras quotes St. John," which is incorrect. Kirchhofer gives three places from his *Legatio pro Christianis*, modestly saying that they contain mere allusions. Assuredly they do not prove that Athenagoras cites the Gospel.

22. "That the Gospel was recognized as canonical by the Valentinians is placed beyond doubt by the statement of Irenæus (iii. 11), and by the fact that it is quoted by Ptolemæus, a disciple of Valentinus (xxxiii. 3), and was commented on by Heracleon, another of his disciples, both of whom lived about the middle of the second century." Such is the statement of one who is not a pattern of accuracy. The idea of a Gospel's *canonicity* was unknown to the early heretics of the second century. Nor did the *Valentinians* acknowledge any book as canonical, i.e. inspired, authoritative, infallible. Again, Ptolemy and Heracleon did not live about the middle of the second century. The former flourished about 180; the latter, somewhat later.\*

23. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs have been adduced in connection with the Gospel of John, to shew its prior existence. As they do not testify to its Johannine *authorship*, the only point they bear upon is the date. This depends on the date of the apocryphal work itself. Tischendorf asserts that the Testaments can scarcely be put later than the close of the first or the opening of the second century; and Mr. Sinker's language is similar, though he fixes the middle of the second century as the latest limit. If the work belong to the first half of the second century, it could scarcely prove the priority of the fourth Gospel till the integrity be settled. It is pretty clear that the Testaments proceeded from a Jewish Christian, a Nazarene, as Ritschl calls him; though passages here and there are apparently inconsistent with such authorship. Hence the suspicion of interpolations has suggested itself to some critics. Besides the noted passage about St. Paul (Benjamin 11), it has been thought that there are insertions in Levi 8, and in places which represent Jesus appearing as God in human form, because the Christology has at present heterogeneous elements.

Four expressions are adduced by Mr. Sinker to shew the

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\* See Volkmar's *Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien*, pp. 69, 152, 22, 126—131.

writer's acquaintance with John's Gospel, viz., *the lamb of God* (Benj. 3), *the light of the world* (Levi 14), *the spirit of truth* (Judah 20), *the fountain* (ἡ πηγή, Judah 24), *only-begotten* (Benjamin 9), *lifted up* on a tree (Benj. 9). Little weight belongs to the argument which relies on the common use of single words in the Testaments and in John, except they be peculiar. Hence πηγή, μονογενής and ὑψώω, may be left out of account as proving nothing. The three other phrases, ὁ ἀμνός τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, and τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, can scarcely be considered independent of the same in the Gospel. But the second is doubtful, as τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου occurs in the Oxford MS.

The use of John's Apocalypse by the author of the Testaments is evident. Indeed the whole work is based upon Daniel, Enoch and the Apocalypse. We are ready to allow that the phrases quoted shew their source in the fourth Gospel. But the point is, when were the Testaments written? We see no proof of their belonging to the beginning or first half of the second century. The earliest allusion to them is in Tertullian. Jerusalem had been destroyed. Christ is set forth both as a high-priest and king, descended from Levi and Judah. His death signaled the abrogation of the law. The old priesthood was done away, and the new had taken its place. In this respect, the views of the writer resemble those which characterize the Epistle to the Hebrews. But it does not follow that his language would be almost meaningless after Hadrian's destruction of Jerusalem consequent on the revolt of Bar-Cochba (A.D. 135). Nor is the latter half of the second century excluded by the fact, that ordination and its new significance—the practical establishment of a new priesthood—are not brought forward; though Dorner, followed by Sinkler, adduces this argument. Why should they be adduced, if a Jewish Christian wrote the book, imitating the example of him from whom the Epistle to the Hebrews proceeded, as well as of John in the Apocalypse, and combining Christ's priestly dignity with his kingship? We rely upon the liberal views respecting Gentile Christians, and the Paulinism superadded to the Jewish-Christian sentiments of the book, as indicating a period when the two great parties had lost their sharp points of antagonism and approached one another. The nature, too, of the Christology, the formulæ expressing the incarnation, with the

apparent collection of the sacred books into a volume, or at least the epithet applied to them (*holy*), favour a date not earlier than the middle of the second half of the second century.

If this be accepted, it is unnecessary, with Kayser, Vorstman and Ritschl, to have recourse to the assumption of interpolations. Hilgenfeld and Kayser agree with us in assigning the book to the second half of the century.

24. Traditionalists continue to speak of "authentic writings of eye-witnesses and ministers of Jesus Christ," as if they had them in the present Gospels. Christianity, it is asserted, "comes from a divine revelation," which is found in those writings. All this is assumption. Where are the authentic writings of eye-witnesses and ministers of Jesus Christ? The four Gospels in their present state do not correspond with the description. Criticism demonstrates that the pure teaching of Jesus Christ has been overlaid with legendary and later ideas, so that a process of separation must be attempted; and therefore the Gospels, as we have them, did not proceed from eye-witnesses and ministers of Jesus Christ; or if they did, their compilers often misapprehended the meaning of the Master's words. We will not therefore allow apologists to wave a bundle of theological *suppositions* before the eyes of the unthinking, or to prejudice them against historical criticism. Where are the "authentic writings" talked of? Prove that the Gospels were written by the apostles and apostolic men whose names they bear, in their present state. Prove, for example, that Jesus foretold his personal coming in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, as Matthew's Gospel asserts. If the upholders of the Gospels' complete authenticity do so, they must maintain that Jesus foretold what did not happen; that he was mistaken in his description of a glorious reappearing to judgment at that time. But they shrink from the trial, content to deal in vague statements. The real friends of truth are those who endeavour to shew how far the Gospels are authentic, how far they are not. Traditional inertia and dogmatic narrowness, taking all for granted, employ words fitted to deceive the simple.

25. Traditionalists, compelled to admit that the early references to the fourth Gospel seem open to doubt, can

only say that the work "is not referred to so frequently or so expressly as some other of the New Testament books." Do they not see that the admitted fact strengthens suspicion against their opinion? What reason could there be for less frequent and express references to such a Gospel? If it proceeded from the disciple whom Jesus loved best, and reflected the mind of the Master most clearly, it would be preëminently valued. Why do we miss the characteristic tones of its Christology in almost all the early writers till Irenæus? Why do the apostolic fathers move in a circle of ideas nearer Judaism? Why is the Logos-doctrine of Polycarp's Epistle, of the Ignatian letters, of the first apologists, less developed than the Gospel's? Are not these facts opposed to the idea that the apostolical origin of the writing was at once recognized and universally admitted? If the Church received it as John's, whence this absence of its influence on the Church's thought and doctrine? It is easy to speak of the great degeneracy of the writers immediately succeeding the apostles; but that fact affords no solution of the problem. Power, freshness and originality might almost disappear in the apostolic fathers; *the subject-matter* of Christianity could not. Weak and unproductive the later period might be; but that would only result in a more tenacious adherence to apostolic forms. If the fourth Gospel were written by John at the end of the first century, the fact of the Christian literature belonging to the first half of the second returning from an advanced Logos-doctrine to Jewish-Christian ideas of the Messiah, is inexplicable. We cannot suppose that the work in question fell powerless on its age. If it did not, its peculiar stamp was immediately effaced, and the early apologists, with their immediate predecessors, drew their Logos-ideas from the old Testament. Who can believe in such reaction? Does it consist with the apostolic origin and unanimous reception of the Gospel?

26. The early Christians lived by faith rather than books. Those not favoured with the presence of Christ on earth felt little need of documents. Their life was sustained without such objective things. Hence belief in the authenticity or divine authority of the New Testament writings is not necessary to salvation; though the great importance of those writings in directing and strengthening true faith is obvious. The world, bad as it is, would



be infinitely worse without them. It is true that the *incipient* should not be converted into the *normal* state of Christianity ; but the latter cannot make *essential* what the former refuses to stamp with its imprimatur. Apologists who take their stand on the authenticity of the Gospels, should remember that primitive Christianity, as it is exhibited by those Gospels, passed through three stages characteristically different : the Jewish-Christian, the Pauline, and the Alexandrian or Johannine, which are all represented in the four documents, the first more imperfectly than the others. That the three are *equally* divine cannot be asserted. To which of them do modern traditionalists attach themselves? Do they consider *all* infallible? Then there are *degrees* in the infallible, which is absurd. Do they attach themselves to the Gospel of Luke, which represents in a measure the Pauline phase of Christianity? Then they acknowledge the inferiority of the original or Ebionite phase which represents the teaching of Christ most nearly, to the Pauline. Is it to the fourth Gospel? Then do they advocate an Alexandrian, metaphysical, eclectic Christianity, the highest development, it is true, of the new religion, but the farthest from its first phase; unrealized as yet, belonging to the Church of the future ; for the Pauline has been the limit of the religious consciousness of Christendom, dictating prevailing creeds and regulating received dogmas. The phase of Christianity exemplified in the fourth Gospel transcends Pauline dogma and debate. It carries us back to the region of ideality hallowed by Jesus himself ; more subjective than objective, centering in a person rather than a state ; in baptism of soul into the likeness of an individual, rather than the temper of mind which creates an atmosphere of peace around it. If it does not reflect the spirit of Jesus with the transparency or truth of his own teachings, it mirrors that spirit more nearly than Paulinism by presenting him as the realized ideal of religion ; the author and pledge of immortality ; the embodiment of united divinity and humanity ; the lord of man's real life ; the king of truth, whose spirit as the living paraclete constitutes his abiding presence in the Church ; the express image of the Father.

If the advocates of the Gospel consider the maintenance of its apostolic authorship a matter of such vital importance that the existence of an historical Christianity is made to

rest on it, we ask why they neglect its theology? Do they not depreciate its value by drawing their dogmas from Paul? Why do their creeds ignore its peculiarities, and exhibit doctrines foreign to its nature? The so-called Apostles' Creed, as well as later and longer Confessions, takes little cognizance of the precious document which apologists uphold as John's and estimate very highly on that account. Thus in place of Scripture and Tradition, the Gospel sets forth the Holy Spirit as the only Paraclete, superseding the Protestant principle which elevates the Bible to be the sole rule of faith. The theology of the work knows nothing of Christ's birth from a virgin, of his descent from David, of the Lord's Supper, of his second coming to judge the world. In it, a bodily resurrection recedes behind the reappearing of a being already glorified by death; nor can it speak of an ascent into heaven as an event separated by an interval of time from the resurrection, but as standing in the closest connection with it. The reappearance of the risen Saviour and his ascent to the Father are parts of one act.\* Eternal life is a present possession, not a state commencing on the other side of the grave. In short, the spiritual theology of the fourth Gospel has never penetrated the Church. The Fathers did not grasp it; neither did the Reformers. More to their taste and to the level of their apprehension was the Pauline dogmatic, severe, logical, controversial; but wide withal in sympathetic reach, and intersected by intense feeling.

In whatever way criticism views the Gospels, discrepancies are an insuperable barrier to their acceptance as compositions of the authors whose names they bear, *in their present state*. Eye-witnesses of the life, actions and words of Jesus, such as Matthew and John, could not have contradicted one another in narrating matters of fact, especially if they had an inspiration including infallibility. The fourth Gospel, with its reflective spirituality and eclectic idealism, refuses to agree with the Synoptists except by a process involving an incongruous remove above their horizon. But the canonical documents together exhibit a portrait sufficient to quicken and purify the soul, raising it to the height of adoring love in the presence of that crucified One to whom

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\* Compare the present tense *ἀναβαίνω* in John xx. 17.

mankind will ever look as embodying the fulness of the Godhead.

The works placed at the head of this article represent two sides of the question relating to the fourth Gospel. That of Mr. Tayler is a careful and well-directed argument against the authenticity. The lamented author left few additions in MS. for a second edition ; but his argument is already complete. The other is a weak production, proceeding from one who has neither studied the literature nor mastered the compass of the subject. Mr. Tayler's critical ability stands out in bright relief beside the reasoning of a traditional advocate like Mr. Rowland.

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

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## II.—ERASMUS AND THE REFORMATION.

HAVING contributed three articles on Erasmus to this Journal at different times, I purpose in the following pages to endeavour to give a sort of completeness to the subject, by reviewing rapidly the last years of the great scholar's life, and examining his relations to the Roman Church upon the one hand, and to the Reformers upon the other. It has not indeed been my intention to supply even a sketch of a life so full of interest, and of which so many details have been preserved, as that of Erasmus. Such a task would be neither compatible with the purposes of a Review, nor possible within the limits to which I am necessarily confined. I have aimed merely to sketch the man himself in his more prominent characteristics, to examine the prevailing tendencies of his mind, and to shew, in mere outline, what was the work which he accomplished, and what was the nature of the influence which he exercised upon his age. This task would remain inexcusably incomplete, were I to say nothing of his relations to that great movement which never carried him away from the Church to whose service he had pledged his early vows, but which was nevertheless in no small degree his own work.

The last sixteen years of Erasmus' life were spent partly at Basle and partly at Freiburg. In the former city, the

press of Froben gave him ample employment, and the splendid editions of the Fathers issued by that enterprising printer were chiefly indebted to his learning for the correctness of their text and the prefaces and notes with which they were enriched. In 1529, the progress of the Reformed opinions, and the changes in the government consequent thereupon, induced him to leave Basle and settle at Freiburg, where he found for the next few years a safe asylum from the friends whom he probably dreaded more than his avowed enemies. Eventually, however, he ventured to return, and at Basle, on the 12th of July, 1536, after a life spent in incessant labour—indeed, as regards the latter half of it, in incessant conflict with enemies upon the right hand and upon the left—he breathed his last.

It was the next year after the appearance of the Greek Testament that Luther posted up his never-to-be-forgotten theses on the doors of the Wittenberg church. It was only three years later that he burnt the Papal Bull and cursed the Pope and all his doings. From that moment Germany was Protestant. By that time, as we have seen, or before it, Erasmus had attained perhaps the greatest literary reputation that has ever been enjoyed. There was not a man with the slightest pretension to reading who was not acquainted with his works. There was not a man with the least tendency towards liberal tastes who was not proud to be numbered among his admirers. There was not an ignorant monk or priest to whom his name was not a name of dread. There was not a school-boy at the public gymnasium, not a youth at any of the universities, who had not learned to look up to him with distant awe. Kings vied with one another to have him at their courts. Learned Professors were willing to undertake long journeys in order to see his face and enjoy the pleasure of his conversation. But from the moment that Luther declared war upon the Pope, Erasmus became, and continued to be to the end of his life, the best-abused man in Christendom. It was perhaps the natural consequence of his position. He would be neither of the new nor the old. He had been attacking monkery and priestcraft all his life; yet when the opportunity came, as it might have seemed, for putting an end to both, he declined to move. The monkish party were of course exasperated when they found that the consequences

of his teaching were to the full as bad as they had predicted. They not unreasonably charged him with having laid the egg which Luther hatched. Erasmus, with his usual readiness, replied that he had laid a hen's egg, but Luther had hatched a crow's. But those who are acquainted with his writings will have some difficulty in accepting the excuse. On the other hand, the Reformers were grievously disappointed when they found that the very man to whom they had looked as almost the prime mover in their attack upon Papal and priestly usurpation, had no intention of joining their cause. Luther reproached him pretty sharply with what he considered his inconsistency, but not certainly without provocation. It was with extreme reluctance that Erasmus consented at last to take up his pen against the brave monk of Wittenberg: but the time came when he must either avow himself a Lutheran, or prove that there was no ground for suspecting him to be such. It may not indeed have been altogether easy to discover any point of doctrine in regard to which his own opinions were decidedly nearer the Catholic faith than those of Luther himself; and had he attempted to defend the corruptions of the Church, besides forfeiting his character, he might immediately have been refuted out of his own works. There was, however, one point upon which Luther, in his determination to ascribe everything, as concerns human salvation, to the Divine grace, had expressed himself with an extravagance which, whether or not it was justified by the language of St. Augustine, at all events went beyond what was understood to be the orthodox faith in the sixteenth century. He utterly denied free-will, and maintained that all things happen through necessity, God working in us both to will and to do. Now the Catholic Church, on the contrary, had always asserted free-will; not indeed asking much or anything for unassisted human nature, which apart from grace was said to be wholly incapable of good, but insisting upon *this*, that, with the co-operation of grace, man, though still liable to sin, may by his own efforts avoid it. This modest opinion Erasmus undertook to defend. In a short treatise which he named "A Dissertation upon Free-will," he pleads eloquently for human responsibility, basing his argument chiefly upon Scripture, and upon its precepts, promises and threats, the purpose of which, he urges, would be quite unintelligible, if it were

true that all things happen through necessity. The work was written, for the most part, in a moderate tone, though containing as a matter of course some sharp and not undeserved hits at the Reformers. It satisfied the friends of Erasmus, who were convinced that he had done justice to himself as well as gained a victory over the enemies of the Church. Luther deferred his answer for some time, remarking that "it was unpleasant to him to have to reply to so learned a book by so learned a man." Perhaps, too, he hoped to be able to answer with the moderation which his friends entreated him to observe. But moderation was a virtue which had no affinity with Luther's nature, and although he did not permit himself to fall into mere railing, he did not hesitate to charge Erasmus with ignorance, and even to apply to his work such words as impious and sacrilegious. It may, however, be pleaded for him that he was more deeply in earnest than his antagonist—is not this, in fact, always the difference between the apologist of the traditional faith and the apostle of the new enthusiasm?—and it is certainly impossible not to admire his noble reply to the complaint of Erasmus that the discussion of such questions was likely to bring confusion and discord upon the world. Erasmus, in fact, took up the same position in respect to this question which is generally assumed towards atheism by modern clergymen, who urge that if a man is unhappy enough to believe there is no God, he ought at least to keep his opinion to himself. Erasmus maintained that even if Luther's doctrine that all things are done through necessity were true, it was so dangerous that it ought to be concealed, certainly not discussed in the vulgar tongue and in presence of the multitude. And to this Luther replied in the following words: "I tell you, and I pray you lay it well to heart, that to me this matter is serious, necessary and eternal; of such momentous interest, that it must be asserted and defended at the risk of life itself—aye, though the result should be not only to plunge the world in conflict, but to bring chaos back again, and annihilate the universe!"

Erasmus, however, had much to urge in self-justification. Luther's treatise, which he entitled "*De Servo Arbitrio*"—"Man's Will not Free"—called forth a lengthened rejoinder, which was chiefly taken up with the defence of this very

position. There he completely clears himself of the reproach of indifference to Truth. The great central doctrines of the Church he declares he is ready to defend, if need be, with his life. But there are many minor points—for example, Whether God creates all things through necessity, Why the derivation of the Son from the Father is called generation, and that of the Holy Spirit procession, and so on—which he thinks theologians may very usefully debate among themselves, but which ought not to be broached before the multitude. And of the number of those questions are such points relating to free-will as the Church has left undecided. In this treatise, which he called "*Hyperaspistes*," Erasmus takes Luther severely to task for his treatment of him. His expressions of respect he regards as hypocrisy, nor does he thank him for ascribing to him the greatest eloquence, when he at the same time accuses him of impiety. The object of this intermingling of praise with abuse, he thinks, was to increase the odium which already attached to his name, and convey the impression that, while secretly sympathizing with the Reformers, he concealed his real sentiments through fear or favour; and so he compares Luther's treatise to a cup whose honied edge deceives the eye and tempts the lip, while the contents are charged with deadly poison. That this accusation, so far as it implied deliberate malice, was unfounded, may readily be admitted; but it cannot be denied that Luther wrote with too much of that affectation of being animated by the deepest love in the infliction of the severest wounds, with too much of that assumption of superiority, if not in human at least in heavenly graces, which have usually been characteristic of those who in more recent times represent his opinions. The following sentence, for example, has the true evangelical ring: "Who knows, most worthy Erasmus, but God may condescend to visit you, through me his miserable and frail vessel, that in a happy hour I may come to you with this book of mine, and gain my dearest brother."

After the publication of the "*Hyperaspistes*," "my dearest brother" became "that enraged viper, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the vainest creature in the world."

On another occasion, Erasmus was engaged in controversy with the hot-headed knight, Ulrich von Hütten, who sought in every way to commit him to the Reformation, and having



been denied an interview with him at Basle, on prudential grounds, proceeded to write a furious pamphlet against him. At the same time he was compelled to stand constantly on guard against the attacks of the orthodox, who, of course, were equally anxious to make him out a Lutheran, whether he would or no. Thus, in his own life-time, Erasmus suffered all the evil effects of occupying a neutral position at a time when half-measures were no longer tolerable. Like all men who will not be partizans, he found enemies in both the hostile camps, and it was probably only the high consideration which he enjoyed in the most influential quarters which enabled him to carry his grey hairs to the grave in comparative tranquillity. And since his death the judgment of mankind has been for the most part nearly as severe. The liberal Catholic, Burigni, indeed, endeavoured to prove that he was perfectly sound in the faith, and that he had never written anything inconsistent with the character of a true son of the Church. The Broad-Church Jortin naturally claimed him as a kindred spirit, and compiled a life of him in a way that shews how his own sympathies ran. But in the eyes of most people, Erasmus is a Reformer who feared to declare himself, one who for worldly considerations, or from mere infirmity of purpose, preferred to remain in a Church whose practice and principles he disapproved, rather than cast in his lot with the younger and bolder spirits who openly renounced the thralldom of Rome; in short, a kind of theological *bat*, neither a beast nor a bird, and yet capable of representing himself, according as it might serve his turn, both as one and the other; therefore, deservedly, pleasing neither party, and persecuted by both.

Much, no doubt, might be said for this view; but it will be shewn in the following pages that whatever inconsistency Erasmus may be justly chargeable with for having continued a member of the Roman Church, there were many good reasons for his keeping aloof from the Reformers. On many points, it may be admitted, he was thoroughly with them. There were many questions deeply involved in the Reformation—such as the virtue of celibacy, the number of the sacraments, the excellence of the monastic life, auricular confession and others—on which Erasmus not merely agreed with Luther, but had long anticipated him. Who ever inveighed more bitterly than he against the usur-

pations of the priesthood, and the pride and luxury of the successors of the Galilean fisherman? Who ever exposed with more ample knowledge or more caustic wit the superstitious worship of imaginary relics? Who ever wrote more earnestly against the false trust in Saints or in the Virgin, which had almost superseded the worship of Christ? Nay, on the capital question of all—the primacy of Peter, and the authority, temporal and spiritual, of the Roman Pontiff—Erasmus was plainly heretical: that is, for such a statement requires qualification, he used language which inevitably suggests doubts upon those important points. Thus, on the celebrated text, Matt. xvi. 18, "Upon this rock I will build my Church," he expresses surprise that any one should have so perverted its meaning as to refer the words exclusively to the Roman Pontiff, "to whom," he adds in the second edition of the Greek Testament, "they undoubtedly apply first of all, seeing he is the head of the Christian Church; but they apply not to him only, but to all Christians," &c. Again, on the words spoken at the transfiguration, "Hear ye him," he remarks, that "Christ is the only teacher who has been appointed by God himself. Such authority has been committed to no divine, to no Bishop, to no Pope or Prince." It is true, infallibility was not then claimed by or for the Pontiff; but such language, if not actually heretical, shewed little of the true spirit of absolute submission. I will refer to only one passage in which the temporal power is attacked. In the well-known essay from the *Adages*, on the Sileni of Alcibiades, we read as follows:

"I am very willing that priests should reign, but I think earthly dominion is unworthy of their heavenly calling. I am willing that Popes should triumph, but it must not be in such sanguinary triumphs as were celebrated by a crime-stained Marius or an impious Julius.\* I desire that they should be rich, but it must be with the Gospel pearl, the heavenly riches, in which they shall the more abound the more they bestow them upon others. I wish that they should be securely guarded, but with apostolic arms, with the shield of faith, the breast-plate of righteousness, and the sword of salvation which is the word of God. I am willing that they should be most warlike, but against the true enemies of the Church, simony, pride, lust, ambition, anger

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\* Julius Cæsar or Julius II. ?

and impiety. Wilt thou know what are the true riches for a Pope ? Listen to the first of Popes : Silver and gold have I none ; but such as I have give I thee ; in the name of Jesus, rise and walk. . . . Why dost thou value the successor of St. Peter for that which Peter himself boasts that he did not possess ? Why dost thou wish to see the apostolic princes dressed in those ornaments which the apostles trampled under foot ? Why dost thou call that the patrimony of Peter which Peter himself boasted that he had not ?”

What language could be plainer or bolder than this ?

And yet, it will be said, this man would not join the Reformers ! The best answer that can be given to any charge of dishonesty or cowardice that may be brought against him upon this ground is simply this, that Erasmus never concealed his sympathy with the Reformation as long as it only went his own length, but when it went further he declined to follow it. From the beginning to the end of his career he remained true to the great purpose of his life, which was to fight the battle of sound learning and plain common sense against the powers of ignorance and superstition, and amid all the convulsions of that period he never once lost his mental balance. It is no small thing to be able to say of a man that his mind was never hurried into excess, and never suffered re-action. But that is the simple truth as regards Erasmus. When his friend, Sir Thomas More, had abandoned the generous principles laid down in his *Utopia*, and was writing in no gentle language against Tyndale and others of the reformed school, Erasmus quietly continued his work, wholly unmoved by the changes around him. What he had been at the first, he continued to be to the last. He had always maintained that he desired to teach nothing that was at variance with the doctrines of the Church, and that if any such proposition could be pointed out in his works he was ready to retract it ; he never ceased to attack and ridicule the corruptions of the Church, and to labour for the reform of its manners and discipline. The most important work of general interest which he published in the latter half of his life was the “*Familiar Colloquies*”—once literally known to every school-boy, inasmuch as it was widely used as a Latin lesson-book, and still read by all who love excellent humour, as well as by every one who would enter into the spirit and

recall the manners of the early part of the sixteenth century. This work was in progress from the year 1519, when the first edition which had the sanction of the author appeared—a mere pamphlet, too small to be published separately—till 1526 or later, when by successive additions it had swelled to a considerable bulk. Now there is no difference between the spirit of this work and the spirit of the Panegyric upon Folly, written some sixteen years before. The one is to the full as severe upon the corruptions of the Church and the superstitions of the people as the other. The dialogue was indeed a most convenient instrument for the inculcation of questionable opinions, and one admirably adapted to the purpose of Erasmus, who always preferred to suggest a doubt rather than express one. For whenever a sentiment attributed to any of his interlocutors might be charged with heresy, he could always reply, as a last resource, that the sentiment was not his own, and that it was not contrary to the laws of the Church to teach boys how to express an erroneous opinion in good Latin. This, however, did not save the “Colloquies;” and the best proof that the author had not changed his tone is, that they were actually condemned for heresy by the Sorbonne during his lifetime as well as after his death. Nor is there the least ground for suspecting Erasmus of cowardice in his personal relations with Luther. When the latter wrote to him, claiming his sympathy, he replied in such courteous terms as to offend even the more moderate supporters of the Papacy; only he took occasion to counsel moderation—advice of which Luther stood much in need—and intimated that he was no partizan of either side. But when the great Reformer publicly burnt Leo’s ill-timed Bull, and proposed to throw the Pope and his whole pack of Cardinals into the Tuscan sea, Erasmus very naturally asked what devil had taken possession of him. Can we wonder that, to a man so eminently moderate, and so guided in all his doings and sayings by the principles of common sense, conduct such as Luther’s seemed little short of madness?

To say this is not to depreciate Luther, without whose invincible energy and heroic courage the Reformation would not have been accomplished. But in order to do justice to Erasmus, we must not contrast him with Luther, but consider what his own work was, and how far he would have

advanced its interests by declaring for Luther. When the breach with Rome was accomplished, Erasmus was upwards of fifty. He had been labouring all his life to reform the Church, but he had never had the least thought of quitting her communion. And next to the reformation of the Church, the other great object which he had at heart was the advance of learning. The question arises, then, whether he would have been in a more favourable position for attaining either of those objects as an avowed ally of Luther, than as a Romanist? It would be difficult to shew that this would have been the case. As a member of the Roman Church he had found as much freedom of speech as he desired. His contributions to the study of the classics had been received with an applause in which the yelpings of a few captious monks were completely drowned. His attacks upon the corruptions of the Church were nowhere more bitter or galling than in the Annotations on the New Testament; yet that work had the express sanction of the Head of Christendom. Had Erasmus, therefore, joined the party of Luther, he would undoubtedly have contributed to the success of a movement which, in its remote consequences, was indeed destined to save mankind from spiritual slavery, but he would neither have extended his own influence, nor would he have acquired any advantage which he did not already possess, in fighting his battle with ignorance and superstition. In fact, it is clear that he regarded Luther—and with much reason—as a man who had stepped in, not to carry on his own work, but to mar it, by going to extremes which he had never foreseen, and which it was impossible for him to sanction.

If Erasmus was a Lutheran, he was bound in conscience to say so. But a Lutheran he certainly was not. The reader will not require to be reminded that the one point which immediately rose into prominence as the distinguishing doctrine of the Reformation, and which has ever since remained the corner-stone of what has been called Evangelical Protestantism, was the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice as an atonement for sin. Faith in that great atonement was the one thing which the monk of Erfurth proclaimed must be substituted for the vain rites and penances prescribed by the priesthood, without which, he said, human righteousness was rottenness, and by means of which the

deepest scarlet of sin could be made white as the driven snow. Now what was it that Erasmus wished to put in the place of the monkish practices which he so unsparingly ridiculed? It was by no means this impalpable faith in a metaphysical transaction, this vicarious righteousness, this trust in another's merits. He accepted, of course, the dogma of justification as it was taught by the Fathers and Councils of the Church, but he probably accepted it merely because they taught it. What he believed in, what he insisted upon as the one thing needful, was precisely that righteousness which Luther utterly scorned.\* With him, faith in Christ meant to follow Christ, and to obey his commandments. "To be a Christian," he says—to take a single example out of numbers that might be quoted—"is not to be baptized or anointed; not to attend mass; but to lay hold on Christ in one's inmost heart, and shew forth his spirit in one's life."† One of the finest passages in the Panegyric upon Folly is that in which the writer pictures the monks appearing before the judgment-seat at the last day, and pleading the various forms of asceticism, or other religious practices, by which they have sought to make themselves worthy of heaven. One will produce a vessel filled with all the fish on which he has starved himself. Another will reckon up the fasts which he has practised. A third will

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\* I think this language will not seem too strong to those who are acquainted with the subject. The question whether Luther was an Antinomian has been warmly debated, and the late Archdeacon Hare has attempted a vindication of the Reformer against the attacks of Hallam, Sir W. Hamilton and others. These writers may have expressed themselves too strongly upon the point, or they may have shewn—as Dr. Hare maintains—that they possessed but a very slight acquaintance with the writings of Luther. But the charge, it may be remarked, does not depend upon any extensive knowledge of those writings. For the question surely is, not whether Luther uniformly and consistently denied the value of the moral law—for that probably no one would maintain—but whether he ever uses language which, taken in its plain meaning, and with every allowance for the exigencies of controversy, cannot fairly be made to bear any other construction. If this be the question, one example is obviously as good as a hundred. And if the following words, from the *De Babylonica Captivitate Ecclesiæ*, are not Antinomian, it may be doubted whether any words can be found in all literature that are so. "Jam vides," says Luther, "quam dives est homo Christianus, sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata eum possint damnare, nisi sola incredulitas."

† Christianus est, non qui lotus est, non qui unctus, non qui sacris adest, sed qui Christum intimis complectitur affectibus, ac piis factis exprimit. *Inst. Principis Christiani.*

fling down before the tribunal as many rites and ceremonies as would sink half a dozen merchant-ships. A fourth will boast that for sixty years he has never fingered a piece of coin except through two pair of gloves. Another will hold up his hood, so coarse and dirty, that the poorest wretch on earth would not condescend to wear it. And so on. "But Christ, interrupting these empty boasts which else would never end, shall say, What new kind of Jews are these, and whence come they? I left you one law which I acknowledge to be mine indeed, but which seems to be quite forgotten now. Plainly, and without parable, I promised the inheritance of my Father's kingdom, not to hoods, prayers or fasts, but to the offices of charity." It is remarkable that an *aliter* reading in this last sentence gives "faith and charity;" but if that was the correction of Erasmus himself, it would still remain certain that his first thoughts were of practical righteousness, nor would it by any means follow that he used the word "faith" in the same sense as Luther. In fact, Erasmus himself confesses his inability to understand Luther's doctrine. In one of his Apologies, he declares that he "doesn't know what Luther means by saying that good works follow necessarily from faith." It is clear, therefore, that he was altogether out of sympathy with the cardinal doctrine of the Reformation. Erasmus was in truth, in his own age, the great apostle of common sense and of rational religion. He did not care for dogma; and accordingly the dogmas of Rome, which had the consent of the Christian world, were in his eyes preferable to the dogmas of Protestantism, which destroyed the unity of the Church and threatened to open the way for every sort of extravagance. What he did care for was practical Christianity, and that he advocated with an earnestness and eloquence, and an unwearied devotion, which have perhaps never been surpassed. Peace, goodwill, justice, righteousness, charity,—in pleading the cause of these virtues he knew neither fear nor favour. If he shewed no mercy to the poor monk who had barely enough Latin to know when he was ridiculed, he was equally unsparing of Bishops, Popes and Kings. Whether his notions, so far as they touched upon public matters, were always correct, is of course another question. In common with many wise men of his time, and following the doctrine of Aristotle, he held it a sin to



take interest for money. Kings, as a rule, he looked upon as no better than robbers, and taxation in his mind was synonymous with spoliation. But there was quite enough of tyranny and oppression in high places in those days to justify much of the strong language which he used ; and if his earnest pleadings for peace, justice and moderation, had been listened to, the world would have been spared many a fiery trial. But by no power was it possible to avert the tremendous crisis through which Europe had to pass before the cause of liberty and light could triumph. If Erasmus desired that that cause should triumph without the disunion of the Church, he wished what was impossible, what, upon the whole, would not have been for the highest good of mankind. But the wish was perfectly natural to one educated in the cloister, held in honour by the chief authorities of the Roman Church, and who had never dreamed of the disunion of Christendom until he saw it actually accomplished before his eyes when he was verging towards old age.

It would be extremely interesting to examine at length what were the real religious opinions of Erasmus, so far as they were regulated by his individual convictions and by the inherent tendencies of his own mind. In making this inquiry—which, however, it will not be possible to discuss here with the fulness with which it deserves to be treated—it would be necessary to bear two points carefully in mind. The first is, that Erasmus, as a faithful member of a Church which acknowledges no such thing as private judgment, never professed to make his own convictions, or the natural inferences of his reason, the standard of his faith. It is difficult certainly, or it ought to be difficult, for the Protestant mind fully to appreciate this apparently contradictory position. Yet those who are familiar, for example, with the writings of Dr. Newman, may at least understand what it is to surrender the judgment unreservedly to the authority of the Church, to make it a duty to suppress doubt, and to receive with implicit and unquestioning faith whatever the Church shall decree to be the truth. Combine with this spirit—which is simply an effort of the will, and capable of being remarkably stimulated by physical terrors—a restless, inquisitive mind, an argumentative temper, a disposition to

doubt, inquire and test, and you will have gained the right point of view for estimating the relation in which Erasmus stood to all questions of dogmatic theology. Of course he was not an Arian, nor an Apollinarian ; nor did he avowedly hold or teach any other heresy which the Church had formally condemned. But the ground on which he abjured all heretical opinions was *this*, not that if he had followed his own judgment he would have believed them to be untrue, but that the Church had pronounced them false, and he desired never to deviate—to use his own expression—by so much as a hair's-breadth from the doctrine of the Church. If, then, the real conviction of Erasmus was that Arianism, for example, would have been true but for the condemnation of the Church, and if he took every opportunity of pointing out arguments in favour of Arianism, it would not follow that his enemies were altogether unjustifiable in charging him with that heresy. It is at all events clear that, in inquiring into the belief of a man occupying such a position, we are asking, not what were the opinions which he avowed, but what were the opinions towards which his mind naturally inclined.

The other point which it would be necessary to bear in mind in conducting such an inquiry is, that the morality of Erasmus, in all probability, permitted a larger amount of reservation and equivocation than is consistent with strict honesty. It is painful to call in question the perfect sincerity of any one who is otherwise entitled to respect. But here, as in all other questions of fact, the only legitimate course is to follow the evidence before us. And upon this particular point we have the language of Erasmus himself to enable us to determine with what degree of severity or indulgence he was inclined to regard a deviation from truth : it is only hence that we can infer how far he might have allowed himself to practise it. Now Erasmus expressly teaches, on more occasions than one, that a lie is always permissible when the object is good.\* Just as parents, he argues, may deceive their children, or physicians their patients, for

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\* I have only one example at hand, but it is sufficient for illustration. In the prefatory letter to the Panegyric upon Philip of Burgundy, he says, "Certe Plato, certe Stoici mendacium officiosum permittunt sapienti."

their own advantage, so is it permitted to every educated person to use his own discretion in determining when a lie is calculated to do more good than harm. It would, no doubt, be easy to shew that there are some extreme cases in which falsehood is essential to self-preservation or even to the preservation of others ; and no one who should maintain that in such cases it was permissible, could rationally be accused of being a dishonest man. Nevertheless, the doctrine is a dangerous one, and always liable to perversion ; and it seems to me that Erasmus was disposed to carry it beyond that point at which, in the estimation of almost all moralists, it would cease to be legitimate. This disposition, I think, is remarkably illustrated in his *Life of St. Jerome*, where he repeats the familiar story of the supernatural flogging inflicted upon the Father for his excessive study of the classics. Every one knows—for, as Erasmus remarks, those who know nothing else of Jerome know this—that the saint, having indulged in the reading of the classical writers to such excess that he felt repelled by the barbarous style of the Scriptures, was one day hurried before the tribunal of Christ, and questioned as to his faith. On his replying that he was a Christian, he was flatly told that he lied ; that he was no Christian, but a Ciceronian ; and thereupon he was seized and flagellated so unmercifully that the bystanders at length interposed, and flinging themselves at the feet of the Judge begged that he might be released. That this story was no dream, but a reality, Jerome solemnly averred, and stated in support of his assertion that the welts from the blows were found the next day on his back and shoulders. Now for this fabrication, which Jerome himself eventually, when it served his purpose, called a dream, Erasmus has no condemnation. His only interest in it is to prove that a story, the moral of which was so unfavourable to the revival of letters, could have no foundation in fact. He does not even think it necessary to offer the obvious apology that it really was a dream, which had left upon a mind worn with fasting and solitude the impression of reality, but contents himself with remarking that the object of the Father was to deter a young girl from excessive study of the classics, and that it would be therefore absurd to deduce from it any general conclusion. What Jerome's own teaching and practice were in this respect is no doubtful matter. In com-

menting on that passage in the Epistle to the Galatians which records how Paul withstood Peter to the face, he interprets this difference between the apostles as "economical" and not real.\* And when Augustine wrote to him objecting to this interpretation, on the ground that by attributing falsehood to an apostle it entirely invalidated the authority of Scripture, he defended himself by saying that its object was to refute the blasphemy of Porphyry, who had accused Paul of rudeness in rebuking the chief of the apostles; as if any interpretation of Scripture were admissible, provided it was adapted to silence an antagonist, and without regard to its truth! Now Jerome was the master of Erasmus. As Luther's warm nature found its most congenial nutriment in the writings of Augustine, Erasmus looked up to Jerome as by far the greatest of the Latin Fathers. He had copied out his Epistles when a young man. He constantly quoted him as an authority; and although he sometimes found it necessary to contend that he was but a man, and therefore liable to error, he wrote of him in terms which seemed almost to attribute to him something of supernatural illumination. If, then, Jerome had so little scruple about resorting to mendacity when it answered his purpose to do so, if he had so little understanding of the distinction between honesty and dishonesty, we need have the less hesitation in assuming a certain degree of laxity on that point both in the theory and the practice of his disciple.

Without pretending to examine in this place all the real or alleged deviations of Erasmus from the orthodox standard, our attention is naturally drawn towards one point of special importance, on which there is reason for believing that his

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\* The reader may like to have before him the passage referred to:—"Cum itaque vidiasset apostolus Paulus periclitari gratiam Christi, nova bellator vetus usus est arte pugnandi, ut dispensationem Petri, qua Judæos salvare cupiebat, nova ipse contradictionis dispensatione corrigeret, et resisteret ei in faciem: non arguens propositum; sed quasi in publico contradicens, ut ex eo quod Paulus eum arguens, resistebat, hi qui crediderant ex gentibus, servarentur. Quod si putat aliquis, vere Paulum Petro apostolo restitisse, et pro veritate Evangelii intrepide fecisse injuriam præcessori, non ei stabit illud quod et ipse Paulus Judæus Judæis factus est ut Judæos lucrificeret, et ejusdem simulationis tenebitur reus, quando caput totondit in Cenchreis, et facto calvitio, oblationem obtulit in Jerusalem (*Actor. xviii.*), et Timotheum circumcidit (*Ibid. xvi.*), et nudipedalia exercuit, quæ utique manifestissime de cærimoniis Judæorum sunt."

views were, in ecclesiastical phrase, unsound, and that not merely in the eyes of Catholics, but of Protestants as well. The great Catholic doctrine of the Trinity—Catholic it certainly was in the sense that, after a severe struggle, it gained at last and held for many centuries the universal consent of Christendom—was one which the chief Reformers never thought of subjecting to renewed examination. But this doctrine was precisely of the kind to rouse scruples in a mind so eminently under the dominion of common sense as that of Erasmus. During his own life, Erasmus was charged with Arianism. Of course he repudiated the charge with indignation. “Stunica,” he exclaims, in reply to one of the most unrelenting of his adversaries, “Stunica may call me a Dutchman if he pleases ; but how can he call me an Arian, seeing how often and how explicitly I have confessed the divinity of our Lord ?” If, however, the principles laid down are to have any weight, it is clear that such expressions must not be accepted as conclusive upon the writer’s real conviction, or at best must be understood merely as signifying that, whatever his own leanings might be, he bowed to the authority of the Church. In any case, it remains certain that his eyes were wide open to all the difficulties of the Athanasian Trinity, and that he lost no opportunity of suggesting arguments in favour of Arianism. In his *Life of St. Jerome*, he remarks that the Arianism of the fourth century, which divided the Church into two nearly equal parties, was a schism rather than a heresy,—implying in fact that, with a slight increase in the number of its adherents, it would have been as good orthodoxy as the opposite doctrine. In the notes to his *New Testament*, he gave great offence by observing how seldom the name of God is distinctly applied to Christ in the Scriptures ; and when his opponents charged him with gross ignorance on that ground, he proceeded to justify himself by explaining in an anti-trinitarian sense all those passages which are usually regarded as most decisive upon the orthodox side. But there was no composition of Erasmus which was more likely to rouse suspicions of his strict orthodoxy upon this point than the *Introduction* to his edition of the works of Hilary. Complaining of the manner in which the writings of that Father had been interpolated, especially in those passages where he seemed to deviate from the orthodox

standard, he quotes a sentence in which Hilary seems to imply that the Father and the Son are the only proper objects of worship, to the exclusion of the Holy Spirit, and expresses his surprise that such a sentiment should have escaped corruption. "Is it not possible," he asks, "to have fellowship with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, without being able to explain philosophically the distinction between the Father and the Son, or between the Holy Spirit and both the other persons ; or the difference between the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit ? If I believe the tradition of the Church, that there are three of one substance, what need of laborious disputation ? If I do not believe, no earthly reasoning will convince me." Again : "Thou shalt not be condemned for not knowing whether the Spirit which proceedeth from the Father and the Son consists in one principle or in two ; but thou shalt not escape destruction unless thou shalt make it thy endeavour to possess the fruits of the Spirit, which are love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, long-suffering, meekness, faith, modesty, continence, chastity. . . . The sum of our religion is peace and concord ; which cannot easily be maintained unless we define but very few points, and in the greater number leave every one free to form his own judgment." The following passage contains a lesson which is as much needed by Protestant as by Romanist orthodoxy.

"In old times faith consisted in the life rather than in the profession of a multitude of articles. By and by it became necessary to impose articles of faith, but these were at first few in number and of apostolic simplicity. Subsequently, in consequence of the dishonesty of the heretics, the sacred volume was subjected to a more severe investigation, while their obstinacy compelled the definition of some points by the Synods of the Church. At length faith ceased to be a matter of the heart, and was wholly transferred to written documents ; and there were nearly as many forms of belief as there were men. Articles increased, but sincerity decreased. Contention waxed warm, charity waxed cold. The doctrine of Christ, which at first repudiated all strife of words, began to look to the schools of the philosophers for protection : this was the first step in the decline of the Church. Wealth increased, and power too. The interference of the authority of the emperors, moreover, was not very conducive to sincerity of faith. At last, religion degenerated into mere sophistical argumentation, and the Church was inun-

dated with myriads of articles. Hence the progress was easy to terror and threats. And though the Christian life is almost unknown among us, and though faith is on our lips rather than in our heart, though the solid understanding of the Holy Scriptures is wanting to us, yet by the mere force of terror we endeavour to make men believe what they do not believe, to love what they do not love, and to understand what they do not understand."

In turning over the works of Hilary on the Arian heresy, and the reply of Auxentius, Erasmus says it often occurred to him that some might be surprised that, whereas so many precautions are taken to ensure our believing that the Son is very God, of one substance with the Father, hardly any mention is made of the Holy Spirit, although the whole controversy regarding the name of God, the homousion, the equality with the Father, pertains no less to the Spirit than to the Son. The alternative reasons which he gives for this fact are suggestive: "either because it was more difficult to believe that the Son was God on account of his human nature, or because the early Christians, in their deep reverence for the Divine nature, scrupled to make any proposition concerning it which is not clearly taught in the Bible." He sums up his own conclusion as to the scriptural teaching upon the Three Persons in the following short and emphatic sentence: "The Father is very frequently called God, the Son sometimes, the Holy Spirit never."

The composition containing these passages was addressed to the Archbishop of Palermo, to whom the Hilary was dedicated. If episcopal flesh and blood were the same then as they are now—and it is probable they were not very different—the Archbishop's nerves must have been severely tried.

If Erasmus held heretical views on the Trinity, that might have been a reason for his withdrawing from the communion of Rome; it was none for his joining the party of Luther. It is indeed impossible to look into the secrets of the heart, especially if words are used to hide rather than to reveal them. It is difficult to balance authority against reason, or to know what degree of belief to attribute to him who professes to accept in virtue of the former that which he perceives the latter will not sanction. What is clear in the case of Erasmus is, that he saw that the ecclesiastical



Trinity was in accordance neither with Scripture nor with the teachings of the early Fathers. His common sense rebelled against a doctrine which seemed to be self-contradictory. The Church of Rome, however, demanded that he should believe it on pain of excommunication, and accordingly he sacrificed his individual judgment to the universal consent.

In some other points of speculative belief, such as Free-will and Justification, Erasmus was certainly nearer the moderate teaching of Rome than the extravagance of the Reformers. It was the practical abuses of the Church which drew him their way at all; but these he hoped might be removed by moderation and reasoning; while he naturally shrank from the disturbances which he foresaw must inevitably follow upon any breach with the established system of religion. If he had not the spirit of a martyr—and he himself confessed that he had not—it may be pleaded for him that in all ages timidity has been the inalienable prerogative of the comfortable Churchman, and that at his time of life few have been found to quit their old associations and follow the lead of younger and more vigorous minds. I must not, however, enlarge upon this topic. In taking leave of Erasmus, I would only ask to add a very few words to what has been already said, in order to make the picture of him more complete, and shew what manner of man he actually was. Original power of any kind no one will claim for him. He was too much of the scholar, too much of the ready writer and man of letters, for that. Indefatigable industry, vast memory, keen observation, and above all an almost boundless talent for writing—these were his distinguishing characteristics, these were the qualities which put him at the head of literary men. There may have been others more accurate, there may have been others more profound; but there was no one who could present the results of learning in a more attractive form, or who knew better how to make the cup of knowledge palatable. To read Erasmus is to be carried unresistingly along a swift stream of easy rhetoric, where there are no rocks to dash our vessel in pieces, nor sufficient depth of water to drown us, should we unfortunately be capsized. When we read any treatise in which he touches on speculative topics,—when we read, for instance, his essay on Free-will, and find that he

treats the question as one to be decided solely by the testimony of Scripture and the opinions of the Fathers, we perceive how far he was from being able to master or even grasp firmly any of the greater problems which claim the attention of the theologian. His intellect was by no means of the constructive order; and hence, while he saw clearly the difficulties of every system, he would, apart from the authority of the Church, have felt himself quite at a loss what to believe. He had neither explored the deep places of thought, nor climbed the mountain-heights of the loftiest faith and love. But in the middle regions of the practical life he was at home, and there he found the true field of his activity. Let no one suppose that Erasmus was merely a satirist. The object of satire, indeed, is to make men better by tearing away the mask which conceals their real features and shewing them as they are, by laying a vigorous hand on the weak spot, and remorselessly rubbing off the paint which gives to vice the semblance of virtue. But the continual probing of weak places too often induces the habit of regarding the whole body as diseased. The transition is at all times too easy from Lilliput to the country of the Houyhnhnms, from the pleasant conceit of making men ridiculous by making them small, to the fierce disgust with all things human implied in the hideous reversal of the relationship between man and brute. Not so with Erasmus. He never wrote in bitterness, nor did he ever forget that his duty was to reform, not to drive men to despair. He never lost his faith in human nature, nor did he take pleasure in ridiculing folly or superstition apart from the practical object of correcting them. Indeed, he always maintained—and surely with great justice—that he was the best friend of the monastic orders, as his sole desire was to expose and ridicule those who disgraced them. Though by no means of the saintly order of mind—indeed, he was quite inclined to make the best of this world—Erasmus had in his nature a vein of very sincere piety. Never, even in his most galling exposures of superstition, does he forget what is due to real religion. His writings abound in devotional sentiments, introduced not for mere display, but as the honest expression of his feelings, and some of his treatises bearing directly upon religion are still charming from the tone of practical piety which pervades them.

It may not be very profitable, but it is at least interesting, to reflect what might have been the course of history had the spirit of Erasmus, rather than the spirit of Luther, prevailed. It has been doubted before now even by Protestants, whether the Reformation was upon the whole for the good of mankind, whether it did not retard instead of helping the cause of human progress. And it is certainly conceivable that the Church might have followed the advice of her best counsellors, might have reformed the clergy, purified the monasteries, encouraged literature, and given the Bible to the people. But to suppose this is of course to suppose that Leo never issued his Bull against Luther. It is to suppose that the Church voluntarily resigned an authority which she had always claimed was committed to her by God. To have done this would have been to abandon the very objects for which she existed, and which she valued most. Complete control of man's heart and conscience, reason and will—that was the demand of Rome. This she could not retain except by means of that very system which gave birth to so many crying abuses. I do not therefore share in the doubt as to the value of the Reformation; because it seems clear that, notwithstanding the terrible evils which it occasioned, it was an essential step in the history of humanity; and that the principles of toleration could never have established themselves, save through the conflict upon nearly equal terms of different forms of religion, and by the intervention of the secular power. This may be quite evident to us; but unless we remember that the other view—the view that the Church might reform herself—was a very plausible and hopeful one in the early part of the sixteenth century, we shall never do justice to Erasmus.

It is impossible to conclude without turning for a moment to our own times, and glancing at the parallelism they present to the period of which we have been speaking. To control man's heart and conscience, reason and will, I have said, is the demand of Rome. Is it not virtually the demand of every Church which, under whatever disguise, prescribes an authoritative standard of Truth, from which it shall be the deadliest sin to dissent? There is no essential difference between orthodoxy in its Roman and its Protestant form. There is no essential difference between the

struggle which is now maintained by the liberal thinkers of the Anglican Church against the bigotry of its rulers, and the contest which Erasmus conducted with such consummate skill against the fanaticism of the sixteenth century. Circumstances are changed, but men are not greatly changed with them. No reflection indeed occurs so frequently to the student of that period, as the reflection that he is studying under other names the history of his own time.

—Mutato nomine de te  
Fabula narratur.

Bigotry and superstition are, it is true, less formidable now than they were then ; but that is because they have lost the power rather than the will to do harm. Yet the first quarter of the sixteenth century was much less troubled than the period that succeeded it. Private life would seem to have been tolerably secure even for those who ventured to think for themselves, provided they took care not to express their thoughts in the vernacular. Persecution in its more terrible form may be said to have hardly yet begun, or rather recommenced ; and it is only towards the close of Erasmus' life that we hear of a heretic being burned now and then "to clear the air." On the other hand, if Erasmus lived now, he would have to direct his satire against very nearly the same objects as actually engaged his pen. He would still have to rebuke those who rely for salvation upon costly rites or wearisome ceremonies, upon anything rather than personal righteousness. He would still have to aim the shafts of his ridicule against pretentious ignorance and unscrupulous malice. He would still have to complain of those who stop their ears against reasoning which they cannot refute, denounce books which they have never read, and resort to calumny and abuse whenever better arguments fail them. The position of Erasmus was very similar to that of the Broad-churchman of our own day. There was, however, one important difference—let it be noted well : he never admitted the principle of free inquiry, but always professed to hold his individual opinion in subordination to the judgment of the Church. He was not therefore called upon to attempt the difficult task of recon-

ciling his own views with the acceptance of propositions which seemed to exclude them. In other respects, and in so far as he was fighting the battle of sound learning and practical Christianity against ignorance, arrogance and prejudice, the parallel holds good.

I must not, however, enlarge upon this attractive topic. The resemblance between that age and our own suggests itself at so many points, that it does not require to be more specially referred to. This indeed is the deepest interest of that period of history—this is the deepest interest of all history—if we can see in it the picture of ourselves, and if, profiting by the lessons of experience, we may hope to become in some respects even but a little wiser and better than the men who lived before us.

ROBERT B. DRUMMOND.

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### III.—DR. NEWMAN'S GRAMMAR OF ASSENT.

*An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By John Henry Newman, D.D. 12mo. Pp. 485. London: Burns, Oates and Co. 1870.

THE special interest of this book consists in its statement of the manner of approach, the actual steps of inference and assent which have conducted John Henry Newman to his present, not theological but, religious position. It is not an attempt to prove Roman Catholic doctrine on grounds of universal logic; nor yet, though it sometimes appears as an assumption, to shew the way in which, as matter of fact, he felt his feet compelled to walk in arriving at it. Dr. Newman has justly no confidence in a scientific method, or calculus, applicable to all minds, and capable of obtaining uniform acceptances of religious truth, whether in the form of doctrinal propositions, or of realities of consciousness. Only where the mind creates its own premisses, and determines them by indeflectible definition, as in pure mathe-

matics, can universal propositions be legitimated. Even in physical science no such thing as a necessary order or sequence, to the exclusion of unexpected phenomena, can be determined, nor a future event infallibly predicted, however high the assurance of probability may rise. It is not necessary that the sun should rise to-morrow, that in the sense of our past experience there should be either a to-morrow or a sun. It is not necessary that a man should die. All men are mortal; Elijah was a man; therefore Elijah was mortal,—is to a Catholic an empty syllogism, correct in form, but leading to a false conclusion, inasmuch as the major premiss, the universal affirmative, is sheer assumption. The individual man may have special properties, special relations to God, which take him out of the category of common accidents. The utmost that can logically be affirmed is, that all the antecedents remaining the same, the usual consequents will follow. But what all the antecedents are, or how they may be changed by the power that ordained them, no logic can determine. Apart from intuition and demonstration, in propositions relating to concrete things,—and it is with concrete things religion has to do,—there is no absolute certainty, and, so much do men differ in their primary experiences and in their shaping power of interpretation and of inference exercised upon these, no universal agreement, if a divinely-appointed authority and expositor of truth is abjured.

But, though the book is not in form an argument for the Roman Catholic system of doctrine, and professes only to exhibit what the mind does in all cases of conclusion and assent, whether these be right or wrong, there is a foundation inserted with great dexterity for the acceptance of authority, and its assumptions are freely resorted to, without any attempt at proof, wherever difficulties in the reasoning crop up, which are otherwise unanswerable. This ground-plan, or preparation of ground, for a church system is laid down at the very beginning in a way to excite no suspicion. In the soft green of a child's soul is found a yielding instinct of assent to the unimpeachable authority of a mother speaking, *ex cathedra*, on matters beyond the child's personal knowledge or experience, which may serve to bind children of maturest growth to the dicta of a still more venerable Mother, endowed with a supernatural authority, on matters

that transcend all experience.\* If a child asks, "What is lucern?" and is told, "It is *medicago sativa*, of the class *Diadelphia*, and of the order *Decandria*," he may repeat this like a parrot. If he is told, "Lucern is food for cattle," and is shewn cows grazing in a meadow, he may give assent to the proposition on the word of the informant with, so far, a clear apprehension of what is meant. And if his mother was his informant, though he had no understanding of the botanical terms, and could not use them intelligently, he would yet give a genuine assent to the proposition, "My mother's *word*, that lucern is *medicago sativa*, and is food for cattle, is the truth," with a strength and reality which, if it was suitable to his years, would make him ready to lay down his life for its sake. His mother's veracity and authority are no abstraction, but bound up with that image and veneration of her which are part of himself, and command an unreserved assent to all her teachings. He would not think of laying down his life for the proposition, "Lucern is *medicago sativa*, &c.," standing by itself, for he knows nothing about it,—but he would willingly lay it down in defence of the proposition, "My mother's word that it is so is truth," because of his lively apprehension of her as an absolute authority. Nothing more is said; nor is this preparation for after faith in authoritative dogmas, to which, in themselves considered, no real assent is possible, more expressly referred to again; but with what a forecasting eye to future exigencies has the master-builder claimed and reserved a foundation-ground that may bear the weight of whatever superstructures the theological school will lay upon it. It is true that the child has absolute faith in his mother's veracity, and his father's or his mother's knowledge may to the child stand for omniscience; but the last is only a child's feeble notion, to be put away with other childish things; and though the first is never to be put away, yet only a child of the weakest age could confound his mother's veracity with her infallibility, her truthfulness with the truth, scientific or otherwise, of whatever proposition she affirms.

We do not mean to dwell at any length upon the general, or unapplied, reasonings of the *Grammar of Assent* as the

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\* Comp. p. 13.



logic of probabilities. It is for the most part profound, subtle and sagacious, animated and controlled by vigorous common sense and a healthy realism. Many of its distinctions, elaborately pursued, and making a large part of the work, seem to us little more than matters of nomenclature, and just a little tedious, saved indeed from absolute weariness only by an exquisite felicity of illustration drawn from all departments of thought. Whether an assent must be considered as unconditional, seeing that it is preceded by inferences that have recommended it to our acceptance, we being what we are, and is always accompanied by a faith that these inferences with their premisses are recoverable if they have slipped from our recollection; whether there are degrees of assent varying with the weight of proof, or whether, wherever we are properly said to assent at all, in matters undemonstrable, there is a surplusage of practical conviction over and above the force of logical argument; whether absolute certitude is legitimate to a mind that had many such former certitudes which it afterwards saw to be uncertain or false; these perhaps are mainly questions of terminology, and might have been treated as such with the great advantage of delivering the reader from the impression of a pervading subtlety. Our interest, however, will be with the religious inferences exhibited, and with the preliminary principles only so far as they result in these.

All concrete things are individuals, and cannot be stripped of their individuality, though the mind may abstract common properties which serve for purposes of classification. These common properties, being disembodied, are called *notional*, contemplations of the mind; and our apprehension of them is notional, as incapable of being imaged or pictured like external things. Propositions relating to individual beings are here called *real* propositions, and their apprehension real, as concrete conceptions, or capable of becoming so by a living act of the imagination. Of these two apprehensions, the real furnishes the objects that act upon the affections and the passions. An abstract property, a notion of the mind, cannot move us, as does the same property embodied in a real being. Real apprehension is an experience or information about external objects: its organs are sensation, mental impressions, memory, imagi-

nation. By a composition of experiences we may attain to images of real things that have never come before us. But we can have no real apprehension of mental or spiritual states of being, of the constituent elements of which we have had no experience. Men of the world are sometimes incapable of entering into the idea of devotion, and of the devotional life. To them, "from the nature of the case, a life of religious seclusion must be either one of unutterable dreariness or abandoned sensuality, because they know of no exercise of the affections but what is merely human;" as there are "others, again, who, living in the home of their own selfishness, ridicule as something fanatical and pitiable the self-sacrifices of generous high-mindedness and chivalrous honour. They cannot create images of these things, any more than children can, on the contrary, of vice, when they ask where and who the bad men are; for they have no personal memories, and have to content themselves with notions drawn from books or the intercourse of life." Truths that are capable of becoming real assents, operating on all the springs of action, may be intellectually admitted without vividness of apprehension, without being seen or felt.

"Let us consider how differently young and old are affected by the words of some classic author, such as Homer or Horace. Passages which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully in his own flowing versification, at length come home to him, when long years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm, which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the medieval opinion about Virgil, as if a prophet or magician; his single words and phrases, his pathetic half-lines, giving utterance, as the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time.

"And what the experience of the world effects for the illustration of classical authors, that office the religious sense, carefully

cultivated, fulfils towards Holy Scripture. To the devout and spiritual, the Divine Word speaks of things, not merely of notions. And, again, to the disconsolate, the tempted, the perplexed, the suffering, there comes, by means of their very trials, an enlargement of thought, which enables them to see in it what they never saw before. Henceforth there is to them a reality in its teachings, which they recognize as an argument, and the best of arguments, for its divine origin. Hence the practice of meditation on the Sacred Text, so highly thought of by Catholics. Reading, as we do, the Gospels from our youth up, we are in danger of becoming so familiar with them as to be dead to their force, and to view them as a mere history. The purpose, then, of meditation is to realize them; to make the facts which they relate stand out before our minds as objects, such as may be appropriated by a faith as living as the imagination which apprehends them.

"It is obvious to refer to the unworthy use made of the more solemn parts of the sacred volume by the mere popular preacher. His very mode of reading, whether warnings or prayers, is as if he thought them to be little more than fine writing, poetical in sense, musical in sound, and worthy of inspiration. The most awful truths are to him but sublime or beautiful conceptions, and are adduced and used by him, in season and out of season, for his own purposes, for embellishing his style or rounding his periods. But let his heart at length be ploughed by some keen grief or deep anxiety, and Scripture is a new book to him. This is the change which so often takes place in what is called religious conversion, and it is a change so far simply for the better, by whatever infirmity or error it is in the particular case accompanied. And it is strikingly suggested to us, to take a saintly example, in the confession of the patriarch Job, when he contrasts his apprehension of the Almighty before and after his afflictions. He says he had indeed a true apprehension of the Divine Attributes before them as well as after; but with the trial came a great change in the character of that apprehension:—'With the hearing of the ear', he says, 'I have heard Thee, but now mine eye seeth Thee; therefore I reprehend myself, and do penance in dust and ashes.'"<sup>\*</sup>

And though the vividness of an image is no warrant for the external reality of the object imaged, yet all realities must be present to us in this way if they are to take possession of us, to mould and rule us, to move us in the depths of our being. Otherwise in our beliefs we are con-

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<sup>\*</sup> Pp. 75—77.

versant not with the things believed, but with abstractions, ghostly shadows on the cold surface of the mind. A man may go through the world, transacting business with men, and have no real knowledge of any living man. His fellows, as far as he has to do with them, have the attributes of humanity for certain purposes of intercourse, but the individuality of not one of them is known to him, and, except that they serve their purposes, and stand to him in these relations, he has no apprehension of their several personalities, of what they are in themselves. Such a man may have vast knowledge, and no hold of, no communion with, any living thing in its own special being. His wife or children, even, are only beings with whom he has relations, but of whose inner life he has no image, and who have no warm, moving presence within his own. A natural historian may know all specific differences, all classifications, of all created things, and have no sympathy, no intercommunion of nature, with any of them, no fond resting of the eye and the heart upon them until the power and meaning of their being passes into himself. A man may know the canine nature in all its varieties, and never have interchanged affections, never have had friendship and acquaintance with a real dog. A man may know all manner of trees by their botanical characteristics, and never see them as a painter sees them, nor feel their life as a poet feels it. Great naturalists may have no experience of anything in nature to make them feel or adopt the words, "it haunted him like a passion." And especially in the higher ranges of knowledge, in our spiritual beliefs, is the difference vital between truths acknowledged by the intellect, and truths objectively perceived, or vividly present as realities of experience. These last, which bring us face to face with living beings and with living interests, are the powers of the world to come, the powers that regenerate and make all things new; that give depth and purpose to character; that inspire and sustain enterprize; that turn thought into will, energy, unconquerable effort, inextinguishable hope; that make men heroes, enthusiasts, saints, philanthropists and martyrs. Of course, if the belief is a delusion, this way of apprehending it will draw out into action all the evil that is in it; but it only shews the might of living Truth, how awful our responsibility towards it is, if false-

hood, which cannot be congenial to our nature, when thus taken for truth becomes the master of our being.

The most delightful section of the book is in the few rich pages which shew how we come to believe in God with a real apprehension of Him. The argument from design is unanswerable, the intellect cannot resist it, but it is an inference from scientific contemplations, and to recognize a Designer in the world is not even a step towards bringing us into personal intercourse with Him. The doctrine of final causes, however convincing, will not give us the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, a God who is a Father and a communing Friend. There might be an omniscient and omnipotent Artificer manifest in creation, in our own bodies and minds, who yet spoke no word to us, nor ever touched us with Himself. A God in whom we live and move and have our being cannot be known to us only as an inference from external facts: He must be present to us immediately, personally—more immediately than in any other example familiar to us of spirit communicating with spirit. No man hath seen God at any time: the senses cannot furnish the materials of our image of Him. How then can we know God objectively? How can we really apprehend Him by actual experience of Him, with as full an assurance of His personality and His presence to us, as if we saw Him?

The material world in its externality is known to us by experience and intuition. A dog is not surpassed by the profoundest metaphysician in the recognition of individual existences and characters separate from himself. Is there no way in which a Being, who is not ourselves, could make known to us his personality and his presence, except through the observations of the senses and reflection upon them? Are there no impressions except sensible impressions? Are there no voices except audible voices? Are there no authoritative commands spoken to us, not by ourselves, but which we vainly struggle not to hear, except by our masters according to the flesh? Surely a spiritual Being who had access to us could reveal Himself by impressions upon our spirits, as really as a man could make himself known by sights and sounds. Have we experience of a Being who has such access to us? That is the whole question. What is Conscience? Is it not a magisterial dic-

tate? Dees not the general feeling of mankind instinctively call it a Divine Voice? Do not the experiences of Conscience, awe, hope, fear, trembling, aspiration, the sense of accountability, involve the recognition of a living Object who acts in them, who orders us and reproves us, and sometimes gladdens us with a thrill of approving love? And are not these intimations of Himself sufficient materials for a real apprehension of the Lord of our life, whose voice is not in our ear but in our soul? The moral sense of mankind which passes a favourable judgment on the dictates of the Sovereign spirit is not to be confounded with the dictates on which it is exercised, nor with Him who speaks them. We are delighted to find the voice of the Catholic Church speaking through so great an authority, in contradiction to a debased Protestantism, giving its full and independent place to Natural Religion, and Dr. Newman expressly assigning his own faith in the existence, personality, unity and character of God, to the unmistakable intimations of a spirit present in the conscience of an uncorrupted child :

“If, as is the case, we feel responsibility, are ashamed, are frightened at transgressing the voice of Conscience, this implies that there is One to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear. If, on doing wrong, we feel the same tearful, broken-hearted sorrow which overwhelms us on hurting a mother ; if, on doing right, we enjoy the same sunny serenity of mind, the same soothing satisfactory delight, which follows on our receiving praise from a father, we certainly have within us the image of some person, to whom our love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct our pleadings, in whose anger we are troubled and waste away. These feelings in us are such as require for their exciting cause an intelligent being : we are not affectionate towards a stone, nor do we feel shame before a horse or a dog ; we have no remorse or compunction on breaking mere human law : yet, so it is, conscience excites all these painful emotions, confusion, foreboding, self-condemnation ; and on the other hand it sheds upon us a deep peace, a sense of security, a resignation and a hope, which there is no sensible, no earthly object to elicit. ‘The wicked flees, when no one pursueth ;’ then why does he flee? Whence his terror? Who is it that he sees in solitude, in darkness, in the hidden chambers of his heart? If the cause of these emotions does not belong to this visible world, the Object to which his

perception is directed must be Supernatural and Divine ; and thus the phenomena of Conscience, as a dictate, avail to impress the imagination with the picture of a Supreme Governor, a Judge holy, just, powerful, all-seeing, retributive, and is the creative principle of religion, as the moral sense is the principle of ethics."\*

"It is my wish to take an ordinary child, but one who is safe from influences destructive of his religious instincts. Supposing he has offended his parents, he will all alone and without effort, as if it were the most natural of acts, place himself in the presence of God, and beg of Him to set him right with them. Let us consider how much is contained in this simple act. First, it involves the impression on his mind of an unseen Being with whom he is in immediate relation, and that relation so familiar that he can address Him whenever he himself chooses ; next, of One whose goodwill towards him he is assured of, and can take for granted,—nay, who loves him better, and is nearer to him, than his parents ; further, of One who can hear him, wherever he happens to be, and who can read his thoughts, for his prayer need not be vocal ; lastly, of One who can effect a critical change in the state of feeling of others towards him. That is, we shall not be wrong in holding that this child has in his mind the image of an Invisible Being, who exercises a particular providence among us, who is present everywhere, who is heart-reading, heart-changing, ever accessible, open to impetration. What a strong and intimate vision of God must he have already attained, if, as I have supposed, an ordinary trouble of mind has the spontaneous effect of leading him for consolation and aid to an Invisible Personal Power."†

Our author in making this appeal to experience does not pretend that a universal experience will respond to him ; but he rests, we think justly, on the general feeling of mankind, which agrees in recognizing the inward, authoritative voice of a personal and peremptory Monitor ; and, if there are those who deny that conscience is ever more than a taste or an association, he prefers to believe either that their spirit was stifled by its first circumstances, or that they were exceptionally deficient in religious sensibility, or that they had suffered it to fade away through neglect, rather than that they never had at all the germ of an organ which so full a testimony, drawn from all ages and from minds of the most various texture and culture, declares to be natural to man.

\* P. 107.

† P. 110.



In an editorial article in the May number of Fraser's Magazine, it is set forth that the Grammar of Assent undertakes to shew that there is no middle ground tenable between Atheism and submission to an authoritative Church. These are the things that destroy all faith in reviewers. Mr. Kingsley, to whose offences we are indebted for the "Apologia," did not commit so clear a sin against positive evidence, when he affirmed that Dr. Newman did not make much account of veracity as a Christian virtue. We commend the following passage to Mr. Froude's notice :

"Thus conscience is a connecting principle between the creature and his Creator ; and the firmest hold of theological truths is gained by habits of personal religion. When men begin all their works with the thought of God, acting for His sake and to fulfil His will, when they ask His blessing on themselves and their life, pray to Him for the objects they desire, and see Him in the event, whether it be according to their prayers or not, they will find everything that happens tend to confirm them in the truths about Him which live in their imagination, varied and unearthly as those truths may be. Then they are brought into His presence as a Living Person, and are able to hold converse with Him, and that with a directness and simplicity, with a confidence and intimacy, *mutatis mutandis*, which we use towards an earthly superior ; so that it is doubtful whether we recognize the company of our fellow-men with greater keenness than these favoured minds are able to contemplate and adore the Unseen, Incomprehensible Creator.

"This vivid apprehension of religious objects, on which I have been enlarging, is independent of the written records of Revelation ; it does not require any knowledge of Scripture, nor of the history or the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. It is independent of books. But if so much may be traced out in the twilight of Natural Religion, it is obvious how great an addition in fulness and exactness is made to our mental image of the Divine Personality and Attributes by the light of Christianity. And, indeed, to give us a clear and sufficient object for our faith, is one main purpose of the supernatural Dispensations of Religion."\*

Conscience is our specific informant of God ; so that when we say there is One God, we have not merely a notional apprehension of what the words mean, but also a real ap-

prehension of the Object they denote. Theology is concerned with the dogmatic statement: Religion is concerned with the act of realizing faith. But the theological statement may render the highest service to religion in drawing fully out, and harmonizing, all that is contained in the informations of the spirit, and presenting it clearly for the contemplation of faith. Though theology draws all its data from spiritual experiences and interpretations of fact, it will feed and actuate religion, as careful acts of memory and reflection will bring before us all our debt of gratitude to God, all our grounds of trust, and renew the springs of love and confidence in our flat or suffering moments.

The two next sections in which Dr. Newman undertakes to shew that the Athanasian Trinity may be not only theologically admitted by the intellect, but really apprehended by the eye of faith, objectively imaged, as a man is imaged by perception, or in the mirror of memory,—and that the whole dogmatic system of the Roman Catholic Church, through all the creeds and canons, may be assented to with the kind of assent we give to a concrete fact,—can only be described as astounding examples of the dialectical *tour de force*. He affirms that there is nothing in the Athanasian Creed which does not address itself to the imagination, which is not capable of being livingly pictured to the mind; that there are no scientific terms in it; that “Personal,” as applied to the Divine Nature, is a word sufficiently explained by common use; that Three, One, He, God, Father, Son, Spirit, have all a popular meaning, and are used according to that obvious and popular meaning when introduced into the Catholic dogma. In consistency, then, with the obvious and popular meaning of words, he affirms it to be the teaching of the Athanasian Creed, “that the One Personal God is Father, is Son, is Holy Ghost, Each of whom is that One Personal God in the fulness of His Being and Attributes; so that the Father is all that is meant by the word ‘God,’ as if we knew nothing of Son or Spirit; and in like manner the Son and the Spirit are Each by Himself all that is meant by the word, as if the Other and the Father were unknown; moreover, that by the word ‘God’ is meant nothing over and above what is meant by the ‘Father,’ or by the ‘Son,’ or by the ‘Holy Ghost;’ and that the Father is in no sense the Son, nor the Son the

Holy Ghost, nor the Holy Ghost the Father." He asserts that the procession of the Son from the Father, and of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, can be received not notionally or theologically only, but with a real apprehension, objectively or imaginatively; and this is his explanation, in which either the analogy disappears, or the theology is reduced to a very strange condition.

"We have abundant instances in nature of the general law of one thing coming from another or from others:—as the child issues in the man as his successor, and the child and the man issue in the old man, like them both but not the same, so different as almost to have a fresh personality distinct from each, so we may form some image, however vague, of the procession of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son."\*

He admits, indeed, that the dogma of the Trinity, as a complex whole, cannot be really apprehended; but he contends that each of the propositions of which it is composed is conceived and held as a fact. On this matter, whether the Trinity is the object of a real or only of a notional assent, whether it belongs to Religion or only to Theology, his statements are for him unusually infirm and vacillating. In one place he says:

"I ask, then, as concerns the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, such as I have drawn it out to be, is it capable of being apprehended otherwise than notionally? Is it a theory, undeniable indeed, but addressed to the student, and to no one else? Is it the elaborate, subtle, triumphant exhibition of a truth, completely developed, and happily adjusted, and accurately balanced on its centre, and impregnable on every side, as a scientific view, 'totus, teres, atque rotundus,' challenging all assailants; or, on the other hand, does it come to the unlearned, the young, the busy, and the afflicted, as a fact which is to arrest them, penetrate them, and to support and animate them in their passage through life? That is, does it admit of being held in the imagination, and being embraced with a real assent? I maintain it does, and that it is the normal faith which every Christian has, on which he is stayed, which is his spiritual life, there being nothing in the exposition of the dogma, as I have given it above, which does not address the imagination as well as the intellect."†

In another place he says:

"But the question is whether a real assent to the mystery, as

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\* P. 132.

† P. 123.

such, is possible ; and I say it is not possible, because, while we can image the separate propositions, we cannot image them altogether."\*

So that, according to this, we have no real image of God, but only an assent to a number of propositions setting forth the true doctrine of God, and presenting a number of separate images which will not coalesce into one image. Accordingly, in one of his illustrations, he implies that God as He is is not apprehended by us at all. We apprehend separate aspects, of which we cannot make a whole. "Break a ray of light into its constituent colours, each is beautiful, each may be enjoyed ; attempt to unite them, and perhaps you may produce only a dirty white. The pure and indivisible Light is seen only by the blessed inhabitants of heaven ; here we have but such faint reflections of It as its diffraction supplies ; but they are sufficient for faith and devotion. Attempt to combine them into one, and you gain nothing but a mystery, which you can describe as a notion, but cannot depict as an imagination." This is the necessary defect of a tri-personal theology ; it has no image of God. Dr. Newman would not say that he had no image of Christ ; yet he does say that by the word "God" is meant nothing over and above what is meant by "the Son."

The far more remarkable feat of exhibiting how the whole dogmatic system of the Roman Church may be believed with a real assent by an ignorant people who do not understand even the terms in which its propositions are conveyed, is more summarily performed. The magnitude of the difficulty to be overcome is set forth with the emphatic distinctness which in other cases of marvellous exploits is used to enhance the interest of success.

"I cannot deny that a large and ever-increasing collection of propositions, abstract notions, not concrete truths, become, by the successive definitions of Councils, a portion of the *credenda*, and have an imperative claim upon the faith of every Catholic ; and this being the case, it will be asked me how I am borne out by facts in enlarging, as I have done, on the simplicity and directness, on the tangible reality, of the Church's dogmatic teaching.

"I will suppose the objection urged thus :—Why has not the Catholic Church limited her *credenda* to propositions such as

those in her Creed, concrete and practical, easy of apprehension, and of a character to win assent? such as 'Christ is God,' 'This is my body,' 'Baptism gives life to the soul,' 'The Saints intercede for us,' 'Death, judgment, heaven and hell, the four last things,' 'There are seven gifts of the Holy Ghost,' 'Three theological virtues,' 'Seven capital sins,' and the like, as they are found in her Catechisms. On the contrary, she makes it imperative on every one, priest and layman, to profess as revealed truth all the Canons of the Councils, and innumerable decisions of Popes, propositions so various, so notional, that but few can know them, and fewer can understand them. What sense, for instance, can a child or a peasant, nay, or any ordinary Catholic, put upon the Tridentine Canons, even in translation? such as, 'Si quis dixerit homines sine Christi justitiâ, per quam nobis meruit, justificari, aut per eam ipsam formaliter justos esse, anathema sit.' Or, again, such as the very anathema annexed by the Nicene Council to its Creed, the language of which is so obscure, that even theologians differ about its meaning. It runs as follows: 'Those who say that once the Son was not, and before He was begotten He was not, and that He was made out of that which was not, or who pretend that He was of other hypostasis or substance, or that the Son of God is created, mutable, or alterable, the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.' These doctrinal denunciations are *de fide*; peasants are bound to believe them as well as controversialists, and to believe them as truly as they believe that our Lord is God. How then are the Catholic *credenda* easy and within reach of all men?"\*

Again, attention is even more emphatically challenged to this apparently insoluble problem of faith:

"If no mind, theological or not, can believe what it cannot understand, in what sense can the Canons of Councils and other ecclesiastical determinations be included in those *credenda* which the Church presents to every Catholic, and to which every Catholic gives his firm interior assent?"†

And here is the solution, in a passage of which the first sentence is not reconcilable with the wording of the previous extracts:

"It is not the necessary result of unity of profession, nor is it the fact, that the Church imposes dogmatic statements on the interior assent of those who cannot apprehend them. The difficulty is removed by the dogma of the Church's infallibility, and

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\* P. 142.

† P. 145.

of the consequent duty of 'implicit faith' in her word. The 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church' is an article of the Creed, and an article which, inclusive of her infallibility, all men, high and low, can easily master and accept with a real and operative assent. It stands in the place of all abstruse propositions in a Catholic's mind, for to believe in her word is virtually to believe in them all. Even what he cannot understand, at least he can believe to be true, because he believes in the Church."\*

No attempt is made to *prove* the fundamental dogma of the Catholic religion, that the Church is the infallible oracle of Truth, so that the word of the Church is the word of the Revelation, nor is even the method of proof, the direction in which it lies, indicated; but even if the proof was irresistible, it would not follow that dogmas, in themselves unintelligible, could be received by peasants or children with a firm interior assent; the utmost that would follow would be of this kind, according to the pattern of faith laid down at the commencement—"I believe that Mother Church's word, that *lucern is medicago sativa*, &c., is the truth."

So far we have seen Dr. Newman considering religious truths only in relation to our power of objectively apprehending them. The work closes with a chapter of great value, in which our religious assents are considered in relation to their evidences. In preliminary dissertations it is argued that the instrument of proof is practical reason, not formal logic. The data of theology will vary with each man's religious sensibility, and spiritual experience, and knowledge of facts; and even when the data are the same, the results will vary in the meanings assigned to them, with our natural gifts of insight or power of interpretation, and with the acquired faculties of an instructed and exercised judgment. We are guided not by demonstration or scientific proof, but by the consilience of probabilities—by various lines of indication converging to an irresistible conclusion, by verisimilitude as it presents itself to a mind familiar with the subject-matter. No universal logic can define the limits of duty, what it is right for him to undertake, what imperative voices of suggestion and direction he must obey, in the case of any particular man. All this

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\* P. 146.

depends upon experiences, outward and inward, which may be properties of the individual. No agreement can logically be exacted from those who differ in their primary feelings or impressions, and, consequently, in the shaping moulds of the mind. The only test of truth is the concurring judgment of those most conversant with the special subject-matter. A comprehensive view of a large assemblage of intellectual data, with a commanding perception of the conclusions to which they point, depend on the possession of special knowledge and the exercise of special faculties, a result of individual development which cannot be imparted to those not in possession of the materials of inference, or who have the powers that must be brought to bear upon such interests and questions only in an inchoate state. This faculty of judging, in things not admitting scientific proof or reducible to the rules of verbal reasoning, Dr. Newman calls the *Illative Sense*; and where men differ in the range and quality of their perceptions, in their primary informations, as on the first elements of religion and morality, and in disputed questions of history and its interpretation, each individual stands by himself, and may not be amenable, except on points of exact knowledge, to the judgment of another. This is not to deny the existence of objective truth; but in such cases we have no test of truth except in the concurrence or convergence of free investigators, enlightened and conscientious. From this individuality of data and of judgment, Dr. Newman draws the special conclusion, and, if he points to an external standard of truth, quite falsely as appears to us, "that we need the interference of a Power greater than human teaching and human arguments to make our beliefs true and our minds one." Our beliefs will ultimately be more true and full, under the universal teachings of God, because our minds are not one. We need only the modest knowledge of our own limitations, and a faith in that slow but sure development of humanity under the solemn responsibilities of a free culture, by means of which, often insensibly, true but partial aspects find at last their juncture and reconciliation, and flow together into perfect wholes.

Dr. Newman fully accepts Natural Religion as the primary revelation of God, which Christianity necessarily recognizes and depends upon. And as Christianity can only be the



completion and supplement of Natural Religion, its evidence would be useless, however miraculous or supernatural it may be, if it was not in harmony with the teachings, or denied the authority, of that system of thought to which it is compelled to appeal. But, as the Christianity in which Dr. Newman rests is an authoritative scheme, out of which we cannot pick and choose, but "must receive it all if we accept it at all," instead of interpreting Christianity by the light that lighteth every man who comes into the world, the shadows of his doctrinal scheme colour his conceptions of Natural Religion; and in presenting it as the adumbration of the perfect Revelation, he is led to deepen the natural shades, and make the natural witnesses point their testimony in the direction of that system in which he believes truth to culminate. As Conscience presents God as an imperative Governor and Judge, and we are always delinquents, never in full obedience to orders which we feel to be holy, just and good, fear is set forth as the instinctive moral relation between man and his Creator. This fear seeks relief through acts of propitiation, and the heathen effort to appease the gods by sacrifice, in which men besought the favour of heaven by offering up what was dearest to themselves, is made to bear a testimony to the totally different, and even opposite, idea of vicarious expiation, the Church's doctrine of Atonement, in which it is not man who out of the sense of his guilt and heavy debt lays at the feet of God his most precious possession, but God who shews His sensibility to the sin of insensible man, and washes it away by the sacrifice of Himself. Vicarious *satisfaction*, in this sense, does not enter into the conception or the practice of Natural Religion; the victims, national or individual, were, at least, provided by the sinners. The heathen feeling in the strength of which man stripped himself of something very costly, which at least was his own, to atone for the sin of his soul, however dreadfully perverted, was a healthier instinct. And though it is quite true that the natural aspect under which the Judge presents Himself to us, as transgressors, is that of One who is angry, yet it is an anger in which we share, of which we approve; we are angry against ourselves, and our fear is not the terror of slaves, who have come short of an arbitrary Master's tyrannous tasks, but the awe and shame of a self-condemned

child who has dishonoured a Sovereign and Holy Spirit, whose dictates, as our author himself finely says, have echoes and reverberations in our own. It is astonishing that Newman, and a greater than he, Bishop Butler, should fail to see that there is no analogy between the universal fact of good men being willing to suffer, and having to suffer, for the sins of others, and to win them from their sins,—and God's providing an acquittal for sinners, a clearance of guilt, not by the transforming power of a Divine goodness, a process of reconciliation we all admit, but by the operation upon Him of sufferings and sacrifices not their own. Vicarious *suffering*, the willing "bearing of one another's burdens," is a universal law of goodness; but to turn the word "*suffering*" into the word "*punishment*," is to convert a benign fact of Providence into a hideous falsehood, revolting to the natural conscience. From an illustration of what is meant by vicarious suffering, which with our whole hearts we accept, Dr. Newman passes in the next page to a statement of the theological doctrine, against which with our whole hearts we protest. Here is the illustration of the natural law :

"We all suffer for each other, and gain by each other's sufferings; for man never stands alone here, though he will stand by himself one day hereafter; but here he is a social being, and goes forward to his long home as one of a large company."

Here is the doctrine, to which the illustration affords no moral analogy, and in which, against the voice of natural Conscience that sin is inalienable, and that responsibility cannot be shifted, and against the express word of Revelation speaking by Christ, it is assumed that all pain is penal, and the penalty capable of being transferred :

"Since all human suffering is in its last resolution the punishment of sin, and punishment implies a Judge and a rule of justice, he who undergoes the punishment of another in his stead may be said in a certain sense to satisfy the claims of justice towards that other in his own person."\*

But this sternness, the first reading of a rude religiousness, Dr. Newman sees not to be the real countenance of God, nor the legitimate expression of His chief relations towards us. It is the genuine and healthy trembling of an

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\* P. 402.

undeveloped spirit, that knows its own sin, but does not yet know all that Natural Religion teaches of the goodness of the holiness of God. The fear of conscience ; the instinct of sacrifice ; the sense of pain, evil and misery, prevailing in the world ; the silence of God, as though He was hiding Himself from His children, and permitting some evil power to work its will ;—these are the severe aspects which strike at first, but are soon felt to be partial or false interpretations ; for there are other witnesses to God, deeper and nearer to our life, which relieve the impression of severity without injuring its holy awe,—the instinctive refuge of the heart to God as a very ready Help ; the universal trust that saves us from the hardness of despair ; the hope of spiritual good that exalts and sweetens suffering ; the feeling of the individual soul that, however we are oppressed by the mystery of an universal Providence, there is a point of view from which each of us for himself can catch the face of God and recognize the unseen Hand ; faith in prayer as a living and efficacious resort to Him in answer to His promptings in us ; and the strong belief in the power of good and holy men to help us with God, as the representatives of blessed possibilities, and the true symbols of our own being.

As Revealed Religion rests upon Natural Religion, and Natural Religion rests upon the informations of Conscience, and the interpretations we give to them, and these are not uniform nor universal, the evidences of Christianity are of a spiritual character, of a moral probability, with more or less force according to the preparations of the individual, the attitudes of his soul towards God in expectation, insight and pursuit. Paley's argument for Miracles Dr. Newman declines to use, not as having no weight, but as not addressed to the right faculties, and, even if irresistible as a conclusion, not carrying with it conviction or light in any real feeling or possession of the Religion which it is its object to prove. Spiritual things are spiritually discerned. An external argument that cannot be answered, but that requires from the soul, and gives to the soul, no inner fellowship with Christ in his relations to man and God, is not the kind of proof that Religion requires. "If I am asked," says Dr. Newman, "to use Paley's argument for my own conversion, I say plainly I do not want to be converted by a smart syllogism ; if I am asked to convert others by it, I

say plainly I do not care to overcome their reason without touching their hearts." If Revealed Religion is the supplement and development of Natural Religion, he who has not taken the first steps is not ready for the second. The higher states of belief are gained by the same habits of thought, sensibility and character, that open to us the lower ones. If we are not admitted to them through these, we must remain outside for ever. How is faith to come to those who have no spiritual hunger or thirst, in whom Natural Religion has not awakened the desires that bring the Objects of faith within our craving or our sight? Much of the unbelief that cannot receive Christianity, and much of the nominal belief that receives it as though it received it not, is owing to the fact that Christianity corresponds to a high order of spiritual wants, and that where the wants are not felt, Christianity is God's provision for an occasion that has not yet come. It is true that Christ himself, any real sight of him, may be the first to create the desires, to awaken the affections, which he also meets and satisfies; the Object of our faith may also have to couch our spiritual eyes, but this will not be in the fullest natural order of the developments of God; and the organ of faith, sensibility to divine things, must be in some condition of vitality before it can be appealed to at all. He who has been brought as near to God as Natural Religion can bring him, is in the best position for rightly appreciating both the evidences and the contents of a Revelation that claims to be its supplement. Christianity is not the root but the flower of religion; it came not first but last; it begins where the natural provision ends; it professes to meet the questions which the religious spirit, drawing its light from nature, asks but cannot answer; and the soul that is not imbued with the instincts, sentiments, discernments and aspirations of Natural Religion, stands in no living relations of interest or curiosity to a Revelation that professes to be its supplement; it needs nothing more than it has, either in the way of objects for its faith, or of healing for its wounds. It is true, indeed, that our desires and cravings, our sense of our own needs, can be no evidences of the reality of the objects of our faith—other tests must be rigorously applied—but they may serve to give earnestness to investigation, and turn our eyes into the direction, or open them to the

perception, of things that are really presented to our sight. They are not the evidences, but they are the pre-requisites of faith.

"Starting from these elements, we may determine without difficulty the class of sentiments, intellectual and moral, which constitute the formal preparation for entering upon what are called the Evidences of Christianity. These Evidences, then, pre-suppose a belief and perception of the Divine Presence, a recognition of His attributes and an admiration of His Person viewed under them, a conviction of the worth of the soul and of the reality and momentousness of the unseen world, an understanding that, in proportion as we partake in our own persons of the attributes which we admire in Him, we are dear to Him, a consciousness on the contrary that we are far from partaking them, a consequent insight into our guilt and misery, an eager hope of reconciliation to Him, a desire to know and to love Him, and a sensitive looking out in all that happens, whether in the course of nature or of human life, for tokens, if such there be, of His bestowing on us what we so greatly need. These are specimens of the state of mind for which I stipulate in those who would make inquiry into the truth of Christianity ; and my warrant for so definite a stipulation lies in the teaching of conscience and the moral sense, in the testimony of those religious rites which have ever prevailed in all parts of the world, and in the character and conduct of those who have commonly been selected by the popular instinct as the special favourites of Heaven."\*

The historical evidences of Christianity, arising from a vast number of correspondences all converging to one conclusion, pointing to objects of faith that meet the conditions of the case, fulfil the anticipations of mankind, carry with them the present witness of the Spirit, and fitly close and crown the series of Revelations, are traced, in the concluding pages of the Grammar of Assent, with admirable clearness, cogency and moderation. The accumulation of probabilities, of conspiring coincidences, furnishes a proof as strong as demonstration ; and though the coincidences may arise, one by one, in a natural way and by general laws, yet by their combination and consilience they convey an irresistible conviction of providential purpose, and serve as a means of communication reserved by God to be the indications of His special will. He starts from the antecedent probability

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\* P. 413.

founded on the anticipation which Natural Religion creates, that a Revelation will be given—a presentiment grounded on the sense, on the one hand, of the infinite goodness of God, and, on the other, of our one extreme need—“two doctrines which are the primary constituents of Natural Religion.” And if Natural Religion gives an expectation of Revelation, it also gives a standard of spiritual judgment to which it must conform. Dr. Newman postulates, “that no religion is from God which contradicts our sense of right and wrong,” and “would repudiate a theology which taught that men were created in order to be wicked and wretched.” The historical correspondences dwelt upon are the relations of Judaism to Christianity, as its transfiguration and completion; the two together, as one growth out of a Theism coeval with History itself, spanning the whole course of human affairs with one providential and progressive system of earthly and heavenly intercourse; the lapse of Judaism from obstinately standing on its past relations to God, to the exclusion of their legitimate development clearly manifested in the facts of His providence; the dependence of Christianity on Judaism as prophetically indicated, in succeeding to the offices which Judaism forfeited, and as the outcome and proper representative, the legitimate heir, of the former religion, undertaking the divine work of ruling and converting the world, actually doing what Judaism foresaw was to be done; the independence of Christianity upon Judaism, as having a higher character and higher methods of its own, and in that character not only failing to fulfil some of the expectations of Judaism, but giving clear warnings from the beginning, by prophecies of its own, that it would not fulfil them; the fact of Messianic promise, and the fact of the appearance at the expected time of a universal deliverer and reconciler, offering a universal religion, contemplating a universal Church, a universal empire of God, but using only the instruments of spiritual persuasion and missionary love, of the manifestation of God and the Divine Life to the conscience of mankind; and finally, the fact of the wonderful history of Christianity itself, its first progress towards universal conquest, in connection with the fact that the weapons of its warfare were sanctity, suffering and preaching, the image of Christ introduced into the hearts of men being at once their new life

when converted and the instrument of their conversion ;— are these things resolvable into the operation of ordinary causes, moral, social or political ?

The investigation is pursued not at all in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and the only intimation of the communion to which Dr. Newman belongs comes in unexpectedly, in a single line, with no relation whatever to the argument in hand, which is drawn from the correspondences of facts, on which he mainly relies as an indication of the divine meanings of Providence. The chief ground on which he rests Christianity is that the Religion of Nature is a mere inchoation and needs a complement, and that Christianity, by the logic of facts, and by its own fitness, proves itself to be that complement. Whatever doctrine of Authority may dwell in his mind, and sometimes break out as a strange excrescence on his reasoning, the principle of his whole argument is, that Christianity is the divine "counterpart of ourselves, and is real as we are real." In so far as he means or holds anything contrary to this, he has armed us against himself :

"It is a living truth which never can grow old. Some persons speak of it as if it were a thing of history, with only indirect bearings upon modern times ; I cannot allow that it is a mere historical religion. Certainly it has its foundations in past and glorious memories, but its power is in the present. It is no dreary matter of antiquarianism ; we do not contemplate it in conclusions drawn from dumb documents and dead events, but by faith exercised in ever-living objects, and by the use and appropriation of ever-recurring gifts."\*

We rejoice to entertain the hope that this remarkable book, notwithstanding the grotesque incongruity of some of its assumptions with the course and method of its own reasonings, will be of eminent service, at this particular time, in supplying a powerful argument and protest against the modern tendencies of Positivist science in its relations to religious belief.

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\* P. 480.



## IV.—THE STORY OF JEAN CALAS.

*Jean Calas et sa Famille : Etude Historique d'après les Documents Originaux, &c.* Par Athanase Coquerel Fils. Seconde Edition. Paris. 1869.

*Histoire du Procès de Jean Calas, &c.* Par M. l'Abbé Salvan, Chanoine Honoraire de Toulouse. Toulouse. 1863.

It is no mere idle and vulgar curiosity which leads people to throng courts of justice when any remarkable case is brought forward for judgment. Lower and baser considerations, no doubt, attract some of the crowd, and enter in some degree into the minds of all ; but the true, even if unconscious, motive always seems to be, that in such trial there will be unveiled to human eyes a part of the great judgment which is ever in secret being transacted ; the world's sifting of falsehood from truth, right from wrong, is here gathered up into the concrete ; men hear both sides fairly stated—a rare circumstance, save in a legal trial ; and, in the great majority of cases, the verdict of the jury is also that of the public, who, at the same time, silently and unofficially try the case. The records of *causes célèbres* have the same sort of interest, but with this element super-added, that history and time have judged the judges of each old case, have stilled the passions which sway the minds of even judicial persons in seasons of strong political or religious excitement. And it may happen at times that, in reading such an old trial, we find it, as it were, still in progress ; the feelings have not died away which were yet keener when all the actors were alive ; we sit as a sort of court of appeal, in which the whole question has to be argued over again ; and the ultimate verdict, which time and the human conscience are sure to give in the end, may yet be in suspense, awaiting a calmer future. Typical trials like those of Mary Stuart and her grandson, in the region of politics, will rise naturally to the minds of all as instances of what we mean ; though they are dead, they are not yet judged by the final court of appeal ; in each case “*adhuc sub judice lis est.*”

And in reading the accounts of past causes, we have to consider a point which the original and formal court ought seldom to notice at all, and which, if it affected the

verdict, did so wrongly, as we now think. When a prisoner is on his trial, the only question should be, "Does the evidence support the charge?" but we may calmly consider this further question, "Is it likely the prisoner should have acted as he is said to have done?" and we may pronounce the mental verdict of "Guilty," when the spoken verdict, according to the evidence, ought to have been, "Not guilty." Once this maxim of modern judicial procedure was not so understood, so acted on as now; premisses were laid down, conclusions drawn in support of a position which evidence alone failed to substantiate; and since the premisses were not always stated, the accused, if rebutting the evidence, was yet condemned by a conclusion drawn formally enough from propositions which he would have denied as vehemently, nay, sometimes far more vehemently, than his accusers.

Such a *cause célèbre* was the trial of Jean Calas; but its interest is still further intensified by the facts, that in it were and are enlisted the feelings of Catholic against Protestant, and Protestant against Catholic, and this in the south of France, where religious controversy has ever been bitter; that even now the side taken in the "affaire Calas" depends far more than many eager partizans would like to admit, on creed and not on evidence. And as if the differences between religious men on either side were not enough, the story interested Voltaire, who took a vehement part in the long controversy which has not died away in the space of a century; and from the premisses, Jean Calas was a Protestant and Voltaire vindicated his memory, have been drawn the conclusions, the man was a villain and his memory is accursed.

The story of Jean Calas we propose here to tell; though we know well that it would be better that our readers should study it in M. Coquerel's most interesting book. Scarcely a week passes, however, which does not force on us the reflection, how great barriers are still the few miles of sea, and the difference of language, between us and our French neighbours. Few books, save worthless novels, succeed in gaining anything like a circulation among us, and it speaks ill for English culture that translations even of French works seem still to be a necessity. We shall be pardoned, therefore, for giving more detail of the book we

review than would be necessary in the case of one written in English and published on this side the Channel. The other book mentioned in our heading, that by Canon Salvan, is out of print; we have obtained it only after a long search, and with considerable difficulty. It is not of any intrinsic value. The good Canon must weary the Catholics of Toulouse fully as much as an English preacher is wont to weary an English audience, if his sermons are as dull as his book. But as it is written to answer M. Coquerel, we have been very careful to attend rather to his facts, or supposed facts, than to the style in which he has presented them. We shall give him every possible advantage, for he seems a worthy and painstaking, though extremely stupid person. M. Coquerel's book is one of a class more common both in France and in Germany than in England, a treatise which is absolutely exhaustive of its subject. Convinced of the importance of the case as bearing on the social and religious life of the period, as an example of the fierce prejudice against which his Church has had to contend, as a specimen of dogmatic bigotry, which he too sadly knows is not confined to the Catholic Church, he has thought it worth while to place the facts and the actors in all possible lights, and to tell the story with the most circumstantial minuteness. In reading it, we were repeatedly reminded of Mr. Browning's *Ring and the Book*; and the comparison is a compliment to both authors. For the highest poetry is intensely realistic; and the vein of tragedy which is in every life, coming to the surface in that of Jean Calas, lends a dignity to the mean surroundings of his station, and raises the linendraper's shop into the stage of an awful drama.

The scene is Toulouse; the time, October 13th, 1761. At half-past nine o'clock on that warm autumn night, numbers of people had been coming and going along the busy Grand' Rue des Filettiers; for though the shops were closed betimes, the citizens were many of them sitting before their doors, and even entertaining their friends, as is the mode in more genial climes than ours, in the open street. Sieur Jean Calas the linendraper was not in the open air, however, as was his neighbour the demoiselle Brandelac; he and his family had remained in doors after supper; and, indeed, he was not a man likely to be much at his ease in the light give-and-take gossip of the public pavement. In busi-

ness, the great leveller both of parties and creeds, he could hold his own, nor so long as his wares were good would even the ladies of Toulouse care to inquire into the orthodoxy of the seller. But business over, his townsfolk were quick to remember that he was a Protestant, one of a proscribed caste, against whom the hatred was such as we can scarcely realize even with the facts before us. Up to the time of which we write, every child born of a Protestant marriage was by law a bastard; only nine years before, the assemblies of Protestants for worship had been put down by dragonnades, and infants who had been baptized as Protestants were re-baptized under military force. Less than three years before, there had been dragonnades to disperse congregations of the Reformed in two provinces of the south. Toulouse itself had an annual fête in commemoration of a provincial massacre of Huguenots, which, ten years before that of St. Bartholomew in Paris, had given a frightful hint of how best such an extermination of heresy could be conducted. A Protestant household would naturally keep much to itself in Toulouse. Madame Calas, moreover, was not only a Protestant, but of somewhat higher birth than might be expected from her position, and allied to many noble families in Languedoc; hence, in a country and an age when such ties were more considered than now, she ruled her small household in a noticeably dignified manner, "and, though the wife of a simple tradesman, retained much high breeding."\*

The family was neither united nor alone on this October evening. The two daughters, Rose and Nannette, were paying an annual visit to some friends in the country; Donat, the youngest son, a lad of fourteen, was apprenticed at a merchant's house in Nismes; Louis, the second son, was living in Toulouse, but away from home, and, though seeing his family from time to time, by no means on cordial terms with them. He had become a Catholic; and this, which of itself was enough to cause a coolness, in those days, between himself and the other members of his family, was rendered still more bitter to his father by a demand, enforced by law, for a separate home and maintenance, which the finances of the latter could ill afford. There remained a

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\* *Salvan*, p. 8.

home only M. and Madame Calas; their elder son, Marc Antoine, now in his twenty-ninth year; their third son, Pierre; and the servant, Jeanne Viguière, who had been with them for nearly thirty years, a Catholic, who in her zeal for her Heavenly Master had somewhat overlooked the duties she owed to her earthly employers, in that she had been a main instrument in the conversion of Louis. At supper, and remaining with the family through the evening, was a young man, named Lavaysse, who, accidentally delayed in passing through Toulouse, had spent his time between the Calas and the family of another Protestant friend.

From this house, thus peopled, where all that was orderly, peaceable, and perhaps a trifle dull, might have been expected, came cries of murder on the still night. Though the street was now emptier than it had been, no less than fourteen persons heard the cry for help; and though, as was natural, there was some difference as to the actual words heard in that moment of confusion and alarm, they seem to have been, in the patois of Toulouse, "Ah moun Diou! l'an tuat" (Oh mon Dieu! on l'a tué), and therefore probably, as was in fact declared by several witnesses, they proceeded from the servant Jeanne. Before any neighbours from without could enter the house, Lavaysse and Pierre Calas had rushed out as though for assistance; Pierre seems to have returned, gone out, and back again, more than once before Lavaysse returned at all, and had brought with him, first the assistant of a neighbouring surgeon, then a tradesman who was an intimate friend, at whose house Lavaysse was staying, and finally a lawyer, the *Sieur Clausade*. The first of the neighbours to enter was a friend of the two young Calas, Antoine Delpech. He saw the body of Marc Antoine Calas, lying in the shop, his head supported by some bales, his father leaning against the counter, but coming from time to time to bend over his son, and try to make him swallow some cordial. He, thinking his friend had been wounded in a duel, felt the body, and found it cold, and the surgeon's assistant having come in, confirmed his fear that death had long taken place, but on examination declared it had been by hanging or by strangulation. The *Sieur Clausade*, seeing that medical aid was of no avail, suggested that the police should at once be summoned; Lavaysse, who had now returned, offered to go, and started

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with Clausade for the chief magistrate and the clerk. On his return, he found the police in possession, and a magistrate engaged in a hurried examination; he was admitted after some difficulty, and only on his assertion that he was almost a member of the family, as having supped in the house that very night. No sooner had he entered the house than he found he was under arrest; and his fate for the next four years was linked with that of the Calas family.

For while the magistrate was making his examination, with the aid of the surgeons he had brought with him, the busy crowd around the door were giving rise to the wildest tales. As A. H. Clough has said of the sudden development of marvellous fables:

“As circulates in some great city crowd  
A rumour, changeful, vague, importunate and loud,  
From no determined centre, or of fact  
Or authorship exact;  
Which no man can deny  
Nor verify;  
So spread the wondrous tale,”

that the *Sieur Calas*, or even the whole of this Huguenot family, had killed *Marc Antoine* because he was about to declare himself a Catholic. To the blundering, over-officious, fanatical magistrate, “this anonymous cry appeared the voice of truth. This suspicion was for him a ray of light.”\* *M. David de Beaudrigue*, whose interpretation of the adage, “*Vox populi vox Dei*,” was in this case so extremely literal, acted on his sudden conviction, accepting it as only too likely that a Protestant would be guilty of any crime, and by his precipitate haste did much to increase the difficulty of those who would form a dispassionate opinion on the facts. Supposing *Marc Antoine* to have been murdered at all, he yet made no search in the house for any concealed assassins; he did not examine whether the clothes of those who were accused of having strangled a young man in the vigour of his age were at all disordered; he did not examine the bed-room of the deceased, to see if perhaps any Catholic books of devotion, any “*objets de piété*,” might substantiate the assertion that he was inclined to become a Catholic; but, arresting all who were found in the house, including

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\* *Coquerel*, p. 23.

the young Lavaysse and Cazeing, he carried off the corpse and the coat of the dead man, which had been found folded on the counter, and destroyed in so doing, and in the haste of his proceedings, much which might have thrown light on the true cause of death.

So little did the relations of the deceased realize their arrest and approaching imprisonment, that they believed they were taken to the Hotel de Ville to give an account of the facts of a suicide. Pierre Calas even lighted a candle, to be left burning in the passage against their return ; but this was extinguished by the orders of David de Beaudrigue. At the Hotel de Ville, a brother magistrate ventured to suggest to his impetuous friend that he was going too fast, and, in fact, the arrest was in itself illegal without a warrant ; but he answered, " I take all responsibility on myself ;" and again, " The cause of religion is at stake." Here also he drew up the *procès verbal*, which, according to law, should have been done on the spot, while everything remained in its usual state ; here also was the formal surgical examination made, which, again, according to law, should have taken place where the body was found. After a brief and separate examination of each of the persons arrested, they were imprisoned for the night, Jean Calas and his son in windowless cells, the two women in somewhat better quarters, Lavaysse and Cazeing in the guard-room.

M. David de Beaudrigue, whose knowledge of law was so much less than his zeal, who had formed so strong an a-priori opinion on the case, who took on himself the position at once of police-officer and prosecutor, was also one of the judges who would have to try the case. He was one of the eight elected magistrates, who bore at Toulouse the singular title of Capitouls, the body to which they belonged being called the Capitoulat. The account given by M. Coquerel of these persons, who remind us a good deal of some modern town councillors and mayors, is full of interest to any one who wishes to understand the state of France before the Revolution. So also is the constitution of the provincial Parliaments, the various obsolete modes in which law causes were then conducted, the terrible tortures adopted to wring from the accused whatever their accusers might desire to hear ; but into none of this need we enter. The accusation was now fairly started,



which has never yet died away, which is even now the subject of fierce controversy; and two questions present themselves first of all to us: Was Marc Antoine Calas on the point of professing Catholicism? Was he murdered at all, or did he commit suicide?

MM. Coquerel and Salvan find themselves greatly opposed to each other with regard to the character and habits of Marc Antoine Calas, and to his father's relations with him; the former has no doubt that he was a Protestant, who did small credit to his religion; the latter, following the traditions of Toulouse, would fain find him to be a Catholic martyr. And, in truth, it is not easy to decide any point but the last; it appears perfectly clear that he was no Catholic or likely to become so. In other matters, M. Coquerel seems to us to paint him in somewhat too dark colours. His life had been somewhat shaded by a severe disappointment just as a career which suited him was opening to him. He had chosen the legal profession, had taken the degree of Bachelor of Laws, by special licence, before the legal age, and was about to be called to the bar, when a technical difficulty came in his way. It was necessary that he should present a certificate that he was a Catholic; and this was about to be given him as a mere form, and without examination, when the servant of the priest to whom he applied officiously announced that she knew him to be a Protestant. The priest, thus warned, had of course no alternative but to say he could only grant the certificate when the Catholicism of the applicant was attested by his own confessor. The case is not without analogy in our own day, when the harsh law that the burial service of the Church of England shall not be read over unbaptized persons, is often evaded through the fact that no special inquiry is made, but can scarcely be avoided if the non-baptism of the deceased is directly and formally brought before the notice of the officiating minister. M. Salvan would have us believe that the promise that the certificate would be granted in case of conformity would be a powerful inducement, though not a very noble one, to the desired end; but he overlooks the fact that even without such promise it must have been granted as a mere formal matter, and that a fellow-pupil deposed at the trial that Marc Antoine, in spite of his bitter disappointment, had at once and for ever re-

nounced his hopes of the bar, with the words that "he never would make any act of Catholicism." And with this profession were closed also all careers save that of some few trades. One royal decree after another had restricted to Catholics the professions and trades of attorney, attorney's clerk, clerk of court and its subordinates, printer, bookseller, goldsmith, physician, surgeon, apothecary, grocer, servant and apprentice in a Protestant household, and even that of midwife, which, though it did not affect the young man in question, serves to shew how completely and severely test acts were applied in France.\* A share in a trading business was found impossible, when offered, because of the large premium required; and his father would not formally take him as a partner in his own shop because, according to one account, he was idle—to another, because the *Sieur Calas* was habitually hard and stern towards his eldest son. On this, "irritated against the present, and without hope for the future, the unhappy young man became a gambler, . . . . and played high for a man of his condition. . . . It is certain that on the very day" (of his death), his father had ordered him "to change silver money into gold, that he rendered no account of it, and that the money was never found." He also "had in his pockets at the time of his death indecent poems and songs."† *M. Salvan* softens this severe judgment into "Marc Antoine tried to amuse himself by innocent diversions, theatrical declamation, tennis, fencing, billiards. There is no reason for saying that his father was very angry with his conduct; we shall produce a deposition of Jean Calas, in which he declares that Marc Antoine had never given him any trouble."‡ It is most natural that a father should say this of his dead son, when all that was evil was forgotten, and what they had loved in him was alone present to the mind of the family; and the balance of evidence is certainly in favour of the son's conduct having been such as to vex the father, though he by no means appears to have been exceptionally vicious, or to have led such a life as to account for suicide; the implied theft from his father cannot be considered as proved, nor do we know what amount of impropriety may have been the characteristic of the papers found about him.

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\* Coquerel, pp. 435, 436.

† Ibid. pp. 48, 49.

‡ Salvan, p. 4.

It is a phenomenon unhappily not confined to one creed, that zeal for dogma may exist to a degree which is almost fanaticism, without any real and vital religion. Protestantism founded on free thought, and which has no true *raison d'être* if this be denied, is often as bitter as Romanism itself, which has a right to be bitter and narrow because of its fundamental principles. And Marc Antoine Calas, so far from being inclined to Catholicism, was, on the contrary, most intolerant of it. A priest declared that he had heard him maintain that no one could be saved in the Roman Church, and that every Catholic would be damned eternally. No one of his family was so angry as he was at the conversion of his brother Louis ; it was from his anger at the separate maintenance for Louis which became necessary that we learn, what otherwise would have remained a profound secret, that the Calas family were in somewhat embarrassed circumstances, owing to the general depression of trade. This being the case, on evidence which seems irresistible, it is wonderful the report should have spread that he intended to turn Catholic. Probably the supposition was launched wholly at a venture, and only afterwards an attempt made to substantiate it. The Abbé Salvan quotes the testimony of fifteen witnesses, on whose evidence we may suppose he relies. He wisely omits to give the whole examination, which, after the singular procedure of those days, was devoted to the establishment of the fact. It is instructive to summarize one deposition which still exists, and was gravely received. "The widow Massaleng, née Jeanne Paignon, said that her daughter told her, that Sieur Pagès told her, that M. Soulié told him, that the demoiselle Guichardet told him, that the demoiselle Journu told her, something from which she concluded that Father Serrant, a Jesuit, might certainly have been the confessor of Calas. Whereupon Father Serrant, or Serrane, was called, and the whole of this laborious scaffolding was reduced to nothing in a moment.\*

But of the fifteen witnesses quoted by the Abbé Salvan, it is by no means easy to see how the majority aid him to prove his case. One, François Challier, advised young Calas

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\* Coquerel, pp. 155, 156.

to become a Catholic, and gained only so distinct a refusal, that Marc Antoine even spoke of a plan of going to Geneva that he might become a Protestant minister. Four more of the fifteen merely depose that there had been a rumour in the town that Mark Antoine intended to abjure. One witness, who had often spoken to him on the subject, thought him inclined to Catholicism. Eight had seen him in Catholic churches, or present at Catholic processions, "last Lent," "at a sermon at St. Etienne," "kneeling when the Host passed in the street," "often at vespers," "once at mass," "often at sermon, never at mass or vespers," and so on, in a vague and inaccurate way. One only, Catherine Daumière, or Dolmier, deposed that Marc Antoine told her that he was unhappy at home, that he was in the hands of a good confessor, that he was going to confess on Wednesday next, and had promised to lend her books. But the whole evidence broke down. She pretended to be newly converted from Protestantism, whereas she had always been a Catholic; the confessor was never found; Marc Antoine had never possessed the books which she said he had promised to lend her.

Somewhat idle, by no means inclined to Catholicism, but rather fanatically Protestant, mixing in Catholic services, so far as he did so, simply because his intellectual taste for oratory and declamation could be satisfied nowhere so well as at the Catholic sermons, and because the processions and functions were among the sights of the town in which a young man might join from curiosity equally well as from devotion, his disposition was sullen, reserved and gloomy; he chose the poetry which he loved to recite from the more introspective and morbid speeches of the great dramatists, more than one especially which deals with the subject of suicide.

It is true, as M. Coquerel says, that "the time had not yet arrived when suicide had become a literary fashion, and when the sorrows, imaginary or guilty, of a Werther and a René, upset weak minds. But the diseases of the human heart change their name rather than their nature; they are at bottom the same in all times; and we need not be too much surprised that a young man without position and without hope, yet full of ambition, vegetating by his father's

counter, should fall from wounded pride into despair.”\* We take it as quite certain that there are in all ages very many men who, finding they have failed in life, deliberately face the question of self-slaughter, and make up their minds, for or against, simply as they believe will be best for those they would leave behind them. It is easy to declaim on the impiety of suicide ; but even where there is no want of vital religion, as seems to have been the case with Marc Antoine Calas, the mind disposed to suicide will ever find quite sufficient justification, arguments to silence all pleas of conscience. It is by no means always the case that in the end of the contention of the two voices, the “dull and bitter voice is gone ;” sometimes the heart which has to decide deliberately makes choice rather

“To commune with that barren voice,  
Than that which said, Rejoice, Rejoice.”

That what is told us of young Calas is quite enough to give a clear and definite cause for suicide, if such cause can ever exist, is, we admit, doubtful ; but of two possibilities, and they are the only two that have been suggested, it seems more likely that the son should have desired to live no longer, than that the father should determine to kill him because of an intended change of religion,—a father who, when his son Pierre had taken the very step, said, “I approve the conversion of my son, if it be sincere. To attempt to restrain the action of conscience never succeeds but in making complete hypocrites, who end in having no religion at all.”†

The Abbé Salvan having adopted the other belief, naturally tries to strengthen it, and devotes a chapter to the proof that there was a plot in the family, and in fact not confined to the family, but shared by the Protestant sect in Toulouse and its neighbourhood, to put the apostate to death. At the time there were those who believed that formal commands to this effect were to be found in the works of Luther and Calvin ; there was a certain astonishing rumour that a *Sieur Cazals*, who had visited the *demoiselles Calas* without their father’s knowledge, had had to hide himself under a bed, and there had overheard the formation of a design against *Marc Antoine’s* life, because

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\* Coquerel, p. 52.

† Ibid. p. 59.

he had changed his religion. M. Salvan, with a great show of fairness, dismisses this ridiculous story, and then proceeds to shew this fairness still more by the following paragraph :

“We will grant to the gentlemen of the so-called Reformed religion that there does not exist in the teaching of the chief Reformers, or in any Protestant synod or council, an article which directly permits or prescribes murder or assassination to hinder a change of religion ; but they must grant to us that religious fanaticism is capable of producing the most horrible excesses. This was the fanaticism of which the Saviour speaks to his disciples (St. John, chap. xvi.) : ‘The hour will come when whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.’”\*

Yes, M. l’Abbé, we grant it fully. Religious fanaticism has produced St. Bartholomew massacres and Smithfield fires, Lord George Gordon riots and Lord John Russell’s Durham letter ; it has blackened the fair fame of Catholic and Protestant alike ; but it has seldom made itself more detestably ridiculous than when it saw a plot against a young man’s life in the fact that his sisters were absent at the time of his death ; that several people had called at the house of a Protestant friend the day before ; that when young Lavaysse said he was detained in Toulouse by the impossibility of hiring a horse, it is not quite certain that he had been to every livery stable in the town ; that M. Cazeing, who had been at Auterive on the day of Marc Antoine’s death, had said he had business at Toulouse for which he must return, and he feared he might be too late !

Although no attempt could have been made at the time of the arrest to support the vague assertions of the crowd by what now must do duty for evidence, the rumours were still more terrible against the Calas family. Young Lavaysse was reported to be the executioner brought from Bordeaux by the Protestants of Toulouse to put Marc Antoine to death. “They say he is the sacrificing priest (*sacrificateur*) of his religion ; that is to say, invested with the horrible occupation of strangling those who are apparently about to be converted.”† Under the weight of such a terrible imputation against them, with one of the Capitouls at least pledged to a belief in their guilt, the Calas were put on their defence. We must condense their own account of the affair, as given

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\* Salvan, p. 37.

† Coquerel, p. 72.

partly in the examinations of the various parties, and in a letter of Madame Calas.

The house and shop of the *Sieur Calas* were, as has been said, in the *Rue des Filettiers*, or *Filatiers*. The shop gave upon the street, and was divided from a warehouse at the back by a partition, in which were folding-doors. This warehouse was lighted from a yard at the back, and both it and the shop opened into a long passage, which led from the street to the staircase and the yard. Upstairs were four rooms, entirely occupied by the family after business hours ; while below the ground-floor was a large vaulted cellar. From the room next the dining-room it was possible by an exterior gallery to gain the staircase and the entrance to the cellar without going through the dining-room and without being seen.

Young *Lavaysse*, who was, as we said, delayed in *Toulouse* longer than he had intended to stay, called on *Madame Calas* on this 13th October. "After the first compliments, he said to me," as she wrote afterwards, "'I sup with you ; your husband has asked me.' I said I should be glad to see him, and left him for a few moments to go and give some orders to my servant. In consequence also, I went to find my eldest son, whom I found all alone in the shop, sunk in deep thought, to beg him to go and buy some *Roquefort* cheese ; he generally used to purchase this for us, because he understood it better than the others." . . . . After supper, "this unfortunate child, I mean my eldest son, rose from table, as was usual with him, and went into the kitchen. The servant said to him, 'Are you cold, *Monsieur l'âiné*? Warm yourself.' He answered her, 'Quite the contrary ; I am burning ;' and went out. We sat on a few minutes at table, after which we went into" the next room, "*M. Lavaysse*, my husband, my son" (*Pierre*) "and I." Here they remained in conversation till about a quarter to ten, when *Lavaysse* got up to take leave, and *Pierre*, with a candle, went down to let him out. As they went down stairs, *Lavaysse* remarked that the door from the passage into the shop was open. Was this neglect on the part of the servant, or had any one got into the shop ? *Pierre* went in to satisfy himself, his friend followed him ; and both, seized with horror, cried aloud with alarm, at finding *Marc Antoine* hanging at the inner door, which



was the communication between the shop and a back shop, which they called the warehouse. Across the two leaves of this open folding-door, Marc Antoine had placed one of those large round sticks, flattened at one end, on which bales of stuff are rolled. To this he had hung himself by a cord with a double slip-knot. He was in his shirt sleeves. It was noticed later that his hair was not disordered, nor his clothes tumbled. The police found his coat of grey cloth and his nankeen waistcoat placed on the counter and carefully folded,—a strange detail, which proves certainly not only a voluntary death, but that cool and deliberate determination with which a man carries out a suicide about which he has long thought. Pierre took the hand of his brother; this movement made the body sway to and fro; and then the two terrified young men ran to call for help.

At their cries the unhappy father hurried down in his dressing-gown: neither of the friends had had time or presence of mind to cut the cord. Calas ran to the body, and seized it in his arms: the corpse thus raised, the roller fell to the ground. Then the father laid his son on the floor, and took off the cord by slackening the running knot, while he cried to Pierre, "For God's sake, run to Caigne's (a neighbouring surgeon); perhaps my poor son is not quite dead."\*

But when all was over,—when the surgeon's assistant had said that life had fled,—when the poor mother, chafing her son's temples, and endeavouring to make him swallow a "cordial," had desisted from her tender, useless task,—when Pierre, scarce knowing whither he went, was about to rush again from the house, his father called him back, and said to him, "Do not spread the rumour that your brother has made away with himself; preserve, at any rate, the honour of your unhappy family." In the same spirit of dissimulation, the whole party, at the request of Calas, declared, both to those who came in and to the Capitouls, on oath, that they had found the body extended lifeless on the floor: it was only afterwards that they confessed the truth. The untruth had deplorable consequences, but it was most natural. The legislation of that time with regard to sui-

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\* Coquerel, pp. 78, 79.

cides was barbarous in the extreme. It started from the Roman law, "*Homicida sui, insepultus abjiciatur*," and added to this atrocity, of which the superstitious denial of burial rites in case of *felo de se* still preserves the memory among ourselves, the confiscation of the goods of the suicide to the use of the king. It was this unfortunate but most natural lie which gave the judges the excuse of not believing the after-version of the facts, when, finding the uselessness of persistence, the inability to account for death in any other way, and their own danger, they told the truth.

The theory for the prosecution, which M. Salvan adopts, is, that the death could not have been by suicide, because no footstool was found on which Marc Antoine could have stood,—because some skeins of twine were undisturbed on the door,—because the roller was too short to go across the door,—because his neckcloth was not loosened. On some of these points the evidence is conflicting; but on a complete resumé of the circumstances, and with the full recollection that no answer has been attempted to M. Coquerel's second revision of the facts, after his first account had been carefully examined and, in some points, assailed by the Abbé Salvan, we are bound to say we find no evidence whatever for the murder, much for the suicide.

Three or four days elapsed, during which it became abundantly evident that, in spite of the grave mistake the Calas family had made in attempting to veil the crime of their dead son, there was scant hope of procuring a conviction unless something more was done. It will be remembered that some at least of the more busy of the Capitouls were convinced of the guilt of the accused; the King's Proctor was instructed for the prosecution; the religious world of Toulouse were interested in believing that Marc Antoine Calas was a martyr for the Catholic faith. There existed at that time in France a most astonishing mode of procuring information in criminal cases. At the request of the civil authority, the ecclesiastical authority was in the habit of issuing an Admonition (*Monitoire*), to be read after sermon and placarded in the streets, to warn all who knew, *by hearsay or otherwise*, the facts in question, that if they did not declare them to the magistrates or their clergy, they would incur the penalty of excommunication. The Admo-

nitition, in the present case, was drawn up by the King's Proctor, and ran as follows :

**" ADMONITION.**

"1. Against all who shall know, by hearsay or otherwise, that the *Sieur Marc Antoine Calas*, the elder, had renounced the so-called Reformed religion, in which he was educated ; that he was present at the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church ; that he had received the sacrament of Penance, and was about to make public abjuration after the 13th of the present month of October, and against all to whom *Marc Antoine Calas* had disclosed his resolution.

"2. Against all who shall know, by hearsay or otherwise, that on account of this change of creed the *Sieur Marc Antoine Calas* was menaced, maltreated, and looked on with disfavour in his home ; that the person who threatened him had said to him, that if he made public abjuration he should have no other executioner than the speaker (*il n'aurait d'autre bourreau que lui*).

"3. Against all those who know, by hearsay or otherwise, that a woman who is considered attached to heresy excited her husband to such threats, and herself threatened *Marc Antoine Calas*.

"4. Against all who know, by hearsay or otherwise, that on the morning of the 13th of the present month, a debate was held in a house of the parish of *La Daurade*, when the death of *Marc Antoine Calas* was determined or advised, and who shall have seen on that same morning a certain number of the said persons enter or leave the said house.

"5. Against all who know, by hearsay or otherwise, that the same 13th day of the month of October, between nightfall and about ten o'clock, this execrable decision was carried out, by making *Marc Antoine Calas* kneel, who by surprise or by force was strangled or hung by a cord with two slip-knots or nooses, one to strangle, and the other to be tied to a roller used to roll bales, by means of which *Marc Antoine Calas* was strangled and put to death by suspension or by twisting the cord.

"6. Against all who have heard a voice cry, 'Murder !' and immediately, 'Ah ! my God ! what have I done to you ? Have pity on me !' the same voice having become piteous and saying, 'Ah ! my God ! Ah ! my God !'

"7. Against all to whom *Marc Antoine Calas* had communicated the troubles he experienced in his home, which made him sad and melancholy.

"8. Against all who may know that there arrived from *Bordeaux*, the evening before the 13th, a young man of this town,

who, not having found horses to go and join his relations, who were at their country-house, having been delayed to sup at a house, was present, assenting to or participating in the deed.

"9. Against all who know, by hearsay or otherwise, who were the authors, accomplices, abettors or assentients to this crime, which is most detestable.

"Lastly, against all who know and do not reveal the above facts, circumstances and consequences."\*

The bias against the accused scarce needs to be pointed out; the opening afforded by the Admonition for more of that old wives' gossip, out of which it had in fact arisen, to which the clergy in all ages and of all sects are too prone to hearken, and no one will be surprised that a mass of hearsay testimony was at once forthcoming, on which the Capitouls proceeded to pass sentence that Jean Calas, Jean Pierre Calas and Anne Rose Cabibel (Madame Calas), should be tortured in order that they should confess; that Alexander Gaubert Lavaysse and Jeanne Viguière should be present at the examination for the same reason. From this sentence an appeal was at once made to the Parliament of Toulouse both on the part of the Calas, on account of its severity, and by the King's Proctor, who had required a far sterner sentence. But in the mean time the ecclesiastics, who had shewn pretty clearly how completely they had made up their mind, were now to give a still stronger proof of it. It was by no means necessary to inter the body of Marc Antoine, with regard to which measures had been taken to arrest decomposition; to bury it was a bold step while the matter was still undecided, since those ran a double risk of sacrilege who interred in consecrated ground, with all the pomp of the Church of Rome, a Protestant and a suicide, whom all his family and their Catholic servant declared to be such. However, these considerations did not deter the King's Proctor or the two Capitouls, who, urged by the priests, gave an informal sanction to the interment at a packed meeting, when those only of the assessors on whom they could rely were present.

"The funeral took place with all possible ceremony. All was done to produce the conviction that Marc Antoine was a martyr. . . . An immense procession, headed by more than forty priests, went to bear the body from the Hotel de Ville. The White Peni-

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\* Salvan, pp. 93, 94; Coquerel, pp. 94, 95.

tents were there, with tapers and banner, because it was alleged that Marc Antoine had intended to join them. An enormous crowd was present at the service in the cathedral. . . . This ostentatious demonstration was but the prelude to other ceremonies still more to be regretted. Some days after the funeral, the White Penitents caused a magnificent service to be celebrated in their chapel for the soul of the martyr. All the religious orders were invited, and were present at it by their deputations. The whole church was hung with white, and, for the greater effect on the mind, a magnificent catafalque was erected in the middle of the building, on the top of which stood a skeleton, hired from a surgeon. At the foot of this hideous representation was written the name of the deceased. It held in the right hand a palm, emblem of martyrdom, and in the other this inscription in large letters: 'Abjuration of Heresy.' There was also a service in the Church of the Cordeliers."\*

"It is possible," admits M. Salvan, "that they went a little too far in the honours rendered to the mortal remains of Marc Antoine." We heartily agree with him.

Pending the appeal to the Parliament, the Protestants on their side were not idle in clearing themselves from the monstrous charge that it was a part of their religion to murder one who had abandoned it. Not only did the advocate of the Calas family obtain a statement from the pastors and others of the Church at Geneva, the stronghold and centre of continental Protestantism, that such deeds were absolutely foreign to their creed and principles; but Paul Rabaut, the illustrious and long-tried pastor at Nismes, answered the accusation by his pamphlet entitled, "*La Calomnie confondue*," bearing this motto: "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they call them of his household (Matt. x. 25)." It seemed to the Catholicism of those days that the pamphlet was quite sufficiently answered when it was burnt by the hangman.

The result of the appeal to the Parliament was to open up the whole question again, and to add to the hearsay stories which had been almost sanctioned by the Admonition. But the question was really decided as far as Jean Calas was concerned. One only of the thirteen judges voted for an acquittal; two desired that an examination should be

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\* Coquerel, pp. 105, 106.

made if indeed it were possible that a man should hang himself at the place specified, which had never been done in all the months which now had elapsed from October till March; but three were for torture, and probably death; seven for immediate death. It was hoped that when Jean Calas suffered, enough might be extorted to criminate his fellow-prisoners.

After tortures which lasted many hours, Jean Calas suffered death on the 10th of March, 1762. We need not describe to our readers the agonies he had to bear; it is sufficient to say they must have taxed the ingenuity of even those accustomed to executions, that he bore them with the most exemplary calmness, protesting his innocence to the last. None can read the account of those hours of agony, unless they be singularly blinded by religious hatred, without remarking the contrast of the sufferer's calmness in contradistinction to the fury of those who strove to wring a confession from the dying lips, and the astounding callousness of the Reverend Canon of Toulouse, who seems to think that after all Jean Calas only got his deserts.

All hope was now over that the rest of the prisoners could be implicated in the crime. Even the hearsay evidence, if admitted at all, was too feeble. But another trap was laid for the widowed mother of the suicide, who for four days was kept in ignorance of the death of her husband. A soldier on guard told Lavaysse that all the prisoners were condemned to the same death; but a Dominican monk was introduced into Pierre's cell, to announce to him that this sentence would not be carried out if he recanted his heresy. This moral torture succeeded to a certain extent; the two young men abjured their faith. On this, Pierre was taken to his mother, for the first time since their imprisonment, that he might tell her of his change of religion in the presence of the monk. It was hoped she would break out into reproaches against him which would justify the assertion that she had been irritated with her elder son. But the poor woman simply turned away her head and spoke no word.\*

It was no longer possible to keep the other prisoners under arrest. Madame Calas, Lavaysse, and the faithful servant who had suffered in spite of her creed, were set

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\* Coquerel, p. 205.

entirely free. Pierre was sentenced to perpetual banishment, but this was only carried out in form. The executioner led him out of the town by one gate, but a priest went with him, and brought him in by another to the Dominican convent. Here the monk who had been with his father on the scaffold met him with the information that if he continued a Catholic his sentence would not be pressed. He abjured his faith formally, which he had only done nominally in the prison, and remained in surveillance at the convent for four months. At the end of this time he contrived to escape to his brother Donat at Geneva, and renounced his enforced creed. His eye-sight had suffered severely in the dark and unwholesome dungeon in which he had been kept.\*

No details are extant of the liberation of Madame Calas and her servant, who found a shelter in the house of a friend. A niece of Lavaysse has left an account of her uncle's release. Some friends, who feared the disposition of the people, proposed to smuggle him out with the greatest secrecy; but another, M. Jouvé, repudiated this counsel, and demanded that the release should take place in open day. MM. Jouve and Sénovert, brother-in-law of Lavaysse, went to bring him out.

"When the two entered the fatal gaol, in which the prisoner had been kept in the most rigid seclusion, he fainted as he embraced his brother-in-law. Only with the greatest precaution could this last, after having had the irons removed, prepare him for the happiness of seeing his family again. The operation had been painful, since my uncle's legs were greatly enflamed. He got into a sedan-chair, and sat there with his hands on his knees, one window being open, by which was M. Jouve; M. de Sénovert was at the other door. From the Hotel de Ville to the Rue St. Remesy, an immense crowd was in the way; but their dispositions were changed; whether it was that the shedding of blood had quenched the thirst of fanaticism, or that repentant fanaticism was turned to pity, every one congratulated M. de Sénovert, and said with tears, 'Oh no! this young man, so handsome, so gentle, son of a respectable person, cannot have assassinated his friend.'"<sup>†</sup>

The two demoiselles Calas had remained in Toulouse during the months in which the fate of their father was in

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\* Salvan, p. 116; Coquerel, pp. 208, 209.

† Coquerel, pp. 209, 210.



suspense. At his death they fled to Montauban, where Madame Calas joined them at the house of a friend. Their re-union lasted but few days. The President of the Parliament obtained from Count de St. Florentin, the Secretary of State, two "*lettres de cachet*," to shut up the daughters of "this wretched father." A hope was entertained that one at least would become Catholic, which was destined to be disappointed. Rose Calas was shut up in the Convent of Notre Dame de la Rue du Sac, where it is said she was treated with harshness. Nannette experienced the greatest kindness at the Convent of the Visitation. To her and her tender gaolers we shall have to return.

Jean Calas was dead ; a legal sentence, as law was understood in those days, had decided that he was guilty ; Madame Calas and her children must beg or starve, as it seemed, for what power had they to resist the Church and its fanaticism, the law and its prejudices ? But another person appeared on the scene, whose influence in France at that time can scarcely be overstated, and was all the greater because he took care not to reside there permanently. Voltaire, then at Geneva, heard of the story, and at once resolved to sift it to the bottom. Whether Marc Antoine Calas had been murdered by his father, or Jean Calas under the pretence of a judicial trial, was but small matter to Voltaire. He was no more a Protestant than he was a Catholic, and he did not care for the triumph of either faith. But either way, fanaticism had perpetrated an atrocious crime. And what was true and noble in Voltaire was the burning indignation excited in his breast by all crimes committed in the name and under the semblance of religion. In many respects the complete contrast to our English poet, there was here a remarkable likeness to the feelings and character of Shelley. Voltaire believed in God ; but the crimes committed in the most sacred name made him throw aside the religions to which those belonged who committed them, while really oftentimes contending for a truth which lies at their very root. Shelley said that he did not believe in God ; he was in reality fighting against false conceptions of the Divine Being, and did much to help men to a truer ideal of Him whom he thought he assailed, when he stripped off all attributes which dishonour holiness and truth. And together with deplorable irregularities in their lives, there was

in both the most ardent love of humanity, a spirit of mercy and charity which should cover a multitude of sins. We make this hasty comparison simply to shew more clearly, by means of one more known and read than Voltaire is now, what is our attitude towards him whom people hate on hearsay, or on their judgment of one or two sayings which startle and shock us. But he spoke the truth when he said of himself :

“J’ai fait un peu de bien, c’est mon meilleure ouvrage.”

He wrote in all directions to inquire into the real state of affairs. The very Protestants themselves at a distance from Toulouse were imposed on by the trial, and had thought Calas guilty ; and his mind was still in doubt. But finding that Donat Calas was in Geneva, he sent for him ; and after a long interview, in which he interrogated him closely on all the relations of Jean Calas with his children, he made up his mind that the father was innocent ; and from that moment he exerted himself to obtain the reversal of a sentence which was disgraceful to his country and to humanity. He was incessant in his entreaties to powerful persons of all opinions and classes to obtain a re-hearing of the case before the “conseil du roi ;” and once heard apart from the strife of religious parties at Toulouse, the sentence was reversed as far as the living were concerned. The Parliament of Toulouse, obstinate and stupid to the last, suppressed as far as they could the public announcement of their own condemnation. With a wise moderation, no measures of recrimination were taken, though no doubt the Capitouls and the Parliament were open to an action on the part of Madame Calas, as well as of the other prisoners ; but Voltaire and Lavaysse were both strongly against it, and Madame Calas acted entirely under the advice of the former. Indeed, so crushed had she been by the blow, that no small pressure had to be exercised to make her take even the necessary steps for the declaration of her husband’s entire innocence. A royal gift to the survivors of the family recompensed them in some degree for the material sufferings they had undergone, for the loss of their trade, and their banishment, for such it practically still was, from their home. When the many sins of Voltaire against decency and reverence are remembered, his tolerance

and charity should be allowed their weight in the opposite scale. We cannot but feel with M. Coquerel when he exclaims :

“ All honour and gratitude to Voltaire for having striven alone against intolerance so frightful, even now so powerful, and for having conquered it. All honour and gratitude to Jean Calas, whose blood, heroically shed in slow tortures, has washed the most abominable calumny from his brothers in faith, and has assured to them anew the respect and the sympathy of the world.”\*

M. Salvan can see nothing to admire in the conduct of Voltaire. He says :

“ When Voltaire is in question, the comic is ever mixed with the serious. He wrote to D’Argental as soon as he heard the news : ‘ A young Calas was with me when I received your letter, that of Madame Calas, that of Elie, and many others. Young Calas and I shed tears of joy. My old eyes yielded as many as his ; *mes chers anges*, we were choked by them.’ What a buffoon !”†

If theological prejudice thus blinds one who has investigated the whole case, to the noble generosity of an enemy, we need not be surprised that he refuses also to believe there were any grounds for the reversal of a sentence which he could wish a just one. He thinks it proves much against Jean Calas that the popular opinion of Toulousan Catholics still believes him guilty, and that while there are *three* different traditional accounts of the way in which Marc Antoine was put to death, all agree that he *was* murdered. In resuscitating the gossip of a provincial town, he shews the same strange misconception of the nature of evidence as he does when reviewing that brought before the Capitouls. And so we may dismiss M. Salvan, who, as he tells us, “ arrived at his 63rd year” (in 1863), has not learned wisdom with his years.

For ordinary Catholics, who have not investigated the facts with the care M. Salvan gave it, and without M. Coquerel’s exhaustive book under their eyes, there is much excuse for misconception. But they widely misconstrue M. Coquerel and ourselves, if they think that he wrote his monograph, or that we have written this article, for the purpose of at-

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\* Coquerel, p. 263.

† Salvan, p. 125.

tacking through this story, the Catholic religion as such. We enter on a few words of explanation here, because a letter from a Catholic priest now lies before us in which is the following passage :

“Voltaire’s Essay on Toleration was written on occasion of the death of Jean Calas, who was broken on the wheel for the suspected murder of one of his sons, of whom report said that he was going to become a Catholic. That Coquerel must be badly off for arguments if he fishes up this old story ! Voltaire himself was more moved by hatred to the Church than by love of justice, when he interested himself to have the cause tried over again. Louis XV. gave the family a large sum of money in compensation. It may be, of course, that the man, who was found hanging by the neck, committed suicide, and that he had no idea of becoming a Catholic. Circumstantial evidence is not infallible.”

M. Coquerel’s aim is not to shew that the Roman Church is necessarily fatal to fair dealing, charity and kindliness ; he neither says so, nor, so far as we know his mind, does he think so. His desire is to rescue, once for all, the memory of one of his co-religionists, still vilified, and to place in its true light a passage in the history of his then bitterly persecuted Church. What led to the relentless murder of Jean Calas, what blinded alike David de Beaudrigue and his colleagues, the Parliament of Toulouse and the King’s Proctor, was the hateful spirit of dogmatism which elevates certain opinions into the absolute truth of God, and considers that His truth, so assumed, needs human aid. This spirit has been most savage and relentless in the Roman Church, simply because it is the parent of all dogmatisms now existing within the range of Christianity ; but it is far from being extinct in many a so-called Protestant church and sect. M. Coquerel did not forget the life-devotion of the Catholic servant Jeanne Viguière ; we shall find also in some of his pages which we are now about to notice, that the most rigid Roman orthodoxy, when not held in a dogmatic spirit, is consistent with the most affectionate tenderness towards a heretic.

Nannette Calas was, as we have said, imprisoned for a considerable space of time at the Convent of the Visitation at Toulouse. She was especially given into the charge of sister Anne Julie Fraisse, with a view to her conversion.

The attempt was made in vain ; but the result was far better than any mere uniformity in religion could have been, whether effected by the conversion of Nannette or the nuns. There grew up between the two women of ages and stations so different the most cordial and affectionate friendship. Sister Anne Julie Fraisse had powerful relations ; and from her convent cell she made efforts, while Voltaire was making the same on his side, for the declaration of the innocence of the Calas. Her keen woman's instinct came to the same conclusions as those to which his reason and examination led the philosopher. "Closed within her narrowing nunnery walls," she allowed her interests and affections to range freely beyond them, and eagerly espoused the cause of an heretic. But

"We shall be thoroughly mistaken if we take sister Anne Julie for a strong-minded woman, if we suppose that she has the smallest sympathy for the 'enlightenment of the age,' which she holds in profound abomination. She is seriously and truly a devout Catholic. She has not the least doubt about the eternal damnation of her young friend, not for her sins—she finds her full of virtues, and even recognizes in her some piety—but because of her religion."\*

After leaving the convent, Nannette married a Swiss Protestant minister, named Duvoisin, established in Paris, with whom she lived in happy marriage thirteen years, till his death in 1780, and had by him three children, only one of whom grew to manhood. She died in 1820, having survived her sister Rose, who lived with her, twenty years. Madame Calas had died in 1792 ; Jeanne Viguière twelve years earlier.

During the years 1762 to 1775, about forty letters passed from sister Anne Julie to Nannette, the answers to which have unfortunately been lost. They reflect a pleasant sunset glow over the sombre earlier pages of M. Coquerel's book. He says of them truly :

"The general character of these letters seems to be that of the truest and warmest sensibility, expressed naturally with much grace and spirit. The language is often incorrect. It is sometimes easy to see the nun has thought in Languedoc patois the phrase which she translates carelessly into French. . . . She

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\* Coquerel, p. 287.

never looks a moment for the best word, when she has found one energetic and precise which says what she wants to say. Sister Fraisse deserves a place in the list of those select women, authors without intending it, whose lively and natural letters are one of the ornaments of our literature, and count among the most attractive creations of the French mind."\*

"LETTER VIII.

"† Vive Jesus.

"From our Nunnery at Toulouse, this 26th October, 1763.

"It is a long while, my dear Nannette, since you have heard news of me, or I of you. I would flatter myself, as I can assure you on my side, that neither forgetfulness or indifference has had any share in it. You are always in my heart, and to my last breath I shall never cease to pray God for your salvation with as much ardour as for my own. He only knows my desires and my sighs. But I must break off all that I could say. This is a subject which affects me even to tears. . . . Ah! if I could see you again in my clutches, which are not destructive, I would lose no occasion of proving my tenderness. If you see your brother (Louis), give him the news of the death of the Abbé Durand, whom a malignant fever carried off in a week. He died as holily as he lived.†

"I have again some new marriages to announce, of the same sort as the last. We have had in the house for a month Mademoiselle Ville, twin-sister of our sister Marie Melanie, who taught you how to knit mittens. She came here to make a retreat, with a view to deciding her future condition in life. She will be married this very month. We have had another whom perhaps you know, Mademoiselle Opiats, very devout, the daughter of a merchant at the port. She has gone. I do not know if she will decide as the others have done. See how wrong Nannette was not to say, I will be a nun."‡

"LETTER XII.

"† Vive Jesus.

"From our Nunnery at Toulouse, this 30th May, 1764.

" . . . . I am busy about you before the Lord for what would render you really happy. I hope against hope, and shall hope

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\* Coquerel, pp. 378, 379, 380.

† "These last words are crossed out, but are legible, as the good nun probably meant them to be." The Abbé Durand had taken a prominent part in the conversion of Louis the Good-for-nothing. As appears from other passages, Sister Anne Julie had no good opinion of the Abbé Durand, and by no means considered his life a saintly one.

‡ Coquerel, pp. 388, 389.

till my last breath. The power of the Most High is greater than our resistance. We must always hope for those precious moments, which are fixed in the eternal decrees.

"I have not yet got over the loss we have suffered this Lent of our sister Marie Henriette Lapeirie, from an attack of colic, such as you saw her in when I was ill. We cannot accuse Lent of it; since that illness she has never been in the habit of fasting. The colic seized her on the Thursday in Passion Week, and she died on the Saturday. We have regretted her much. She was a girl of a good disposition, and was only thirty-two. The ladies Notonnier and De Grave (who had both been inmates of the nunnery as boarders) are about to lie in. The former has taken up her abode at the very top of her house, and weeps freely when she sees any visitors."\*

On the 4th of June, 1764, the Council had arrested the sentence of the Capitouls and the Parliament, which was the first step towards its complete reversal.

"LETTER XIII.

" +Vive Jesus.

"From our Nunnery at Toulouse, this 13th June, 1764.

"I am so overjoyed, my dear little friend, that I scarce know how to express it. Read my heart, and you will find in it all that is in your own. I take a large share in all that it feels. Your interests, your pleasures, your sorrows, are good and evil which belong to me as much as to you. It will ever be the same up to my last breath. Far or near, you are always with me. When I am before God, I say much to Him for you.

"When the tribunal shall be named to go thoroughly into the matter, let me know as soon as possible. Our nuns are in almost all the towns in the kingdom; we may perhaps find for you acquaintances and help.

"Tell me, dear Nannette, if the consequences of your suit for the recovery of your property will not necessitate your coming for a while into this neighbourhood. Do not forget this point when you write to tell me the Parliament that is appointed. I am and shall be always yours,

"Sister ANNE JULIE FRAISSE, of the Visitation of  
St. Mary. Blessed be God!"

The characteristics of Roman Catholic piety are always the same. The good nun of Toulouse a century ago believed that the prayers of herself and her sisters might

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\* Coquerel, p. 394.



affect the judgment of a cause to be tried before a Commission appointed by the Supreme Council of France. The prayers are quite evidently not to be petitions that the members of the tribunal "may have a right judgment in all things," and so deliver a righteous sentence, but that they may decide in a given way, according to the desire of those who plead. Just three years since, a young gentleman was about to leave one of the chief, and certainly one of the most manly and least superstitious, among Roman Catholic schools in England, for matriculation at an Oxford college. His learning was less than his faith, and his success was by no means a matter of certainty. He sent therefore the sum of £1 to a convent of "Poor Clares," ladies who spend their lives in perpetual adoration, and requested that, in exchange for his alms, they would devote their intercessions during the day fixed for the examination to the special object of praying him into the college. It cannot be supposed that these pious nuns asked merely that his health and nerves might be at their best during the day, so that he might shew out fully whatever was in him, and that, supposing this was so, no cloud might come over the temper or patience of the examiners; our Roman Catholic informant, a man of great and Protestant culture, but lately a convert, admitted that it was hoped the prayers might influence the decision against that which perhaps ought to be formed on the examination papers. We smile at these puerilities, and at others like them, in turning over sister Anne Julie's letters, and then perhaps think how childish is a religion which encourages such a habit of mind. But ought we not in truth to admire that sacred simplicity which is not afraid to carry out what seems a truth to its remotest consequences? And if these consequences seem to us evil or absurd, we should then examine afresh the premisses from which they flow. If it be ever right to pray for any but mental and spiritual states and affections, brought about by the working of the Divine Mind on the human mind,—if we can really think it well to ask God to vary in any degree any part of His creation outside ourselves, whom He has made to move by a will which may be independent of His own,—then the requests of sister Anne Julie and the would-be Oxonian, small as they are, are no more unworthy to be granted by Divine power, than the dew-drop is

an unworthy result of the same law that guides the lightning through the sky. But if, on a calm consideration, we who are not nursed in Roman feelings, dare not plead with God that He interfere in things which already follow laws which He has wisely ordained, we shall find that our prayers in many respects ought to undergo a change, and many petitions be omitted which now are offered. Nor will any miracles, save those effected on character and will, find place in our severer system. But we cannot afford to sneer at Roman piety till we are quite sure of our freedom from the same opinions, manifested by it with a greater naiveté than our own.

We return to some more extracts from these pleasant letters. Here is one decidedly non-claustral in tone :

“ LETTER XVIII.

“ + Vive Jesus.

“ From our Nunnery at Toulouse, this 17th April, 1765.

“ . . . . Our Parliament has held, it is said, secret sittings, to examine the legality of the reversal of the sentence, but they have found no means by which they can oppose it. They say they will have the proceedings (at the trial) printed, and give them to the public as their justification. I answer, they will take care not to do so. I can, however, assure you that every one who knows you is delighted at your triumph. Our superior, all our nuns, are overjoyed. . . . You have gained all hearts. Often at recreation the only talk has been about my dear Nannette, whom every one praised ; and they have ended with this exclamation, ‘ Mon Dieu, what a pity ! ’ (that she remained Protestant).

“ . . . . As to my third question, I do not despair about it. I do not count on your fortune ; I know only too well that you have none ; but I cannot persuade myself that your face, your rare qualities, are not worth more than considerable sums, in case—and in case ; without wanting in the respect we owe to St. Paul, if the affair have to do with a Catholic, dare the step, and I will answer for it that God and St. Paul, far from being angry, will be quite pleased. Never forget that you have promised to tell me everything which may happen to you. You see I affect to give you advice before you ask it, but everything is allowable in friendship. With you my heart thinks aloud. I trust so entirely in the goodness and steadiness of your mind, that I believe you guaranteed from participating in the damnable systems with which Paris is infected. You have naturally

a pious heart and mind, a little ray of the true light would make you a perfect Christian.”\*

Here is a pleasant little exchange of compliments between the nuns and Dr. Sol, a physician in large practice at Toulouse. He had conformed outwardly to Catholicism, as so many did, for the sake of the certificate which allowed him to follow his profession ; but it deceived no one, nor did he allow it to do so.

“LETTER XXIII.

“+ Vive Jesus.

“From our Nunnery at Toulouse, this 30th April, 1766.

“ . . . . I gave M. Sol as soon as possible all the kind messages for him in your last. I have only had too much occasion to see him this last week ; he has almost lived in our house, for a little child of M. le Marquis de Puilaroque, who, after all his care, has gone to heaven. M. Sol envied her lot. I said to him that the good God afflicted us by choosing our house to take away from us the poor children entrusted to our care. He answered that our house was the pathway to heaven. ‘Why, then, do not you become a Brother of the Visitation?’ ‘I would become,’ said he, ‘a gardening lay brother, were I as sure of my part in Paradise as that little one who will be there an hour hence.’

“Is not that a charming conversation with a Protestant? Blessed be God ! we must adore His plans and submit to them. Yet I am troubled about them, and my dear little friend has certainly her part in this trouble.”†

Some little disappointment was experienced by sister Anne Julie, when Nannette Calas married M. Duvoisin, not only a Protestant, but a Protestant minister. But she made the best of it, and her letters grew more tender as advancing years brought her nearer to the land in which she dared not hope to meet her earthly friend if she continued in her heresy. One extract more must suffice us.

“LETTER XXXI.

“+ Vive Jesus.

“ . . . . You wish to have news of me. My health is very good. My employment—manageress of our vast estates, and archivist. If you have not forgotten our house, I have a very pretty room, very pleasant in summer ; we call it the vaulted closet. If you will come and occupy it with the little monkey, it is quite at

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\* Coquerel, pp. 400, 401.

† Coquerel, p. 409.

your service. The dear husband would be out of place there ; my offer cannot go so far as that. I beg you to assure him, in spite of my refusal of a lodging, of all my good wishes always for his happiness. . . . .

"I embrace you with all my heart. . . . .

"From our Nunnery at Toulouse, this 4th January, 1769. Hay!"

The old lady, born with the century, had just entered her 70th year, which explains the joyous exclamation. Her tenderness and her happy temper were given her to the end of her devout life.

We are far from being among the number of those who are able to assert glibly that in the world to come there will be an absolute freedom of intercourse between persons who may find themselves on the other side the veil which now hangs between us and the unknown. Even words so beautiful as those in which Mr. H. B. Wilson speaks, in his Bampton Lectures, of such a possibility, seem to us rhetorical figures, rather than genuine expressions of heart-felt belief. We have always felt that every condition of the future state must be so hidden from us that it is idle to speculate ; and yet in day-dreams it has now and then appeared that another life, to be worth living, must be very like the better side of this.

Yet if speculations were admissible as to the meetings of those who in life could not have met without dislike or at least mistrust, the first interview between Voltaire, the accomplished literary scoffer, and sister Anne Julie, the illiterate nun of the Visitation, might be supposed to be not without its interest. Each would have much to learn from the other, and might, possibly, having learned it, join hand and heart for the conversion of M. David de Beaudrigue. It must, however, be enough for us to have brought them together on paper by the death-pangs of Jean Calas and the hardships of his family, and made more audible, perhaps, to some, the cry, which rises louder and louder from men of all parties and creeds, for mutual toleration and forbearance, greater belief in the virtues of our adversaries, and greater trust in man.

If this prayer be heard more clearly now, through his death, than when his human voice was stilled, Jean Calas' blood was not shed all in vain.

C. KEGAN PAUL

## V.—IMMORTALITY AND MODERN THOUGHT.

ONE great object of a periodical which aims at something higher than the discussion of mere passing topics, will be to awaken thought and stimulate inquiry. Hence we were glad to find the subject of Immortality and its relation to certain aspects of Modern Thought, which we attempted to discuss in the last Oct. No. (XXVII.) of this Review, submitted to the criticism of such a veteran controversialist as *Presbyter Anglicanus*.\* True, the intense interest which every thinking man must take in this subject is equalled by its inscrutable mystery, so that it will always be very difficult to find any definition of this truth which will commend itself to the entire and unreserved acquiescence of others; and this difficulty, inherent in the subject, is converted into a plain impossibility, if the discussion on the question is conducted by men of at least very dissimilar types of mind. We cannot therefore promise our readers any modification, in the directions suggested by *Presbyter Anglicanus*, of the views already propounded by us on this subject. Still we feel that the common interest we both have in the welfare of truth, and our desire to attain at least some portion of certitude (in a qualified sense of the word) on this important topic, may well be held to outweigh any differences which may arise in the methods severally pursued, or the conclusions finally attained by us.

It has been made a special objection to the view we put forth in the above-mentioned paper, that it is inadequate, for the reason apparently that it does not sufficiently take account of the practical bearings of the subject. We must, however, avow, on the very threshold of the question, that on this very point of the practical issues of the question we are not at one with *Presbyter Anglicanus*. That the doctrine of immortality is of immense and engrossing importance to us, we would most gladly concede, and have already in the paper referred to sufficiently insisted on. But how far the interest it has for us is mainly practical, in the ordinary sense of the term, i. e. how far the doctrine is to be primarily and mainly considered as demanding an ethical system of a par-

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\* No. XXIX. April, 1870.

ticular kind, seems to us a little questionable. On the assumption of commonplace theology, that our religious and social conduct should be entirely controlled by considerations of our destiny in a future world,—that, to adopt Paley's maxim, men are to behave well in order that they may obtain an eternal reward,—no doubt the interest which immortality would have for us would be exclusively practical. But, as our readers are probably aware, our most advanced and enlightened thinkers have arrived *at last* at the conclusion that the morality founded upon the assumed weal or woe of a future world is not of the most noble or disinterested character; and hence there have been various attempts to place Christian ethics upon another and a sounder foundation, adopting either the utilitarian basis of the welfare of humanity, or else insisting on the divine and *a-priori* immutability of ethical distinctions.

It appears to us, therefore, a gross exaggeration, to say the least, when Presbyter Anglicanus assures us,—speaking, as we must assume him to be, from the philosophical standpoint of this Review, and not in the interests of traditional theology,—that “our whole moral as well as religious training rests on the belief of the continued existence of each individual being after death.” To quote his own words, “if we tell the young that life is an education,—if we tell them that they are the children of a Father who is leading them to their highest good, and that they are to do their duty, not because they may suffer socially if they fail to do it, but from *spontaneous*\* obedience to Divine law,—if we tell them that acts tend to make habits, that habits determine our character and affect our spiritual condition indefinitely,—if we tell them that right is to be done at whatever cost, and that success here is to be to us as nothing in comparison with our growth in all good and kindly qualities,—we are using language every word of which implies not only human immortality (i.e. we presume, of the race), but the continued existence of each individual being whom we address.” Now Presbyter Anglicanus surely cannot be ignorant that this kind of language, with some abatement of its theological implications, has been in past times, and is now, continually employed by men who

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\* We heartily concur with Presbyter Anglicanus that obedience to Divine law should be “spontaneous;” but if it be so, may we ask, What need of the supplementary consideration of a future life?

are not content with ignoring, but who even deny, all future existence whatever. We might indeed safely undertake to find every ethical doctrine here mentioned, which he assumes must imply belief in immortality, in the writings of philosophic atheists of many different ages and countries—e.g., to mention one remarkable instance, in the works of M. Comte. And he would find among liberal and thoughtful theologians of our own time and country very much of precisely the same teaching, *purposely disconnected* from any considerations derived from a future state.\*

But the truth is, Presbyter Anglicanus does not appear to have emancipated himself from the system which he however describes as “addressing itself only to the lowest passions and feelings of mankind.” True, he does admit that this mode of viewing the subject is unworthy the thought of men “who are bent on the more serious task of ascertaining the truth of facts ;” where he evidently assumes for the moment that the practical issue of our personal fate in the next world should not be suffered to bias the speculative inquiry into the truth of its existence. But this appears but a temporary concession to the merits of the speculative part of the question ; for he informs us further on, that we have no way of addressing the vicious and degraded except we tell them that “God will assuredly raise them to a better state, but at the cost of all the prolonged suffering which the resistance of their own will must entail upon them.” How far Presbyter Anglicanus is here guilty of adopting the very system which he elsewhere so justly reprobates,—how far this substitution of “prolonged” for eternal suffering, this purgatory instead of hell, is an appeal to the fears and selfish feelings of the vicious and degraded,—we need not stop to point out. It appears to us, therefore, that Presbyter Anglicanus is not quite consistent when he regards the practical bearings of the subject as those which have the greatest importance ; and, notwithstanding the passing con-

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\* As one example out of many of this truth, we venture to quote a few words from Channing’s eloquent sermon on the Evil of Sin (Works, p. 276) : “On these great questions, What is the chief good ? and what the chief evil ? we are instructed by our own nature. An inward voice has told men, even in heathen countries, that excellence of character is the supreme good, and that baseness of soul and of action involves something worse than suffering.”

On this point Schleiermacher informs us : “Wer die sittlichkeit durch den Glauben an eine künftige Welt stützen will, irrt gröblich.”—Schenkel, F. Schleiermacher, p. 104.



cession which we have above noted, he certainly does not seem to attribute to the critical and speculative view of the matter all the importance which in our estimation it merits. For ourselves, indeed, we would not hesitate to place the purely speculative, philosophic inquiry into the truth of immortality and its probable nature, in the present day at least, above its practical issues. It must ever be borne in mind, that however important it is in the case of a given religious truth to consider its bearing on morality, still this part of the question should be preceded by a rational and philosophic inquiry into the truth itself; and it is only when a truth has been by this process sufficiently established and laid down in some of its details, that it becomes necessary to consider the effect it ought to have on the principles of human action. And the reason of this is obvious. We shall in this case rid ourselves from the personal bias which the preliminary consideration of the practical aspects of the question would almost inevitably entail. Nothing is more apparent in the history of the origin and growth of religious beliefs than the excessive personal interest which has been brought to bear upon them. Truths in their primary conception of a merely speculative and neutral kind, have soon been warped to suit the needs and favour the views of those who would too hastily make them the foundation of practice. In the case now under consideration, the truth of immortality pure and simple, i.e. mere continuous existence of a certain kind, is doubtless much older than its practical development of eternal rewards and punishments; and we need not point out how much this development has tended to obscure, and often to enlist on the side of spiritual tyranny, the germinal truth which first gave it being. Few chapters in the history of religious development are more worth study than the immense and generally prejudicial influence on such growth of mere human selfish interests, either on the part of teachers or on the part of the taught. Although, therefore, we are far from wishing to deny the practical issues of immortality when these are stated in a moderate and becoming manner—indeed, we endeavoured to point out in our former paper the practical bearings of the theory then advocated—yet we must avow our own conviction that in these days, and with regard to the higher thought of our own country and

the continent, it is the truth itself, and such a definition of it as shall best harmonize with the laws of the world, that is of importance, rather than an ethical system which may possibly be deduced from it. So that when we are told by *Presbyter Anglicanus* that "for other than practical purposes we cannot desire any definition at all;" when, moreover, we take into account his wish, often expressed, always understood, to possess a theory of immortality which may be taught to children and made the very mainspring of their actions, we cannot but admit that our object is not the same as his, and that, in our opinion, his desires seem little likely to attain their gratification.

Another point closely related to the one just considered, on which the ground occupied by *Presbyter Anglicanus* does not appear to us very safe, is his evident tendency to suppose the doctrine of immortality capable of proof. Now in our former remarks we distinctly disclaimed even the attempt to demonstrate this great truth; we expressed our opinion that such proof was from the very nature of the case impossible. We placed the doctrine where the wise moderation of Bishop Butler had placed it,—on the foundation of probability supported by analogy. No doubt it is very natural to desire a somewhat firmer footing for a truth in which our interests are so intimately concerned, and if *Presbyter Anglicanus* or any one else can find a stronger basis for it than this, we shall be very glad to recognize the fact. He makes, indeed, a passing acknowledgment that "we cannot expect to reach a demonstrated conclusion on this matter;" "but," he proceeds to add, "our reason must be entirely satisfied." We cannot but profess our entire ignorance of the degrees of credibility by which a "demonstrated conclusion" exceeds "the entire satisfaction of the reason;" but we have no doubt that even to this lesser standard of certitude the doctrine of immortality is quite incapable of reaching. Few things seem to us more hazardous in the discussion of this important point than the assumption that it is capable of any kind of *demonstration*, in the common acceptation of the word; and the temptation to make such assumption seems to beset religious thinkers and teachers of almost every school of thought. Notwithstanding, e.g., the high commendation which it is customary for English divines to lavish on Bishop Butler's Analogy, few seem to have realized the

precise meaning and extent of "the high degree of probability" which he ingenuously admitted to be all that he could assign to this truth. And when Presbyter Anglicanus demands a theory so simple and complete as to form part of a child's catechism, we cannot but think that he also might first have asked himself the question whether such a theory was possible. Not that we are prepared to maintain that no explicit mention of the subject should be made to children; on the contrary, we think that those who believe in and hope for an existence beyond the grave, would neglect a solemn and important duty if they forbore to confide their belief and their hope to those whom it is their duty to instruct. At the same time, we cannot help adding, that if they limited their teaching to the assumed fact of such existence, and (supposing the children were able to bear it) to the practical bearing which the fact ought to have on their higher life, wisely refraining from a detailed description of the manners and customs of the next world, such as forms the staple of the information conveyed in children's religious books on this subject,\* we think they would do well. Moreover, when such children are grown up, it might be useful, and would assuredly be honest, to impart to them that high degree of probability which is the greatest approximation to proof that we can assign to it. But in all our teaching on this subject, we should studiously avoid basing the simplest ethical teaching upon their possible destiny in another life. Our better aim, as well as that most in harmony with the nature of the proof we assign to immortality, would be to instil into them more unselfish and elevated rules of conduct; teaching them that, *in any case*, it is better to be virtuous than the reverse, and that the present is sacred, and has its hallowed duties quite irrespective of what the future may happen to be.† Indeed, we are not

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\* This defect is unhappily not confined to children's books. We occasionally meet it in the works of enlightened and illustrious thinkers. Some of the details of a heavenly life enumerated in Channing's sermon on "The Future Life," e.g., display a painful disregard of the becoming reticence on this great subject inculcated by St. John's first Epistle: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

† The power of this truth, as the basis of the highest ethical teaching, to resist the mischievous influences of extreme religious scepticism has been frequently exemplified. It is instructive to observe that while Schleiermacher found his anchorage amid the shifting motions of his religious creed in the subjective feeling of dependence, F. W. Robertson, on the other hand, was sus-

sure that this teaching is also better suited to the nature of the young than that which is derived from considerations of a future life. Nothing is more certain than that a child lives in the present, and is influenced mainly by present and immediate considerations. Hence the reward that is future or the punishment that is distant has but little effect on his conduct. Present sanctions, such as honour, truth, goodness, are therefore far better fitted to make an impression on his character, than those which are derived from a remote future with which he has little or no sympathy.

But there is one point on which *Presbyter Anglicanus* has misapprehended the purport of our former remarks on this subject, which we may here notice, before proceeding to the main part of our discussion, and that is, the authority which we maintained the doctrine advocated received from certain passages in the Gospels, and especially in that of St. John. On this we are asked, what authority we assign to St. John's Gospel; and it is asserted that, excepting as the mere opinion of the writer, the conclusions derivable from such passages are worthless. We are further informed that "upon this momentous subject we can receive nothing on authority," which statement we should have thought settled the matter, and rendered the subsequent remarks as to the exact amount of authority to be assigned to St. John's Gospel somewhat superfluous. Perhaps, however, a little explanation may throw some light on the kind and amount of sanction which we believe religious truths receive from the Bible.

All such truths are, in our belief, necessary products of the human mind in its connection with and operation on the external world,—the resultants, so to speak, of the spiritual energy of man, in contact with the divine forces which underlie the laws of the universe. Hence we find in all great religious systems a certain number of primary truths which are in a measure common to all; inasmuch as they either originate in a common feeling or tend to a common purpose.\* It is therefore always important to

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tained in a similar mental crisis by the conviction of the inherent excellence of virtue and baseness of vice. Comp. Schenkel's *F. Schleiermacher*, p. 103, with Robertson's "*Lectures and Addresses*," p. 66.

\* On this subject we confidently expect that much light will be thrown by our new-born science of Comparative Theology.

support any given doctrine, or any explanation of such doctrine, by an appeal to books and writings, especially to our own Holy Scripture, which are recognized standards of religious truth, and which therefore contain authoritative expositions of such truth. This is no doubt the rationale, at least it is the best justification, of the requirement made by the English Church, that all truths necessary to be believed must be proved by Scripture. Now on this question of immortality, and as confirmatory evidence of the view we were maintaining, we referred especially to one of the four Gospels, which, whoever be its author, and whatever the date assigned to its publication, belongs undoubtedly to a very early period of the Christian Church. Is it too much to assume that the views on immortality therein contained were the views of a considerable part of the Christian community at the time of its publication? If this be granted, then the conclusion will necessarily follow that the views there promulgated must bear some resemblance to the teaching of the Founder of Christianity; and this is confirmed by remarkable passages in the three remaining Gospels, especially the passage in Luke xx. 35, 36, and the reason given by Christ to the Sadducees for the continuity of spiritual existence: "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, *for all live to Him.*" Our purpose in alluding to these passages was to shew that a spiritual view of immortality, in contrast to the materialistic notions current among the Jews, was largely diffused in the early Church in the very first ages of Christianity, and for this reason must, as it seemed to us, have formed part of the teaching of Christ.\* This purpose remains entirely unaffected by the exact date or authorship of St. John's Gospel. We cannot therefore concede to Presbyterian Anglicanus that the testimony of that Gospel is to be regarded as the mere opinion of the writer. The undoubted reception of it by the Christian Church of the second century, proves that at that time its teaching was that of at least a considerable section of the Church. We may note

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\* The best method of accounting for the materialistic teaching contained in some eschatological passages in the Synoptics, is the natural and easy inference that they represent the spiritual teaching of Christ transformed by the sensuous modes of thought current among the Jews. Those who have observed how spiritual truths are transformed in every age by the rude methods and coarse conceptions of many who receive them, will best be able to understand how this process was effected.

in passing the additional confirmation on this point which is afforded by St. Paul's Epistles, which are, as *Presbyter Anglicanus* himself admits, distinctly spiritualistic on this subject of immortality. It will hardly be contended that a Church in which St. Paul's Epistles were documents of authority, could have regarded the teaching of the fourth Gospel as alien to its ordinary mode of religious conception.

Proceeding, however, to the main part of our argument; the theory of immortality we maintained, was based on what we termed "the indissoluble connection of spiritual forces." Recognizing in the laws of the world a certain Divine energy, which we are compelled to think of as operating necessarily and eternally, and seeing in the fact of human progress, and in the nature of the human mind, a force undistinguishable by any faculties we possess from such energy, we felt justified in predicating of the latter the eternity we were obliged to assign to the former;\* or, to express the truth in the syllogistic form we then employed, "The spiritual force of the universe is eternal: man is an unit of that spiritual force, therefore man is immortal." It does not appear to us that *Presbyter Anglicanus* has anything to allege against the theory itself; at least he does not in express terms deny either the major or the minor of the argument; while, as to the conclusion, he claims to hold it in a more full and unreserved sense than we ourselves do. His general complaint is,

I. Of the unsatisfactory mode in which the truth of immortality has been expressed, not so much by ourselves, as by authorities favourably quoted by us.

II. That immortality as defined by us, becomes the privilege of a chosen few, not the universal destiny of all mankind.

I. We put forward the definition of Schleiermacher as an eloquent and fitting expression of the view we were enforcing: "In the midst of the finite to be one with the Infinite, and in each passing moment to have eternal existence, that is the immortality of religion;" on which *Presbyter Anglicanus* observes: "I do not know what is meant by

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† The essential point of this argument is repeatedly brought forward by St. Augustine in his speculations on immortality; e.g., to quote one passage out of many: "Restat enim animus et Deus, quæ duo si propterea vera sunt quòd in his est veritas, de immortalitate Dei nemo dubitat. Animus autem immortalis creditur, si veritas quæ interiri non potest, etiam in illo esse probatur."—*Soliquorum*, Lib. ii. 32, Op. Om. I. p. 382.

the words. . . . Who is there of whom it can be said that in every passing moment he has eternal existence?" If Presbyter Anglicanus could by any possibility have asked Schleiermacher himself what was to be understood by these words, he would probably receive for a reply, that they were to be interpreted not by the intellect, but by the feeling; and if Presbyter Anglicanus was unable to comprehend them by religious intuition, no mere verbal or logical explanation would suffice for the purpose. It will, however, tend to throw some light on the matter, if we remember the main purpose of Schleiermacher in giving this form to the truth of immortality.

1. It is a necessary deduction from his definition of religion; i.e. it consists in "the consciousness of the eternal," in the feeling of permanency, so to speak, which underlies our transitory existence. There is no doubt that this feeling, in some one of its numberless forms, lies at the basis of most ethical as well as religious thought. Indeed, it is the only reason which can be given in ultimate philosophical analysis of our belief in our existence during two successive moments, and of our acting on that belief; and if, in Schleiermacher's mode of expressing this truth on its religious side, there should appear to English readers, with their national incapacity for metaphysical ideas, something mystical and obscure, they might remember that into all religious thought, into every meditation or aspiration which has the unseen for its object, some mystical element must of necessity enter. Hence it is always easy to ask of such definitions, What is their exact meaning? How can such a statement be demonstrated? But if the questioners would but pause a moment, and ask whether the most elementary religious truth, as, e.g., the existence of a God, the nature of religious faith, the precise character of a devout aspiration, are susceptible of the treatment to which they would fain subject them?—whether they can by any possibility be expressed in definite logical propositions, or with the exactness of mathematical formulæ?—they would then recognize the difficulty of applying to truths which partake so largely of an emotional element, modes of demonstration applicable only to facts of a rigidly intellectual character. The baneful effect which is produced by this introduction of the methods of exact science into the region of profound feeling, poetic senti-



ment, and devout aspiration, is one main lesson taught by the history of religious development. Nor does it much matter whether this object is undertaken in the interests of dogmatic affirmation or sceptical negation. It must never be forgotten that all dogmas were once feelings; and what Selden said of Transubstantiation, that it was "rhetoric turned into logic," is in degree applicable to most formal expressions of religious truth.

2. But another reason why Schleiermacher put the truth of immortality into the form above quoted, was his desire to get rid of the distinction between the present and the future, between time and eternity, which so often forms the main feature of definitions of this subject.\* In this he was, as we have already shewn, not only in harmony with explicit statements of the New Testament, and generally with the highest types of religious culture, both past and present, but he was adopting what is in reality the only philosophical view of the matter possible. Certainly, if immortality implies continuity of existence, no faculties that we possess are able to discriminate between present and future. Time is an essential part of eternity, and divine life, thought and energy in the present, cannot be severed from the same realities in the future. Philosophically, therefore, as well as religiously, immortality is a present fact, and the present is to us in this, as in all other matters, our sole test of and evidence for the future. The expression of this undoubted truth is one great merit of Schleiermacher's definition, and the double antithesis he has adopted for its expression reveals the importance he would assign to it. The recognition of this truth by the more illustrious of our modern divines seems to us one of the most hopeful auguries for the advance of philosophical theology which is furnished by our time.

To this must be added the further truth, that immortality in its complete signification, as well as in the usual acceptance of the word, implies more than mere continuous existence or duration in time. It pre-supposes a particular kind of existence as well; no one would choose, e.g., to

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\* On this subject Schleiermacher is unusually explicit: "Wer einen Unterschied macht zwischen dieser und jener Welt, bethört sich selbst. Alle wenigstens, welche Religion haben, glauben nur an eine."—Schleiermacher *Sämmt. Werke*, I. p. 165.

apply the word immortality to the eternity of torments which traditional theology assigns to the wicked. Indeed, eternity, in the sense of duration, may be termed *the essential attribute of Divine forces as such*. When, therefore, Schleiermacher speaks of eternity as existing in a passing moment, he evidently postulates this eternal *kind* of existence, and means that the individual, in his manifestation, though but for a moment, of a divine energy, has proved his possession of *a force which is essentially immortal*.<sup>\*</sup> It is no answer to this to say that in such a case the individual has *had* eternal existence, for this would be to confound the force itself with a given manifestation of it; and it would further imply that the highest divine energy, such as thought and reason, are perishable, whereas the constitution of the universe, as well as the laws of our own mind, assure us that such a conclusion is impossible. Besides, if this limitation of eternal existence to one particular phase or period of its existence were thought justifiable, it would follow that we might predicate non-eternity even of God himself, for we might say even of His divine energy at, e.g., a given passing moment, that it was limited by that particular moment, and was not exercised in ages yet unborn; yet no one would suppose that in such a statement we were in any way setting bounds to His eternity. When Presbyter Anglicanus further supposes that the adoption of this truth is reconcilable with the assumptions of materialism, he confuses the mere animal life as it exists in inferior organisms with the higher development of that life which is accompanied by the exercise of divine energies.<sup>†</sup> He also thereby evinces a want of appreciation of the real point at issue between the materialist and the believer in immortality, viz., the former asserts *of all forces whatsoever*, spiritual as well as physical, that they are the necessary manifestations of certain material substances from which they are inseparable.

But in considering Schleiermacher's definition partly from his own point of view, we must not forget the disregard of human personality which formed so large an element in his

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<sup>\*</sup> Most of our readers will remember the eloquent language in which F. W. Robertson has put this truth (Sermons, 1st Series, p. 246).

<sup>†</sup> See our former remarks, Theol. Rev., No. XXVII. p. 545.

religious creed. Hence the oneness with the Infinite for which he pleads, is not a metaphorical unity, nor even, what we would maintain it, an unity grounded on the possession of common energies; it is with him a real essential incorporation into the Divine substance. In this respect a worthy disciple of Spinoza,\* he endeavours to merge the individual spirit in the sum-total of spiritual existence. His utterances on this subject will appear so strange to the majority of English readers, that we venture to quote them.

"With regard to immortality,"† says he, "I cannot conceal my opinion, that the mode in which most men accept it, and their desire after it, is quite irreligious and directly contrary to the spirit of piety; yes, their wish to be immortal has no other basis than distaste towards that which is the end of religion." "What religion aims at is, that we, through the intuition of the Universe, should become as much as possible one with it. These, however, strive against the Infinite; they wish to be nothing but themselves, and are anxiously concerned for their individuality. Hence, instead of wishing to lay hold of the single opportunity which death affords them in order to rise out of humanity, they are much more anxious how they may take it with them into the next world, and strive mostly after farther-seeing eyes and better bodily members."‡

Such persons he recommends rather to strive for the annihilation of their personality even in this life; and quoting in this sense the Gospel precept, "He that saveth his life shall lose it, but he that loseth his life for my sake shall keep it unto life eternal," he proceeds:

"He who has learnt to be more than himself, who knows that he loses little when he loses himself,—he who annihilates himself in order to be merged in the whole universe, so much of it as he here finds, and in whose soul a greater and holier aspiration is generated [i. e. than the preservation of himself]—only he has any right to it [Immortality], only with him is it any use to speak further of the hopes which death gives us, and of the Infinite to which we are thereby infallibly soaring."§

It is needless to point out the mysticism contained in

\* See Spinoza's view of immortality, *Eth.* pt. v. pr. 84, Schol.; and pt. v. pr. 88.

† *Reden über die Religion*, 6th ed. p. 119. Compare "*Friedrich Schleiermacher ein Lebens und charakterbild von Dr. D. Schenkel*," p. 115.

‡ Schlenkel's *F. Schleiermacher*, pp. 115, 116.

§ *Reden über die Religion*, 6th ed. p. 120.

this language. Indeed, the very essence and object of all mysticism is here plainly set forth,—the annihilation of the individual and its self-chosen loss in the immensity of the Infinite. And although we have already admitted that the question of personal existence in a future world, for which many contend so earnestly, is but of secondary importance, at the same time the definition of Schleiermacher, as we interpret it, appears to us equally valid, whether we adopt his belief in this respect or no. As, however, this belief formed one, and possibly not the least, element in the original framing of that definition, we have thought it well to call attention to it as possibly explanatory of it, though, in our opinion, not essentially so.

II. But the great difficulty of the above definition, in the eyes of Presbyter Anglicanus, is that it makes immortality not merely a partial gift, but raises the conditions of its enjoyment to such a height as to make it unattainable to all but very few among the human race. "Of whom," he asks, "is it said with justice that they are working together with God? Assuredly not of the enormous majority of mankind; nay, can it be said even of any?" &c. But in so speaking, Presbyter Anglicanus seems to us to underrate the importance of the smaller contributory forces, to which, as well as to the larger, we assigned the property of evincing their relation to the great force of the universe. It is not only in the discovery and promulgation of truth *on a large scale*, that we believe our claim to immortality consists, but in these and kindred virtues exercised on the smallest possible scale. And will Presbyter Anglicanus insist that some divine energy of this kind may not exist, not only in the enormous majority, but possibly in every single individual of the human race? It must be remembered it is not the degree, but the *kind*, of force that has to be exemplified as a condition and test of immortality; and may we not fairly assume—indeed, does not the secret history of even the vicious and degraded, when it is possible fully to arrive at it, give us grounds for assuming—that even in these there does exist some faint energy not wholly unlike the spiritual force which is eternal? Will Presbyter Anglicanus dare to assert, in the ignorance he must necessarily share with all men of the real and exact condition of the mental and spiritual state of

others, that there can be any human soul, in the utmost recesses of which, perhaps obscured by much selfishness, lust and wrong-doing, there may not lurk some of the seeds of immortality of which we have been speaking,—in which there may not be some love for another, some gleam of self-denial, some faint desire for a purer and more ennobling existence? Neither great efforts nor unwonted successes are needed as a claim to immortality; it shares the homely province as well as the ordinary energy which the poet assigns to religion:

“The trivial round, the common task,  
Will furnish all we ought to ask.”

The performance of common duties, the display of social affection, even on the most inconsiderable scale, may plead for some share of an energy which is divine. Hence, reverting to our starting-point,—the analogy of physical forces: may we not regard the weak force of a little rubbed sealing-wax, which suffices to stir, without being able to attract and retain, the particles within its reach, as still manifesting its kindred with the sublime stroke which can cleave the gnarled oak, and scatter death and destruction round its path? or must not the little rill, which, perhaps unseen, issues from the cleft of a rock, and pours by single drops its trivial contribution into the streamlet which in its turn joins the swelling river, be regarded as one of the contributory forces of the immense volume of water which pours into the ocean, by a mouth like an inland sea, the drainage of tens of thousands of square miles? And if it be objected to these illustrations that they merely exemplify the kinship that exists between infinitely great and infinitely little forces, but do nothing to throw light on the continuity of such forces required by Schleiermacher's expression, “In each passing moment to have eternal existence,” might we not, adopting another illustration, say of a snow-flake or a feather, when falling in a slow, hesitating manner, and by an irregular zigzag motion to the earth, that in the midst of retarding influences—e.g., its own levity, the wayward motion of the breeze—it nevertheless and on the whole proclaims its obedience to the great central force of the universe (physically considered), the force of gravitation? So far, therefore, from conceding that the

action of this divine force is partial or, except apparently, intermittent, we would, on the other hand, plead that it is in a measure continuous and unceasing in the vast majority of the human race. For it must be borne in mind, the spiritual energy with which we, on behalf of our race, claim kindred, is revealed by more than one variety of manifestation. On the one hand, are its ethical elements, duty, patience, love, self-denial ; and on the other, its intellectual elements, imagination,\* foresight, hope and desire.† Surely it may be held true of very many among mankind, that some or other of these different elements of spiritual energy may be almost incessantly manifested by them. And the cogency of this argument is still further increased by the collateral consideration, that as we are obliged to assign different elements to the spiritual energy of the universe, or, to speak in theological terms, different attributes to Deity ; so is it true of each of those elements, that they are capable of an infinity of degrees. The existence of physical forces in the most infinitesimally minute degree, is a truth which science is only now beginning adequately to appreciate. The analogy of nature, even supposing it unsupported by the testimony of our experience, might therefore be deemed a sufficient warrant for a similarly infinite scale of small activities in God's spiritual universe. Might it not, therefore, be said of a man, such as those of whom *Presbyter Anglicanus* speaks, who lives the common life of all men, immersed in worldly pursuits, and apparently (for we cannot lay too much stress on our inevitable ignorance in such speculations) without a thought beyond the concerns of this life, that he manifests continually, love, devotion, self-denial, patient performance of duty to an extent which he is quite unable to realize, but which sufficiently proves his relation with the spiritual force of Deity himself ; or, to take a still more extreme case, the man brought up in vice and profligacy, but whose mad fits of riot, dissipation and brutality, are succeeded by intervals of self-loathing, and who cherishes dreams of quiet happiness amid all his rest-

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\* On the power of imagination considered as a germ and evidence of immortality, see some eloquent remarks in Channing's paper on the Character and Writings of Milton, Works, p. 443.

† This subdivision corresponds roughly with the "intuition" and "feeling" which are, according to Schleiermacher, our modes of connection with the Infinite.

less misery—nay, whose very evil tendencies are but the misdirected instincts which impel him to what seems to him good—still reveals in his desires and in his sorrows a little spark of that divine life which proclaims him in some degree an heir of immortality? For even repentance and restlessness (to mention what may appear to be the faintest possible manifestations of spiritual life) imply some latent hidden recognition of and wish for a better state, as St. Paul remarks (Rom. vii. 16), “But if what I will not, that I do; I consent unto the law that it is good.” Might we not also count the intensity of remorse which commonly accompanies great guilt, *the actual amount of force*, to speak in terms of physical science, not as a mere set-off, but as in some measure the *cause*, of what may seem to be its infrequency? Certainly Christ measured the merits of the penitent woman by the *amount* of her passionate desire. If this be granted, the relative proportion which exists in physical science between the amount of force and its duration, may find its counterpart in the divine energies of the world; hence the Founder of Christianity may have enunciated a law of spiritual forces when he delivered to the weeping penitent the sublime and loving consolation, “*Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much.*”\*

In order, therefore, to solve this important question, we must take into account all the conditions of the problem, i.e. all possible modes and all possible degrees in which the connection of the soul of man with the living spirit of the universe may be manifested. If, after so doing, Presbyter Anglicanus or any one else wishes to maintain, what however is from the nature of the case quite incapable of proof, that there are individuals who do not exhibit in any form or in the very least degree the spiritual force of which we have been speaking, then we are fully prepared to grant that nothing but non-existence can be predicated of such beings. But it must be borne in mind that this is not annihilation as commonly

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\* Vehement desire is a frequent accompaniment of great failure. The poet who speaks so mournfully of knowing the “sad satiety” of earthly love, is the same who so eloquently describes the passionate yearning for the Unseen which seems never quite extinct in the soul of man:

“The desire of the moth for the star,  
Of the night for the morrow;  
The devotion to something afar  
From the sphere of our sorrow.”

t. Augustine is a memorable example of the same phenomenon.



understood. Annihilation is generally used of the entire extinction, the reducing to nothingness *what once had existence*. We, however, predicate of such individuals as we have above mentioned, not their future extinction, but their present non-existence. It is one characteristic of spiritual forces that they are essentially eternal, analogously as the indestructibility of physical forces is an axiom of physical science. Nor is this position a mere concession to the claims of analogy; it is a requirement demanded as well by the laws of our mind. The only method by which our faculties are capable of representing God, is by adopting terms of force; so we call Him infinite power, wisdom and goodness, and we say that in each of these manifestations of divine energy He is eternal. Can we, therefore, without the hazard of destroying the source and fountain of all spiritual force, affirm extinction as the lot of smaller forces which we truly conceive to be one in kind with His? If, e.g., the love of God be an eternal attribute,—nay, if it be the very essence of Deity, is the love or virtue of man, which is in its purest aspects the same in kind, a destructible quality and destined to annihilation? So that we perceive the very existence and eternity of God are involved in the eternal persistence of the divine forces of the world; and if we can suppose that these latter in their smallest manifestations are destructible, we are actually affirming annihilation as at least the potential destiny of God Himself. Supposing, after thus indicating our views as to annihilation, we are still pressed with the inquiry whether non-existent beings of the kind we have mentioned may have their place in the world,—then we answer, that this appears to us so far from an impossibility, as to seem probable. Certainly some possibility of that kind seems contemplated by very many passages in the New Testament, especially, among the Synoptics, in the Gospel of St. Luke; where we read of the “children of the resurrection,” or those which shall “be worthy to receive the resurrection,” or where the same event

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\* James Martineau, in his eloquent expansion of this argument, observes, “Fever may fire the pulses of the body; but wisdom and sanctity cannot sicken, be inflamed and die.” (*Endeavours after a Christian Life*, p. 129.) The argument, however, is as old as St. Augustine: “R. Quid cum castus aliquis moritur, censes mori etiam castitatem? A. Nullo modo. R. Ergo cum interit aliquid quod verum est, non interit veritas. A. Quomodo autem interit aliquid verum? Non enim video.”—Aug. *Om. Op.* I. p. 368, Benedictine edition.

is termed "the resurrection of the just;" to which might be added the numberless passages where eternal death is spoken of as the destiny of the wicked, such death being, according to our present theory, not another mode of existence supervening after bodily death, but involving present non-existence as well.

Another consideration, which is indeed a corollary from some of the positions already advanced, and which may tend to facilitate the reception of the doctrine here advocated, is the probability, still judging by analogy, that the variety of divine energies which we now see in operation, and the infinity of degrees in which each may manifest its energy, may also exist in a future state; and therefore that the present state of intellectual or moral culture which any individual may now possess, may be taken as to some extent a measure of that which he will continue to enjoy. We would not indeed affirm that there can be no growth in the sum-total of the spiritual forces of the universe; on the contrary, we have already, in our former remarks, pleaded for such a growth, as manifested by the progress of the world. At the same time, considered as individually manifested, it seems to us probable that there may be a natural limit to such growth, beyond which it is impossible to go. Certainly we recognize in our present existence numberless degrees of capacity among different members of the race, and no amount of education or culture would suffice to bring such capacities to a uniform level. Why similar differences might not exist in a future state of existence, and why the natural and ordinary effect of dwarfing voluntarily the spiritual energy which any individual may possess may not therefore be eternal, we confess we cannot see. And if this were once thought reasonable and in accordance with what we now observe of God's operations in this world, one great difficulty connected with a belief in a future existence would be obviated; for we might then reasonably extend it to imperfect types of intellectual or moral growth, whether among our own race or among races of animals which we, often unworthily, call "inferior."

Having said thus much by way partly of defence, partly of explanation, of our former remarks, we now turn to the theory which *Presbyter Anglicanus* proposes as more adequate and more practical than that set forth by us. His

main fear is that our view will prove inoperative. He asks, "How can we address the degraded and the vicious, how can we speak to men in whom all sense of decency seems utterly extinguished or in whom it has never been awakened, unless we tell them that they are in the hands of God, who will assuredly raise them to a better state, but at the cost of all the prolonged suffering which the resistance of their own will must entail on them, and that the process will neither be ended nor interrupted by the incident or change to which we give the name of death?" Now on this we observe that *Presbyter Anglicanus's* mode of putting his solution illustrates the remark we made in the beginning of this paper, as to the bias which commonly attends the discussion of a religious truth from a too exclusively practical point of view; for *Presbyter Anglicanus* is evidently in search not so much of a *true* definition of immortality, or one in accordance with the laws and energies now operating in the universe, as one that *will work*, one that will act as a wholesome restraint on the vicious and degraded. Now we submit that inquiry into the speculative truth of any religious or other belief ought not to be fettered by any considerations arising from the practical effect of such inquiry; at all events, those considerations should not be allowed to determine primarily the form which such solution is to receive. We hope presently to shew that the theory now set forth is at least as likely to be operative as that advocated by *Presbyter Anglicanus*, while it is free from other difficulties which seem to beset his own; but meanwhile we entirely disclaim for ourselves the purpose of considering the doctrine of immortality from an utilitarian aspect of the restraint it will impose on vicious men. We are endeavouring humbly to ascertain the truth; and even if the effect of our search were the discovery of no fitting standpoint from which to address the vicious and degraded, we might lament the deficiency of our theory, but we should still feel compelled to adopt it.

As to the theory proposed by *Presbyter Anglicanus*, we could have desired a somewhat fuller exposition of it than he has thought fit to favour us with. So far as we may infer from the single sentence in which it is expressed, it does not seem very unlike that we have now been defending. At least it has the common feature that it recognizes the existence

of a divine force at work in the world. But it makes this force not, as we have endeavoured to do, a divinely implanted germ of energy existing in the soul of man, and perhaps in other living beings besides, which force can be trained and developed by those who possess it; but a mere coercive force, operating *ab extra*, and influencing men not merely without their will, but even, so far as appears, in direct antagonism to it. On this we can only remark, that it is open to the charge of want of harmony with what we now observe of God's dealings in the world. Do we find that God uses compulsion with men now? Do we find mental and spiritual changes of the greatest possible magnitude take place in direct opposition to the will of those who undergo them? Take the most undoubted case which our *present* existence affords of a man being "raised to a better state," do we find that the process was brought about in spite possibly of the most determined resistance on his part? We have not insisted on a great amount of divine force in order to warrant a claim to kindred with Deity; but *some amount*, infinitesimally small perhaps, and sometimes but half-consciously exercised, seems at least imperatively needful.

But Presbyter Anglicanus's theory not only does not seem at all warranted by what we observe of the Divine dealings now, but his mode of stating it is curiously inconsistent with the criticism which precedes it. In our former remarks we inserted in a note Schenkel's definition of Immortality as agreeing with that of Schleiermacher: "Only he who is in God has part in eternity even in time." To this definition Presbyter Anglicanus takes the strongest possible exception. He says "the words are manifestly equivocal. If they are interpreted of that higher spiritual life of those whom we legitimately regard as righteous men, to how many do the words apply? If we construe them physiologically and psychically, who is there who does not live and move in God?" But now it would appear from his own definition—and he cannot be using the terms physiologically or psychically, because he is plainly speaking of a Divine Power energizing in the world—that the words which are too sacred to be applied to righteous men are the precise terms to be applied to the vicious and degraded. We are to hesitate to say that even good men are in God; we are not only warranted, we are

compelled by the exigencies of the case, to tell the vicious and degraded that they are "in the hands of God, who is raising them," &c. We cannot suppose that Presbyter Anglicanus really means that expressions unfit to be applied to righteous men are more appropriately referred to the vicious and degraded. At the same time we cannot see our way to any adequate solution of the contradiction; while as to the fitness of the language in each case, we are content to leave it to the judgment of our readers.

But the theory of Presbyter Anglicanus is no less inconsistent with the whole tone of his remarks, which are generally pervaded by a distinct and unmistakable pessimism. The present world is to Presbyter Anglicanus decidedly and thoroughly evil. He implies, e. g., that there would be an insuperable difficulty (leaving immortality out of the question) in answering the question, why a man "should cause himself trouble and discomfort by seeking to reach a high standard of action, when life would be easier and pleasanter, and probably more successful, by contenting himself with a lower one;" "why he should rise above and beyond the conditions of his existence here, when he sees that so few rise beyond the common-life of all men," &c. He thinks that the inculcation of morality and virtue merely for the present would "make life a contemptible farce;" and, in stronger language still, he holds that the longing for immortality is founded on the feeling that life is worthless "if it can be retained only in an *atmosphere of all-pervading falsehood*."\* No doubt the tone of thought which dictated this language is in perfect harmony with P. A.'s inability to discern the continuous action of spiritual forces in the world, but we cannot think it consistent with his subsequent admission that even the vicious and degraded are in the hands of God, who is continually engaged in raising them to a better state. For it is surely not too much to assume, that if Divine power operates continually and successfully in the case of the vicious, it will operate in still greater measure on those who are not only not vicious, but who endeavour to second its operations with all the effort of which they are capable. And if this exercise of Divine power on such an unlimited

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\* As an antidote to this tone of thought, we would recommend Presbyter Anglicanus to read, if he has never done so, Channing's sermon on the Evil of Sin, Works, p. 276.

scale be once admitted, it will hardly be thought that the world is so utterly destitute of all goodness as the above quotations would lead us to infer.

But the main objection to his own theory from the point of view whence he has considered the one we have now maintained is, that it does not seem to us to have the effect for which he avowedly prefers it, of acting as a deterrent to the vicious and degraded. To tell such men, possibly when they are meditating some foul act of lust or crime, that "they are in the hands of God, who will assuredly raise them to a better state," does not appear to us the most likely method of awakening within them the sense of the evil of sin, or of developing their feeling of personal responsibility, or of inciting them to virtuous effort; and the accompanying threat that this Divine raising will be at the cost of prolonged suffering, setting aside the objection we have already taken to it, does not seem to us likely to be more effective. Taking annihilation in the sense employed by *Presbyter Anglicanus* himself, the absolute extinction of a living being, we must say that to most men, however vicious and degraded, with the instinctive cleaving to existence which they share with their race, the threat of such extinction would be at least as potent as that suggested by him; while if we adopt means more in conformity with the views now set forth, we shall, as it seems to us, possess an equally efficient standpoint for exhortation, and our arguments will not be open to the charge of breaking the eternal continuity of the spiritual forces of the world, by making a division between present and future existence, and of adopting terrorism instead of persuasion. Hence we would rather find in the vicious and degraded some faint spark of that divine force which we cannot but think the original inheritance of every human soul, some faint gleam of love or unselfishness, some transient feeling of regret for misused time and opportunities, some small amount of esteem for a single human being, which might possibly be obscured by his vices, but which we might accept as evidence of his possession of some degree of divine force. Then we might appeal to the experience of his vicious life, the small amount of lasting satisfaction he has been able to secure from even the most successful of his crimes; whence we might deduce the conclusion that evil is essentially antagonistic to the divine energies which govern the world. We might further

appeal to his reason to consider the pernicious effect which would result if society was composed of beings such as we are assuming him to be,—a mere community of wild beasts preying on each other. We might tell such a man that, vicious and degraded as he was, he yet possessed in his soul a *germ* of immortality which it was in his power to quicken and cultivate to a very great extent, and that at least *the degree* of his immortality depended on his cherishing and training that divine spirit. We might represent to him that the foresight and energy he was content to devote to the pursuit of vicious pleasures, might be applied to his own advantage, and even to the amelioration of his race. If he remained unpersuaded by these and other reasonings of the like kind, we ought even then to hesitate in affirming of him that non-existence which is, we maintain, the only philosophical method of conceiving annihilation. For it might easily happen that the arguments employed were, from particular causes, inapplicable to his case. We may have failed to touch the particular string in his consciousness to which he would most readily respond. At the same time, as we have already admitted, it may be that he is actually non-existent, that he is a mere selfish, brutalized being, in intellect and in feeling infinitely below animals which are classed beneath him in the scale of creation. Such are some of the arguments which seem suggested and required by the hypothesis now under consideration. We do not indeed pretend to have exhausted such arguments; whatever persuasive influences are employed under the common theory, are equally applicable here. The difference between Presbyter Anglicanus and ourselves is, that we conceive the spiritual activities of the universe as of boundless extent, and to operate in degrees inconceivable by us. We are convinced that faculties more keen and methods more refined than those we possess, might discover truth, purity and unselfishness, where we now discern, or imagine we discern, not merely the absence of such virtues, but even the presence of their contrary vices.

To some of the advantages which seem to us to result from this definition of immortality as *the inevitable conclusion from the indissoluble nature of the spiritual energies of the universe*, we have already drawn attention, remarking,—

1. On the fact that it removes the question out of the



domain of materialism. It lays hold of the truth that there are spiritual activities in the universe manifesting themselves, on the one hand, in the laws and operations of nature; and, on the other, in human history, thought and life. It sees an essential connection between these manifestations. The immortality of man is therefore bound up with the very existence of God. It is the expression of the voice of Deity, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

2. It illustrates and explains some of the more important beliefs of Christianity and of other religious systems besides.

But there remain other advantages to be mentioned, not less important than those above enumerated, but which we are at present unable to do more than briefly indicate.

1. The theory we are advocating changes the region of analogy from matter to force. The defect in this respect of some of the analogies on which Bishop Butler bases the belief in a future existence, has often been pointed out; e.g., the change which birth makes in the infant, or the transformation of the caterpillar into the butterfly, are all more or less material changes. We look for analogies in the mental and spiritual forces of the universe, in the reason which is manifested throughout creation.\* Mere animal existence, the functions of particular organs and their exercise, are therefore to us matters of secondary importance.

2. Another advantage possessed by this view is, that it removes the stress upon *death and change* which ordinary views of the subject necessitate, and places it upon continuity instead. Hence, just as it recognizes the unceasing energy displayed by the laws of the universe, so it sees in human

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\* To obviate any misunderstanding which may arise from our application of the common term force to spiritual as well as to physical energies, it may be well to point out what we conceive to be the difference existing between them. The word of itself means simply energy or activity; it says nothing of the mode in which it is manifested. Hence we may conceive it acting in a capricious or lawless manner. But when we find all forces co-ordinated and arranged, always manifesting similar phenomena under like conditions, —when, in a word, force reveals itself as *law*, —then we are obliged to postulate mind or reason as the only method of accounting for it which is possible to us. This *rational element*, which necessarily forms the ultimate condition of all physical laws, is what we mean by mental or spiritual force (i.e., of course, of the universe). Hence gravitation, to take an example, would be a physical force. The originating cause of gravitation would be a mental force. We have, indeed, often used the term without any qualifying adjective, but the context will always indicate in which of its two-fold senses the word is intended.

history a no less incessant and continuous movement ; and although it may be objected that this latter energy is the work of the race, yet the race is only the aggregate of individuals, and, in unequal proportions, all the mental and spiritual influence that has ever been (humanly speaking) exercised in the world, is but the sum-total of the action of specific individuals.

3. And from the advantages just mentioned comes another, and that is the harmony of the theory with the results of recent philosophical and scientific investigation. The continuity of the spiritual forces of the world is in fact nothing else than the necessary complement of the persistence which we are compelled to assign to its physical forces. The growth of spiritual and mental influences in the world, i.e. the gradually increasing dominion of mind over matter, is the fitting counterpart of the law of evolution which is held to be the basis of all physical activities whatsoever. And the inclusiveness which belongs to this definition, in respect of other conceptions of the same subject, is a topic on which we might easily enlarge, and is a quality which seems to us, at least, additional confirmation of its truth.

4. Nor must we omit the practical advantage of the elevation of humanity, which is an inseparable concomitant of this theory. That divinity which the best men and the truest religious systems have agreed to recognize in man, is hence shewn to be not an accidental but an inherent quality (i.e. in respect of his possession of divine energy). Hence if man has need of God, God has also, in regard of the full development of the whole sum of spiritual energies, need of man. We may stop short of the mystical exaggeration to which this truth has given rise ; but no one acquainted with the highest examples of thought and energy in our race, will be disposed to value this indissoluble connection of God with man, which has so often formed the mainspring of all their effort, at a low rate.

5. Moreover, our theory has the advantage of propounding a basis on which the question of the future existence of animals, which drew forth the sympathy of Bishop Butler, and which Presbyter Anglicanus remarks is "one of those questions which all sincere and earnest thinkers must regard as imperiously calling for an answer," may very fairly rest. It is indeed apparent that, when we find dumb animals fre-

quently exhibit intellectual and moral qualities considerably above those manifested by some of the lowest types of humanity, to deny them the possession of a divine force, and hence of immortality, is neither consistent with justice, nor with a due and proper estimate of those qualities in man *by reason of which* he is immortal.

We are far from assuming that in the foregoing remarks we have exhausted this important subject. We have but endeavoured to carry into detail the main principles laid down in our former paper, and to answer the objections brought against them by *Presbyter Anglicanus*. It should, however, be remembered that no theory on this subject is likely to be free from formidable difficulties, when considered in all its aspects and carried out logically into all its results. To a speculative question (and the doctrine of immortality is a speculative question so far as scientific demonstration is concerned) only a speculative answer can be returned. Hence we do not presume to claim for the theory now maintained an impossible exemption from difficulties; we make the more modest assumption that it seems to us freer from such difficulties than most other solutions of the question which we happen to have met with.

We may finally commend to our readers, as a resumé of the preceding arguments, what has always appeared to us one of the most philosophical as well as religious expositions of the doctrine of a future life to be found in holy Scripture or anywhere else, in which we have fully and distinctly recognized the main principles we have now been enforcing:

1. The analogy which the future derives from the present.
2. The law of the indissolubility of spiritual forces.
3. The caution to be observed in proceeding further than our analogy warrants:—and that is the well-known passage in 1 John iii. 2, 3: “Beloved, *now are we the sons of God*. And it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but *we know* that when it shall appear (be revealed), *we shall be like Him*, for we shall see Him as He is.” And the words that follow seem to sum up fully all that can properly be said on the practical side of the question: “Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as He is pure.”

JOHN OWEN.

## VI.—THE NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS.

A WRITER on 'Eastern Christians' in the Quarterly Review of twelve months ago described the Nestorians of Kûrdistan as a remarkable, though somewhat anomalous offshoot of Eastern Christianity, which want of sufficient information to reconcile or reject conflicting statements compelled him to pass over in silence. The readers of the Quarterly may be permitted to hope that the silence thus threatened will last no longer than may be needed to enable this same writer to give them, as the result of personal investigation on the spot, an account of the life and condition of the Nestorians not less graphic or real than those he has already given of other Eastern Christian tribes. Meanwhile, though profoundly convinced that the complaint of "conflicting statements" is as applicable to the past history of this people as it is to their present state, we yet think it possible that on many points the truth may be got at when the witnesses are fairly brought into court and confronted with each other; and in proposing to ourselves the task of collecting and considering the scattered evidences of that history, we in no wise mean to give cause for a charge of presumption by turning to a work from which our elder contemporary has turned away.

The return to England in 1837 of the officers of the Euphrates expedition under Colonel Chesney, recalled to the memory of the Protestants of Europe the existence in the highlands of Kûrdistan and in the Persian plain to which the Eastern Kûrdistan hills slope down, of a people sometimes called the Protestants of Asia. This people were described as the persecuted remnant of a Christian Church said once to have extended from Syria to China and from Lake Baikal to Cape Comorin—acknowledging the authority of the first two general Councils, but claiming to represent a primitive Church of Apostles and Fathers from which Alexandrines and Greeks and Latins had split away at the Council of Ephesus—agreeing in theology with Nestorius, but preferring to designate themselves by no church-name other than a national one—a people who in their language have alone among Semitic races successfully resisted the encroaching influence of the otherwise all-absorbing Arabic,

and whose common speech affords, with nominal exceptions, the only living example of a vernacular Aramaic dialect akin to that spoken in Palestine in the days of the Saviour. Politically, they were said to hold their own against Kûrd and Turk, and to live in their valleys in a state of virtual independence which might almost remind us of the Cantons of Switzerland. The very district in which this people dwell seemed to be shrouded in the mists of old romance. Not more than two Europeans were known to have visited it, and one of these had not returned. A broad and rapid river comes down from it to the Tigris, contributing to the joint stream a body of water at some seasons at least as large as the Tigris itself, and so telling that among the hills in which it rises there must be valleys of wide extent. From Xenophon's time down, the country was known to be the home of fierce and predatory tribes, called Karduchi by Xenophon and Kûrds to-day. But what were the relations existing between the Nestorian Christians and the Kûrds amongst whom or near whom they must live, was little better known in the neighbouring plains of Mesopotamia than it was among the quiet English folk to whom the story of the Euphrates travellers was told.

That this story excited public interest is not at all to be wondered at. The Royal Geographical Society and the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge joined in engaging Mr. William Francis Ainsworth, the accomplished medical officer of the Euphrates expedition, to return to the banks of the Tigris, and thence if possible to find his way among the Kûrdistan valleys, and to bring home such knowledge as he could obtain of the condition of the Nestorians. To the Reports of Mr. Ainsworth of his visit to Kûrdistan in 1840, printed among the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society and afterwards published in an enlarged form in 1842, the public are indebted for the first information, at once reliable and full, of the modern condition of the Kûrdistan Christians and of the country they inhabit. But before we avail ourselves of Mr. Ainsworth's statements, we must go back to the origin of the Nestorians as a separatist Christian Church.

The Church of Antioch, over which Paul of Samosata had ruled in the third century, and in which Arius had

studied in the fourth, still maintained at the beginning of the fifth its old reputation for free thought and fearless investigation. The Arianism of the last century seemed to have been developed into an 'indwelling' theory in this; and Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia had taught the doctrine of the two natures in Christ—the doctrine that in Him the Divine and the Human are so blended as to produce a complete oneness of affection and will, but not of nature or of person. Nestorius (Græcê, Nestor), a presbyter of the church of Antioch, was raised to the see of Constantinople in the year 428. An enthusiastic follower of the two teachers just named, it was not long before he made their doctrines heard from the episcopal pulpit. Students of the ecclesiastical history of the time have no need to be reminded of the long controversy which followed with Cyril, the turbulent Bishop of Alexandria—of the history of the third general Council called to meet at Ephesus—of the decisions prematurely and unfairly come to there before the arrival of the Eastern bishops, who were expected to side with Nestorius—of the vacillating conduct of the Emperor Theodosius—of the final deposition of Nestorius, and of his subsequent imprisonment and death. There is so much in this man's character as it has come down to us which is worthy of admiration, that we all the more lament his intolerance of opinions differing from his own. This was the great sin of his day; but his participation in it justifies the reflection of the historian Socrates, that after eager attempts to eject others from the church, it finally happened to himself to be driven out too. "A judicious reflection," perversely says La Croze,<sup>1</sup> "which could only have occurred to a layman"!

The history of Nestorianism must henceforward be studied outside the limits of the Roman empire. It lingered for awhile in the theological school of Edessa, but was driven out thence by the Emperor Zeno. To Nisibis in Mesopotamia, within the boundary-line of Persian jurisdiction, this school was transferred.<sup>2</sup> The Persian kings of the Sassanian

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<sup>1</sup> La Croze. *Christianisme des Indes* (original edition. La Haye. 1724) p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Neander's *Church History* (Bohn's London edition of Torrey's translation). Vol. III. p. 212. "The Nestorian seminaries for the clergy were at the beginning particularly distinguished; as for example their school at Nisibis in Mesopotamia, which had a settled course of studies and was divided into seve-

dynasty eagerly grasped at the benefit flung to them by their Western foes ; and the empire of the one was strengthened and that of the other weakened by a continuous emigration of the most industrious and enlightened natives of Syria and Asia Minor. The favour shewn to the Nestorians by the rulers of Babylonia and Persia, whether under these monarchs, under the Khâlifate, or under the earlier Mongol conquerors—the increase of their numbers—their political influence—their zeal for education—their literary skill,<sup>3</sup> are matters of common and authentic history.

The history becomes obscure so soon as the Nestorians pass beyond the Persian frontier. We shall not quote the brilliant exaggerations of Gibbon's 47th chapter. Dean Stanley has thought it justifiable to say of them :

“In their earlier days they sent forth missions on a scale exceeding those of any Western Church except the see of Rome in the 6th and 16th centuries, and for the time redeeming the Eastern Church from the usual reproach of its negligence in propagating the Gospel. Their chief assumed the splendid title of ‘Patriarch of Babylon,’ and their missionaries traversed the whole of Asia, as far eastward as China, as far southward as Ceylon. One colony alone remains of this ancient dominion, in extent even greater than the Papacy. The Christians of S. Thomas, as they are called, are still clustered round the tomb of S. Thomas, whether the Apostle, or the Nestorian merchant of the same name who restored if he did not found the settlement.”<sup>4</sup>

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ral classes. The North African Bishop Junelius about the middle of the 6th century describes this school.”—*Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Tom. III. pars 2. ff. 87 et seq. Most English writers refer to this second part of Asseman's 3rd volume as a 4th volume. It is correctly described by Neander, Gieseler and Rénan.

<sup>3</sup> Max Müller. *Lectures*, 1st series, 2nd ed. p. 277. “During the 8th and 9th centuries the Nestorians of Syria acted as the instructors of the Arabs. Their literary and intellectual supremacy began to fail in the 10th century.” The Professor follows with the remark that this supremacy “was revived for a time by Gregorius Barhebræus (Abulfaraj) in the 13th century,” and refers to Rénan thereon. But Abulpharagius was no Nestorian. He was a prelate of their theological opponents, the Jacobite Monophysites. Rénan, in the passage referred to, speaks of the Syrian Christians, a generic which includes Nestorians and Jacobites.

The English translation of Neander's *Church History* (Vol. IV. p. 270) contains a still more singular mistake, i.e. the mention of Abulpharagius and Barhebræus as two separate persons !

<sup>4</sup> *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, 1st. ed. p. 6. But the legendary tomb of the saint is at Maïlapur (the Malipar of Dr. Stanley's map) on the Coromandel coast, a little south of Madras ; and there is no evidence that any Syrian Christians ever lived there.



Mount Ararat

Diarrhea



In thus incidentally using the word 'colony,' we suspect that the Dean has unwittingly struck the real truth of the matter; for we submit, though with much diffidence, that the Nestorian missionaries of whom so much has been said by ecclesiastical historians, were for the most part mere traders and settlers. In spite of the indisputable influence and strength of the Nestorian Church in Persia, its members were after all but 'strangers and foreigners' there. That they were a quick-witted and industrious people is obvious. These are conditions favourable to the establishment of foreign trading 'factories.' Once settled out of Persia, there was nothing to lead such settlers back but their attachment to their Church. That Church, antagonistic as it was on many points to the Church of Rome, resembled this last in its thorough sacerdotalism. Assume then that such factories or colonies as we are now pointing to had been formed, it would be in accordance with all analogy that the settlers should send home for priests of their own faith and language. In a second generation, when the native language had been acquired, it is conceivable that these little Christian churches may have been enlarged by native converts. The native religions of many of the districts into which Nestorianism is said to have penetrated were monotheistic; and it is not necessary to reject the suggestion of Dean Milman, that the Nestorian doctrine of the absolute impassibility of the Deity may have recommended itself to the mind of Asiatic monotheism.

It is only thus that we can satisfactorily account for the existence, historically proved, of Nestorian communities in many of the large cities of central and eastern Asia in the 13th century, and their utter disappearance within three centuries later. In rejecting the belief that these communities were but wrecks and waifs of a more widely-spread Christianity, we are aware that we differ from most previous writers; but we think that the judgment must be for us if the question is to be decided according to the laws of evidence. The evidence on the other side consists mainly in boastful letters of Nestorian prelates, and in lists of territorial Nestorian bishops. The statements of the first can be admitted only when corroborated; the latter are consistent with our own theory, which assumes them to be bishops 'in partibus infidelium.' Even Asseman, that deep mine

of information into which all explorers of this subject are accustomed to dig, admits it to be a moot point whether the natives of Arabia, Egypt, Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, India 'and other countries' were 'contaminated' with the Nestorian heresy by means of mercantile colonists or by means of bishops sent out by the patriarchs;<sup>5</sup> and argues back to the prevalence of Christianity in Tartary (Mongolia) and China, from the observations of Marco Polo in the 13th century<sup>6</sup> (which we are now referring to), from the legend of Prester John<sup>7</sup> (which we are about to examine), and from the inscriptions on the celebrated Chinese monumental stone<sup>8</sup> (which are perfectly consistent with our own theory).

It is not easy to decide when the legend of Prester John first became current in Europe. It must have been before the middle of the 13th century, because Marco Polo had then heard of it. Neander says it was after the 12th;<sup>9</sup> Professor Robertson—giving authorities—about the middle of the 11th.<sup>10</sup> Asseman points out that Alexius Comnenus, to whom a simulated letter from Prester John was supposed to be addressed, died in 1118.<sup>11</sup> The legend was, that a powerful Christian nation existed in north-eastern Asia, whose king, priest as well as king, was known as Prester or Presbyter John. Two hundred thousand people of this nation were said to have been baptized and to have embraced Nestorian Christianity. In spite of the absurdities which have gathered about the story it has been ascertained beyond question that it rests on a basis of historical truth. Prester John, or Ung-khan, was Khan of the Keraït, a Mongolian tribe, inhabiting a country south of Lake Baikal. Their chief town was Karakorum, on the Orkhon, a river which

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<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Tom. III. pars 2, f. 81. "Hæ in Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, ac Perside Nestorianismi progressionem, Arabiam, Ægyptum, Mediam, Bactrianam, Hyrcaniam, Indiam, aliasque terras eadem ratione contaminatas fuisse, nullus dubito: sive per Nestorianorum colonias ex oriente eo deductas, maximè sub Mahometanis Principibus, qui operâ Nestorianorum scribarum mercatorumque uti consueverunt, quemadmodum ex ipsorum historiis constat; sive per Episcopos à Patriarchis illuc allegatos, qui unâcum Christiana side (fide?) Nestorianam hæresim barbaros docuerunt."

<sup>6</sup> *Idem.* ff. 477, 481.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem.* ff. 483 et seq.

<sup>8</sup> *Idem.* f. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. VII. p. 62.

<sup>10</sup> *History of the Christian Church*, III. 141.

<sup>11</sup> *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. pars 2, f. 490.

after being joined by the Selinga runs into Lake Baikal. Intercourse with Nestorian merchants had induced this monarch to profess himself a Christian; and it was fabulously reported that he had become possessed of the Holy Grail—the cup which the Saviour had consecrated at the last supper, and in which Joseph of Arimathea had caught the blood which flowed from his wounds on the cross.<sup>12</sup> Ungkhan's successor was vanquished and slain by Genghis-khan, of whose dominions the Kerait afterwards formed a part. Karakorum was rebuilt about 1235 by Oktai-khan, Genghis' son and successor,<sup>13</sup> and became the capital of the great Mongol empire. It was visited in 1254 by William of Ruysbroek, or Rubruquis,<sup>14</sup> a Franciscan, an ambassador from Louis IX. of France. The latter then resided in Cyprus, in the prosecution of his crusade, and had been told that the Mongol chiefs were favourably disposed towards Christianity. Rubruquis found many Nestorians dispersed in those regions, and even filling important offices at the Mongol court; but gives a sad account of their clergy, whom he reports as illiterate, ignorant of Syriac though repeating their liturgical forms in that language, avaricious, drunken, polygamous. He accuses them of making grossly exaggerated statements about their conversions to Christianity, and says that it was the practice of the Nestorians of those countries to make much ado about little (*de faire un grand bruit de peu de chose*).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Robertson, III. 544.

<sup>13</sup> Marco Polo, Wright's revision of Marsden's translation, p. 119, note.

<sup>14</sup> Robertson, III. 546; Neander, VII. 69. The travels of Rubruquis are included in the French collection of Bergeron; and English translations of them in the collections of Purchas, Harris and Pinkerton. Robertson says that he "seems to have been a sensible and observant man;" Neander, that "he was a man less prone to credulity than other monks of his time, more inclined and better qualified to examine into facts." On the other hand, the annotator to Marco Polo is of opinion (p. 120) that "his whole narrative exhibits the illiberal prejudices of a vulgar mind."

<sup>15</sup> Karakorum has disappeared from some of our maps, has a mark of doubt affixed in others, and in some is followed by the word "ruins." The annotator to Marco Polo says (p. 119), "No traces of it have been in existence for some centuries, but its position is noted in the tables of Ulug-beig, and also in the Jesuits' and D'Anville's maps." Mr. T. W. Atkinson (*Travels in the Regions of the Amoor*) mentions that the caravan road from Yarkand to Ourga and Kiachta crosses the Khangai-oula chain at a point about fifty miles west of the site of Karakorum on the river Orkhon, and adds (p. 357, writing in 1850) "A friend of mine, a Cossack officer, with a party of his men and two mining

Marco Polo is our next witness to the existence of Nestorian churches in central and eastern Asia. He met with them at Kashgar and Yarkand in the region which until lately went by the name of Chinese Turkistan, but from which the Chinese have been expelled within the last few years. He found them also in considerable numbers in the cities of Cathay—a name which then and since has been given to northern China. Kublai-khan, the ruler of the country, seems to have been a practical eclectic, and to have been able to find something good in every creed. On his return to Cambalu after a signal victory, remembering that it was the Christian festival of Easter, he commanded an assembly of Christians to meet him, and to bring with them their book of the Gospels. He kissed this book devoutly, after having perfumed it with incense, and made his nobles do so likewise. This might have encouraged the hope of his conversion, had it not been his habit to honour the festivals of his subjects of other sects by treating their books in a similar manner. He professed to reverence four great prophets—Jesus Christ, Mahomet, Moses and Buddha, and to invoke to his aid *whichever among them was really supreme in heaven*. If he shewed any preference at all it was to Buddha, on the ground that the priests of Buddha were better able to work miracles than the priests of any of the rest.<sup>16</sup> The existence of Nestorians in China at or about this time is confirmed by the testimony of John de Monte Corvino, a Franciscan missionary, who resided at Cambalu at the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 14th, and who complains of the opposition offered by the Nestorians to his efforts to spread the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. Three hundred years later, not a vestige

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engineers, explored the Orkhon twenty-five years ago in search of gold, when they visited the site of the ancient capital of the Mongols. I ascertained from his description that there are few remains left to mark its magnitude, and nothing to indicate any former splendor." We have somewhere seen it remarked how frequently travellers in Mongolia come upon ruined cities, sometimes giving shelter to a few shepherds, but often utterly deserted and silent. M. Ysbrandt Ide, a Russian envoy to China in 1692 (Harris' Collection, Vol. II.), met with and gives the names of several of these relics of the past.

<sup>16</sup> Marco Polo, pp. 167, 168. Whenever Marco Polo is an eye-witness, he is deserving of reliance. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between what he sees himself and what he hears from others. He sets, too, a bad example, which later travellers have been too apt to follow—that of forgetting he is a traveller, and turning historian and geographer.

was known to remain in Cathay, in Mongolia, or in Chinese Turkistan, of this scattered Christianity. Though China had been visited by sea, its identity with Cathay was but half suspected, and of the latter nothing had been directly heard since the time of Marco Polo. In 1598, some Jesuits in northern India believed that they had ascertained from Mahometan sources of information that the Cathayans<sup>17</sup> were Christians. Benoist Goesius (Goez), a Portuguese of their order, was deputed to ascertain by personal investigation what truth there might be in a statement so interesting. In the disguise of an Armenian merchant, he found his way with several companions across the mountains to Kashgar, and thence, almost in the steps of Marco Polo, to a city in Cathay, believed to be So-Cheu, where he sickened and died; but not without having ascertained both that Cathay was China, and that no native Christians were reported to exist there, or at any point of the route.<sup>18</sup>

Direct evidence that Nestorian churches existed in at least one province of China at a very early period is believed to have been afforded by a very singular incident. In A.D. 1625, some Chinese workmen, digging the foundation for a wall near the city of Si-ngan-fou, capital of the province of Shen-si, came upon a stone tablet, which when cleaned was found to be covered with characters. The Governor of the place, with archæological instinct, took charge of the stone. It was visited about three years afterwards by some Jesuit missionaries, who copied the inscription and sent a facsimile to Europe, where it was deciphered and translated. The text (so to speak) of the inscription is in the Chinese language and characters; the margin is in the Syriac language and in Syriac estranghelo characters.<sup>19</sup> The Chinese part of the inscription commences with a statement of the nature of the Deity, and follows with an account of the creation, of the origin of Christianity, of its introduction into that province by one Olopen, A.D. 635, and of its history under the emperors who favoured it up to A.D. 781, the date of the inscription. The Syriac part, intermingled with Chinese

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<sup>17</sup> Neander. VII. 77.

<sup>18</sup> Trigault. *Histoire de l'Expedition Chrestienne au Royaume de la Chine*. Lille, 1617. p. 472.

<sup>19</sup> The translation of Neander (Vol. V. p. 123) contains the astounding assertion that the inscription is in the *Chinese-Syrian tongue*!



words, is a list of the names of a bishop and a number of priests.

The profound mistrust with which the members of the Society of Jesus were regarded in Europe naturally produced much incredulity—first, as to the real existence—secondly, as to the authenticity of the so-called monument. On the point of its reality, in spite of the scepticism of some respectable writers, there never seemed to be much logical doubt. It was different with its authenticity. We believe that the first important decision against that was the weighty opinion of La Croze—the Protestant writer, able and candid—whom we frequently quote on other subjects. He was answered in an elaborate paper by M. de Guignes (the historian of the Huns), read in 1753, and published in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XXX. p. 802. Voltaire ridiculed the monument. Gibbon and his annotator Dean Milman were satisfied of its authenticity. There was much evidence, internal and external, in favour of the authenticity; but it was long doubted whether the Chinese characters were of the 8th century or of the 17th. On this last, as well as on other points, an angry controversy raged only a dozen years ago between M. Pauthier of Paris, in favour of the monument, and Professor Neumann of Munich, against it. The former has published a facsimile and translation of the inscription, so curious and interesting that we could wish they had not been preceded by his scolding (though learned) pamphlet of 96 pages.<sup>20</sup> Finally, the scale has been heavily turned by the scholarly judgment of M. Rénan, long held in suspense, but now deliberately and decidedly pronounced in favour of the authenticity of the monument, and therefore of the historical character of its inscription.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *L'Inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan-fou.* Paris, 1858. *De l'Authenticité de l'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou.* Paris, 1857.

<sup>21</sup> *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, 4me édition, 1864, p. 289. "La célèbre inscription syro-chinoise de Si'-gan-fou est, sans contredit, le plus curieux témoignage des lointaines pérégrinations exécutées par les Syriens. Les objections graves qui ont rendu longtemps douteuse l'authenticité de ce document ont enfin disparu. M. Stanislas Julien avait fait remarquer que le nœud de la question était dans un passage de l'écrivain chinois Min-Khieou (XIe siècle de notre ère) qui, d'après des témoignages plus modernes, était censé d'avoir parlé de l'inscription. Il restait quelque incertitude sur cette allégation. Il n'en reste plus depuis que M. Julien a reçu de Chine l'ouvrage de Min-Khieou, où il est bien réellement parlé de l'inscription."

Professor Robertson (*History of the Christian Church*, Vol. II. p. 176) expresses an opinion that "this early Christianity of China fell with the dynasty which had encouraged it; for some missionaries who, about the year 980, were sent by the catholics" (Catholic? i.e. Patriarch) "of Babylon into that country, found the churches destroyed, and could only hear of one native who continued to profess their own religion." If this were correct, there would be an end of our reliance on the later accounts of Marco Polo and John de Monte Corvino. But the Professor refers as his authority to Pauthier (*Authent. de l'Inscrip.* 95), who quotes the statement of an Arabic writer, the latter stating that the story was told him, A.D. 987, by a monk at Bagdad, who alleged that he had been one of six ecclesiastics so sent to China by the Patriarch. Even the monk does not claim to have visited more than a single Chinese city, nor to testify to the destruction of more than a single church. Pauthier argues that the city was Si-ngan-fou.

In the year 1502, the Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama arrived on the coast of Malabar. It would seem that these voyagers had been previously unaware of the existence of a Christian people in south-western India, although the fact had long been known in Europe. So far back as the 6th century they had been visited by Cosmas Indicopleustes; and in the 9th, to use the carefully chosen phrase of Dean Stanley, 'they attracted the notice' of our own King Alfred.<sup>22</sup> The Portuguese found more than 100 Christian churches in the countries since subject to the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin. The simple people received their fellow-Christians with open arms. They represented themselves as descended from a certain Thomas, an Armenian<sup>23</sup> or Syrian merchant, who had emigrated to their shores many centuries before. The lively imaginations of the Portuguese quickly converted this man into the apostle Thomas. It was a tradition of the church that in the divi-

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<sup>22</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and William of Malmesbury testify to the fact that Alfred sent an embassy to the Indian Christians. Gibbon is convinced of its truth, but suspects that Alfred's ambassadors went no farther than Egypt, and collected there the cargo of pearls and spices which they are said to have brought back.

<sup>23</sup> It is so improbable that he was an Armenian, that Asseman (*Bibl. Orient.* Tom. 3, pars 2, f. 442) conjectures a mistake of the word *Aramæum* for *Armenum*.

sion of the world among the apostles India had fallen to St. Thomas, who had preached and suffered martyrdom there. Among the signatures at the Council of Nicæa is that of a prelate named John, who describes himself as Bishop of Persia and the Greater India,<sup>24</sup> and it has been assumed hence that Christianity must have spread itself into India before A.D. 325. But the word India was then and for centuries afterwards so vaguely used that nothing can safely be inferred from it. Even Jerome, who wrote many years after the Council of Nicæa, uses the word to express Ethiopia. We hesitate to set down as wholly fabulous a tradition of which Neander spoke respectfully and which Bishop Heber believed; but we cannot avoid saying that to our minds the only real evidence of the truth of the tradition is the existence of the tradition, and that the only difficulty in the way of its refutation is the impossibility of proving the negative. Even the difficulty that the saint's traditional burial-place is to be found at Edessa as well as in India, has to be got over by the assumption that his body was removed from the one place to the other. It does not seem to be quite certain whether the Malabar Christians did or did not believe in this tradition before it was put into their heads by the Portuguese. La Croze assumes that they did; but his account is taken from Gouvea, the Portuguese priest, who wrote so lately as 1606; and Gouvea mentions circumstances in the history of the saint which are identical with circumstances reported by the natives as having happened to the merchant.<sup>25</sup>

As to the other Thomas, it really does appear that a wealthy Syrian colonist of that name, with the surname of Cana or Cananeo, landed at Cranganore and settled in the Malabar country, and was followed by others of his countrymen or co-religionists. He is mentioned in the Malabar histories, but the time of his arrival can be traced only conjecturally. La Croze believes it to have been before the

<sup>24</sup> La Croze, p. 44, who quotes Act. Synod. Nicæn. pars secunda, c. 28, Ἰωάννης Περσῆς τῆς ἐν Περσίᾳ πάσης, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰνδίᾳ. See also Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. p. 172.

<sup>25</sup> Wredé, in Asiatic Researches, Vol. VII. p. 362, says that the Portuguese laid hold of the name to renew the story of the arrival and martyrdom of St. Thomas the Apostle in India, and were fond of calling the Malabar Christians St. Thomé Christians, though the appellation was not then nor is now very common among themselves.

time of Cosmas Indicopleustes; that is, in or before the 6th century. Asseman, writing after La Croze, sets it down as about A.D. 800.<sup>26</sup> Whether Thomas Cana was or was not the first who took the Syrian blood and language to India, it may be impossible now to determine; but it is certain that numerous families among the Malabar Christians attribute their origin to himself and one or other of his two wives.<sup>27</sup>

These people are described by Portuguese writers<sup>28</sup> as possessing upwards of 100 villages, chiefly in the mountainous part of the southern division of Malabar, and as engaged for the most part in husbandry and trade. Their habitations were distinguished from those of the Hindoos by being solidly built, and collected together in villages instead of being dispersed. They paid a moderate tribute to the Rajahs in whose territories they lived, but in civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters obeyed their own Archbishop of Angamala (or Angamalee). When a complaint was preferred to him he appointed judges to try the case, whose judgment was without appeal, but who never passed sentence of death. They had a singular law of inheritance, which was unquestionably of Syrian origin. They paid no tithes to their clergy, but one-tenth of all marriage gifts was offered to the Church. In religious tenets they generally followed the doctrines of Nestorius, holding that the Virgin Mary was Mother of Christ but not of God, and (with the universal Eastern Church) that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only. The Cross was the only emblem in their churches, no images of saints being seen there. The language of their rituals was Syriac. Baptism, the Eucharist, and Orders, were their only sacraments. Their priests were allowed to marry. They believed in neither transubstantiation nor purgatory.

The people themselves were described as physically and

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<sup>26</sup> Swanston, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. p. 176, says that he was an Arian, sent out by Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 345. This is not the only statement in Captain Swanston's paper which a reader must take with reserve.

<sup>27</sup> La Croze blames Gouvea for leaving it in doubt whether the two wives were contemporaneous or successive. Asseman suggests that the wives may have been spiritual, namely, the two churches of Cranganore and Angamala.

<sup>28</sup> The Portuguese authors of *Oriente Conquistado* and *De Barros*, as quoted by Wredé, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII. p. 367.

mentally superior to other natives of Malabar, and easily distinguishable from these by form and complexion; also as industrious, thoughtful though uneducated, inquisitive, respectful to elders, chaste.<sup>29</sup>

Their history for some eighty or ninety years after the advent of the Portuguese is unhappily too clear. It was not long before the Roman ecclesiastics endeavoured to persuade them to exchange their Patriarchs of Babylon for the Pope. A number of petty persecutions were resorted to with this end in view,<sup>30</sup> but little effect could be produced until the Syrians began to quarrel among themselves. The Portuguese gradually got the upper hand, directly, and also indirectly through the native princes, whom they bullied or bribed. It would be unprofitable to follow their proceedings step by step. Finally, the time came—about the end of the 16th century—when, after the death of an Archbishop of the Syrians, Menezes, the able and unscrupulous Archbishop of Goa, conceived that he might call together a synod of the clergy, with full confidence in his power to control its deliberations. This synod assembled at Diamper, (or Odiampur) a town under the Portuguese. Its decrees did but register foregone conclusions. La Croze gives them at great length. Their chief interest now lies in the proof they supply of the Nestorianism of the religious opinions of the Malabar Syrian Christians, and of the general adherence of their copies of the New Testament to the readings of the Peschito Syriac version long known in Europe. Suffice it to say that, after some show of disputation, Menezes dictated the law to the synod, and the Nestorians of Malabar were to all appearance united with the Church of Rome. The close of the synod was followed by a holocaust of the Syrian liturgies and other church books.

The union was neither sincere nor lasting. There are reasons for believing that it was not general; for historical traces exist of native churches among the mountains, unconnected with Rome. To these churches it is said that some ecclesiastics found their way from Syria to the Tra-

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<sup>29</sup> La Croze, 88 et seq.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Claudius Buchanan (*Christian Researches*) asserts that some of the Syrian priests were burnt by the Inquisition at Goa. We cannot verify this statement by any other authority. The Portuguese should not be made out worse than they were. It is bad enough to burn books (which they unquestionably did), but not so inhuman as to burn priests.

vancore hills, where they revived the old doctrines and rites.<sup>81</sup> It is said, too, that some of the Malabar Christians sent secretly, not only to their old Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, but also to the Patriarchs of the Jacobites' and of the Copts,<sup>82</sup> and that the last of these sent them a bishop, who was kidnapped by the Portuguese and disappeared. It is certain that, about the year 1663, the successes of the Dutch enabled a large number of the native Christians to throw off the Portuguese yoke, and to choose Mar<sup>83</sup> Thomas, an archdeacon of their own, as their head, dispensing for a time with the apostolical succession. A considerable part of the Syrian Christians, however, remained attached to the Roman Church, notwithstanding that they had the power to leave it.

Nearly a century and a half passed by, during which almost nothing was known of the Malabar Christians. They were visited by Dr. Claudius Buchanan and others early in the present century. According to history and reasoning and everything that might have been expected, they ought to have differed from the Roman and English Churches by holding the heresy of the two natures in Christ. The English clergymen who visited them found them holding the opposite heresy of the one nature in Christ. By all that could have been reasonably looked for, they should have been Nestorians, depending on the Patriarch of Babylon, then supposed to reside at Mosul. They turned out to be Jacobites, owning a nominal allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch, residing near Mardin. The subsequent embarrassment and even consternation among puzzled divines and doctors cannot be described. We are reminded of what may have been seen in a country theatre when the magician's cap has been lifted and is found to have covered something quite different from that which there had been just reason to expect. We agree with Mr. Layard<sup>84</sup> that the cause of the change is yet unexplained; for we cannot agree with Dean Stanley<sup>85</sup> that "it was in reaction from the missionaries of Portugal that they finally exchanged their Nes-

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<sup>81</sup> Wredé, *ut supra*.

<sup>82</sup> La Croze, 357.

<sup>83</sup> It can scarcely be necessary to explain that Mar in Syriac is equivalent to Dominus in Latin.

<sup>84</sup> *Nineveh and its Remains*, I. 259.

<sup>85</sup> *Lectures on Eastern Church*, 7.

torianism for the Monophysitism of Egypt and Syria." On the contrary, the Monophysites have always been nearer to Rome than the Nestorians. Mr. Layard conjectures that there may have been from the earliest Christian period a mixture of Nestorians and Jacobites on the Malabar coast.<sup>36</sup> Of this there is no evidence. But a close examination will detect some indications given by previous authorities which render the fact of the change less improbable than it seemed at first sight. For example, La Croze expresses a suspicion that the Malabar Christians were more indifferent to dogmas than they were to ancient rites; these rites being tolerably uniform among all eastern sects.<sup>37</sup> Secondly, Wredè (though without giving his authority) describes the Syrian ecclesiastics who, as he says, joined the scattered Christians in the mountains of Travancore during the Portuguese ascendancy, as "Maronites or Nestorians."<sup>38</sup> They are little likely to have been Maronites, that Syrian sect being then in communion with the Church of Rome; nor can we conceive that Asseman, himself a Maronite, would have been ignorant of the fact had it been so. Then if not Nestorians, and yet Syrians in language, they must needs have been Jacobites.<sup>39</sup> Thirdly, Asseman distinctly says that the dissensions between that portion of the Malabar Syrian Christians who separated from Rome and placed themselves under their archdeacon, and the other part who remained in communion with Rome, appeared to the Patriarch of the Jacobites to afford an opportunity for disseminating his own error among them; and induced him to send one Gregorius, Metropolitan of Jerusalem, to India, adding that "he was the first who led to the Jacobite heresy some natives of Malabar who were detached from the Nestorian heresy."<sup>40</sup> Captain Swanston confirms this statement so far as respects the mission of Gregorius, giving 1665 as the date, adding to it that Gregorius consecrated Mar Thomas the archdeacon, whom he found ruling over the Syrian Christians.<sup>41</sup> If we

<sup>36</sup> Layard *ut supra*.

<sup>37</sup> La Croze, 358.

<sup>38</sup> Wredè *ut supra*.

<sup>39</sup> This Monophysite sect are apt to refer their origin to the apostle James; but it is well known that they take their name, not from him, but from Jacobus Baradæus.

<sup>40</sup> *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. pars 2, f. 463.

<sup>41</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II. p. 52. Dean Stanley refers (*Lectures*, p. 7) to "Swanston's Memoirs in *Journal of Asiatic Researches*,



consider further that the Syrian church-books had for the most part been burnt by the Portuguese, and that it is little probable that the Nestorian Patriarch was at any time during the last two centuries in a position to supervise so distant a fold of his flock, we shall be prepared to admit the probability of such a theological change, should the records of the Malabar churches be ultimately found to supply what is wanting in its history.

The Christians in Malabar appear therefore to be divided into three bodies :

1. The Syrian Jacobites, formerly Nestorians.
2. The Syrians in communion with the Roman Catholic Church, also formerly Nestorians.
3. The Latin Church.

Travellers sometimes seem unable to distinguish between the first two of these bodies. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, for example, asserts that the Syrians of Malabar do not believe in certain Roman Catholic doctrines or practise certain Roman Catholic rites.<sup>42</sup> Whereupon Mr. Hough rebukes him for inaccuracy, accuses them of transubstantiation, purgatory, Mariolatry, worship of saints, &c., and publishes in confutation of him translations of two of their liturgies.<sup>43</sup> We venture to think that Dr. Buchanan got among the first and Mr. Hough among the second of the three. Nor is this surprising, if, as the former says, the churches are sometimes used alternately by the two, and Syriac is the church language of both.<sup>44</sup> Bishop Heber, writing in 1826,<sup>45</sup> stated that the intercourse of the Syro-Jacobite churches in Travancore with the Patriarchs of Antioch had been interrupted for many years, and that for about fifty years past the Jaco-

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I. 129, II. 235, IV. 235, 248." We have had access to three different serials slightly resembling each other in name, viz. the "*Asiatic Researches*," 20 vols. 4to, 1799—1839; the "*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*," 3 vols. 4to, 1827—1835; and the "*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*," 20 vols. 8vo, 1834—1863. The first two of Dr. Stanley's references are evidently meant for this last publication. The third may be a repetition of his reference to the second vol., but quoting the number of the Journal instead of the vol.

<sup>42</sup> *Christian Researches*, p. 145.

<sup>43</sup> *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. IV. end.

<sup>44</sup> Dr. Buchanan brought home Syriac MSS. of the Old and New Testaments, which the Bible Society employed in printing copies of the Scriptures for the use of the Malabar Christians. See Professor J. Scott Porter's *Principles of Textual Criticism*, pp. 126, 342.

<sup>45</sup> *Journal*, II. 452.

bite bishops of Travancore had been people of the country, each prelate ordaining a coadjutor, 'cum spe successionis.' In the preceding year, however (continues Bishop Heber), certain publications in Europe, "said to be marked with scandalous exaggeration," had attracted the notice of the Patriarch to this remote portion of his flock, and induced him to send two Syrian monks, with the titles of Metropolitan and Ramban or Archdeacon. Much dissension followed, one party adhering to their native Bishop Philoxenus, and another supporting the intruder. Bishop Heber offered to mediate, and proposed to call a general meeting of the clergy, who should decide by ballot which man they would have. But meanwhile (as we learn from Captain Swanston) the intruder Mar Athanasius carried matters with so high a hand, deposing and excommunicating right and left, that the Madras Government first warned him against interference, and finally ordered him to leave the country.<sup>46</sup> This is the latest information about the Malabar Christians to which we have access.

The existence of Nestorian communities and churches in Asiatic countries nearer Persia and Babylonia admits of no doubt. Nestorianism was probably at the zenith of its power about the time when Bagdad was captured by the Mongols (A.D. 1258); and Mr. Layard gives the following list of twenty-five Metropolitan Bishops who then recognized the Nestorian Patriarch as the head of their church.<sup>47</sup>

1. Elam and Jundishapour (Susiana, or the modern Persian province of Khuzistan).
2. Nisibis.
3. Mesena, or Busrah.
4. Assyria, or Adiabene, including the cities of Mosul and Arbela.
5. Beth-Garma, or Beth-Seleucia, and Carcha (in Assyria).
6. Halavan, or Halacha (the modern Zohab, on the confines of Assyria and Media).
7. Persia, comprising the cities of Ormuz, Salmas and Van.
8. Meru (Merv in Khorassan).

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<sup>46</sup> Ut *suprà*, II. 58. An "Historical Sketch of the American Assyria Mission" published at Boston in 1866 mentions "Mutran Athanasius of Malabar" as a Jacobite bishop who had laboured at Mosul in 1842 in connection with the missionaries.

<sup>47</sup> *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. I. p. 256.

9. Hara (Herat).
10. The Razichitæ, or Arabia, and Cetroba.
11. China.
12. India.
13. Armenia.
14. Syria, or Damascus.
15. Bardad, or Aderbijan (the Persian province of Azerbijan).
16. Raia and Tabrestan (Ray, Rha, or Rhagæ, perhaps the Rhages of Tobit, near the modern city of Teheran. Tabrestan comprised a part of Ghilan and Mazanderan, the ancient Hyrcania).
17. The Dailamites (to the south of the Caspian).
18. Samarcand and Mavaralnahr (Transoxiana).
19. Kashgar and Tûrkistan.
20. Balkh and Tocharistan (Bactria).
21. Segestan (Seistan).
22. Hamadan (Media).
23. Chanbalek (Cambalu or Pekin).
24. Tanchet (Tanguth).
25. Chasengara and Nuacheta (described by Mr. Layard as districts of Tartary).

With the fall of the Khâlifate, Nestorianism began to decline. Hulagu, the Mongol conqueror of Bagdad (a brother of Kublaï-khan, of whom we have already spoken as ruler of Cathay), and his immediate successors, continued to favour it; but in the reign of Ghazan (or Kassan) (the prince to whom Marco Polo conveyed a Cathayan princess to be his wife), the great-grandson of Hulagu, a persecution of the Christians took place. It was not, however, until the Tartars (Tûrki) displaced the Mongols, that the power of the Nestorians was irretrievably lost. Timour (Tamerlane) was marked by nothing more distinctively than by his hatred of Christianity; and it was in his time (so tradition tells) that a remnant of Chaldean and Assyrian believers fled, to escape annihilation, to the highlands and fastnesses of Kûrdistan. The Patriarchate of Babylon had been successively removed from Seleucia (or Ctesiphon) to Bagdad and from Bagdad to Mosul; and at some unknown date it left Mosul for Koch-Hannes, situated in an easily defended valley near the modern town of Julamerik. The latest authentic records of the Church outside Kûrdistan

bear a date early in the 15th century, and its history within that territory is all but a blank for four centuries succeeding. We have now come down to 1840, the year in which, as we said at the outset, Mr. Ainsworth visited Kûrdistan.

That part of Kûrdistan in which the mountain Nestorians live, forms a southerly continuation of the Armenian highlands, eastward of the Tigris. The district is drained by the Zab-ala, or Greater Zab river, the Zabatus of Xenophon and the Lycus of some of the ancient geographers.<sup>48</sup> The summits of some of the mountains are said to rise to the height of 15,000 feet, but that is probably an exaggeration. The peak of Rowandiz was scaled by Mr. Ainsworth, and its elevation found, by boiling-point thermometer, to be 10,568 feet. The scenery among the hills is described as possessing all the elements of grandeur and beauty, and seems to resemble that of the Tyrol more than of any other part of Europe. The valleys are both pastoral and agricultural. The sides of the hills are cultivated in terraces, producing several kinds of grain. The mulberry, the vine, the cherry, and other fruit-trees, are plentiful. A zone of oak extends from the elevation of 1500 to that of 2500 feet, the trees above and below this range being little more than shrubs.

In the year 1840,<sup>49</sup> this district, though nominally subject, up to the Persian frontier, to Turkey, was virtually inde-

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<sup>48</sup> Polybius, l. 5, c. 51. Strabo, l. 16. Ptolemy, l. 6, c. 1. Herodotus gives the general name of Tigris to both the Greater and the Lesser Zab.

<sup>49</sup> The sources of information about the modern condition of the Nestorians are contained in the following publications :

*W. F. Ainsworth.* Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia. 2 vols. 1842.

*Dr. Moritz Wagner.* Travels in Persia, Georgia and Koordistan. 3 vols. English translation. 1856. With some difficulty we make out from the narrative that Dr. Wagner's visit was in 1843.

*A. H. Layard.* Nineveh and its Remains. 2 vols. 1849 (2nd ed.). Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. 1853.

*Rev. G. P. Badger.* The Nestorians and their Rituals. 2 vols. 1852.

And in the following publications of or relating to the American missionaries:

*Asahel Grant, M.D.* The Nestorians or the Lost Tribes. 1841. Dr. Grant preceded Mr. Ainsworth by one year in his examination of a part of the Kûrdistan district; but his unfortunate determination to make out the Nestorians to be the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel detracts from the authority which his statements might otherwise carry.

*Rev. Dr. Perkins.* Missionary Life in Persia. Boston. 1861. Historical Sketch of the Mission to the Nestorians. Boston. 1866.

Annual Reports of the American Board for Foreign Missions, to 1869.

pendent. "To the borders of their country," said the Pasha of Mosul to Dr. Grant, "I will be responsible for your safety; you may put gold upon your head, and you will have nothing to fear; but I warn you that I can protect you no farther. Those mountain infidels acknowledge neither pashas nor kings, but from time immemorial every man has been his own king." There was no general government in the country, each tribe being independent of the rest. In some valleys the Kûrds preponderated; in others the Christians. Mutual jealousy and hostility existed between the two races; but they were generally ready to unite their forces when the question came to be one of keeping the Turks out. "The country will be taken from us," was a fear strong enough to compel them to lay local and religious feuds temporarily aside.

The Nestorian Patriarch was supreme in his mountains, but exercised only a nominal control over his Persian co-religionists in the plain of Urumiyeh. These last are now almost wholly under the influence of the American Protestant missionaries. No Nestorian churches are known to exist elsewhere than in these Kûrdistan highlands and in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiyeh, all those formerly existing in Mesopotamia having placed themselves under the Roman Catholic Church. We notice the name of a Bishop of these last-mentioned churches in the list of prelates attending the Œcumenical Council now assembled at Rome.

The Christians of the mountains call themselves Kaldani, and prefer that name to the name Nestorian, which is usually applied to them by others. "Nestor joined us, not we Nestor," say they; "Nestor was the patriarch of the Greeks, not of us." Mr. Ainsworth throughout, and Mr. Layard in his first work, conscientiously called the mountaineers Chaldeans; but we notice that in his second work the latter has fallen into the use of the name Nestorian, which, in spite of their feeble protest, seems now to be universally given to them; the name Chaldean being confined in its ecclesiastical sense to the churches in the Mesopotamian plains formerly Nestorian, but now, as we have already explained, in communion with the Roman Catholics.

The liturgies of the Nestorians, so far as we can judge from the translations which have been made of them, seem

to share in both the beauties and the blemishes of other primitive liturgies of Eastern churches. They occasionally name Nestorius, and undoubtedly contain expressions of belief in the peculiar doctrine ascribed to him.<sup>50</sup> One of the many forms of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is daily recited in them. We give Mr. Layard's translation of this Creed; side by side, for the sake of comparison, with Dean Stanley's translation of the original Nicene Creed:—

*Original Form, A.D. 325.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things both visible and invisible:

And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is to say, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth—who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, and was made man, suffered, and rose again on the third day; went up into the heavens, and is to come again to judge the quick and dead.

And in the Holy Ghost.

But those that say, "There was when he was not," and "Before He was begotten He was

*Nestorian Form.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things which are visible and invisible:

And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of his Father before all worlds, who was not created, the true God of the true God, of the same substance with his Father, by whose hands the worlds were made and all things were created; who for us men and for our salvation descended from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and became man, and was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered and was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died, and was buried, and rose on the third day, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father, and is again to come and judge the living and the dead.

And we believe in one Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, who proceeded from the Father—the Spirit that giveth light.

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<sup>50</sup> Mr. Ainsworth heard them chant from their liturgy, "God never dies! Let the mouths of heretics be shut! Let the mouth of Cyril be closed! For God never dies!"

not," and that "He came into existence from what was not," or profess that the Son of God is of a different person or substance, or that He was created, or changeable, or variable, are anathematized by the Catholic Church.

And in one holy and universal Church.

We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

A comparison of these two Creeds with each other, and of both with the so-called Nicene Creed of the Church of England, would have been facilitated had we felt at liberty occasionally to substitute the synonymous English phrases of the one translation for those of the other. The Creed of the Nestorians is entitled in their books, "The Creed, which was composed by 318 Holy Fathers, who were assembled at Nice, a city of Bithynia, in the time of King Constantine the Pious, on account of Arius, the infidel accursed."

The figure of the Cross is found in the churches, and they are accustomed to make its sign; but they are averse, not only to the worship of images, but even to their exhibition. Auricular confession has fallen into disuse. Accounts differ as to the number of their sacraments; baptism, the communion and ordination, are three among these, if not all. They reject transubstantiation and purgatory.

Mr. Layard gives the following list of their eight orders of clergy :

1. The Katoleeka, or Patriarka, the head.
2. The Mutran, or Metrapoleeta, the archbishop.
3. The Khalfa, or Episkopa, the bishop.
4. The Arkidyakono, the archdeacon.
5. The Kasha, or Kesheesha, the priest.
6. The Shammasha, the deacon.
7. The Hoopodyakono, the sub-deacon.
8. The Karooya, the reader.

The clergy are permitted to marry, but it is unusual for the Patriarch to do so. The Patriarch is commonly succeeded by a nephew or other relative, the office being, as far as practicable, confined to one family. He always assumes a name answering to the western Simeon.<sup>51</sup>

The language of the church books and religious services

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<sup>51</sup> We have found it hopeless to attempt a consistent orthography of these Eastern names of either persons or places.



is Syriac, still the sacred language of other Eastern Churches. This language is not understood by the people, and sometimes not even by the priests, so that the British and Foreign Bible Society, who in 1829 printed for the use of the Nestorians an edition of the Gospels in Syriac, from a manuscript given to Dr. Wolff by Mar Yohannan, the Bishop of Urumiyeh, thereby did for the Nestorians a work about as useful as would be the circulation among the Irish of copies of the Gospels in Latin. Dr. Tregelles<sup>52</sup> and Mr. Scrivener<sup>53</sup> unite in holding that the Nestorian MSS. of the Scriptures are in the western Syriac dialect, identical with the copies used by the Jacobites and Maronites and with the Peschito version, saving only such changes in character or readings as may have arisen out of revisions with the Greek or from errors of copyists.<sup>54</sup>

The vernacular language of the people is usually described as a corrupt form of Syriac. No books, nor even writings of any kind, existed in it until the American missionaries at Urumiyeh undertook the laborious task of reducing the spoken language to a written form, adopting the characters of the ancient Syriac alphabet. The success herein of these able and devoted men is mentioned by M. Rénan as one of the most singular events in the history of the Semitic languages. Mr. Stoddard, one of their number, has more lately compiled and published a Grammar of this modern Syriac language,<sup>55</sup> a comparison of which with the forms of the ancient dialects, both western Syriac and Chaldee, by some one sufficiently versed in philological knowledge, may perhaps be the means of throwing some yet unsuspected light on the origin, not only of the language itself, but of the

<sup>52</sup> Introduction to Textual Criticism of N. T. p. 258.

<sup>53</sup> Plain Introduction to Criticism of N. T. p. 230.

<sup>54</sup> The following passage in M. Rénan's "*Histoire Générale des Langues Semitiques*," 4me ed. p. 277, appears to convey a different opinion: "La distinction du syriaque occidental et du syriaque oriental ou chaldéen, qui domine toute l'histoire de la langue araméene, bien qu'à vrai dire cette distinction repose sur des faits grammaticaux de peu d'importance, dure encore de nos jours. Le premier de ces deux dialectes s'est conservé à l'état de langue liturgique chez les Maronites et les Jacobites; le second, chez les Nestoriens, aux environs de Diarbékir et dans le Kurdistan. Les derniers renseignements venus de l'Orient nous apprennent que la connaissance du syriaque oriental se perd de jour en jour, et que les prêtres chaldéens ne comprennent plus leurs livres d'offices."

<sup>55</sup> Published at New Haven, for the American Oriental Society, in 1855.

tribes which speak it. Mr. Layard has already obscurely suggested a suspicion that this so-called modern Syriac may be corrupted from neither western Syriac nor Chaldee; but be itself the remains of the language, older than either, from which both have sprung.

The later history of these Nestorians is a sad one. In the year 1843, after some preliminary disturbances in which the Nestorians were not free from blame, three of the principal Kûrdish chieftains combined their forces and attacked the Tyari mountaineers, with the avowed intention of exterminating them. After a brave but unavailing defence, the valleys were overrun, and an immense number of their inhabitants, estimated by Mr. Layard at nearly 10,000, were massacred in cold blood, many others being carried away to be made slaves of. Mar Shimoon, the Patriarch, escaped to Mosul. Sir Stratford Canning (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), then British ambassador at Constantinople, prevailed upon the Porte to interfere; and in part by ransom and in part by threats most of the captives were released. In the year 1846, while the Patriarch was still absent, Mr. Layard made his first journey to the mountains. He tells us of his approach to Asheetha, the principal village of the Tyari district, in the following passages; which we are glad to be able to quote at length, because they convey a vivid impression of the appearance of the country:

“We left Amadiyah by the opposite gate to that by which we had entered. We were obliged to descend on foot the steep pathway leading to the valley below. Crossing some well-cultivated gardens, we commenced the ascent of the mountains through a wooded ravine, and came suddenly upon the Yilaks or summer quarters of the population of Amadiyah. The spot was well chosen. The torrent was divided into a thousand streams which broke over the rocks, falling in cascades into the valley below. Fruit and forest trees concealed the sheds and tents, and creepers of many hues almost covered the sides of the ravine. An hour's ride brought us to the summit of the pass, from which a magnificent view of the Tiyari mountains opened upon us. Ionunco (the guide) became eloquent when he saw his native Alps before him. He named one by one the lofty peaks which sprang out of the confused heap of hills; that of Asheetha and several others were covered with snow. Below us was the extensive valley of Berwari, which separates the range of Amadiyah from the Nestorian country. The valley of Berwari is well wooded with the gall-

bearing oak, and the villages, which are numerous, are surrounded by gardens and orchards. The waters of the mountain torrents collected in the valley form a branch of the Khabour, and the river is sufficiently deep during the rainy season and spring to admit of rafts being floated from Berwari to the Tigris. At that time of the year, poplars, oaks and other trees are thus sent to Mosul. The most important produce of the valley is the gall-nut, which abounds.

"Our guards would not venture into the territories of the Tiyari, and quitted us in a narrow desolate valley, up which our road to Asheetha now led. We made our way with difficulty over the rocks and stones with which the valley is blocked up, and struck into what our guide represented to be a short cut to Asheetha. After a most tedious walk, we reached the top of the pass and looked down on the village. From this spot the eye rested upon a scene of great beauty. In front rose the lofty peak, with its snows and glaciers, visible even from Mosul. At our feet the village spread over the whole valley, and detached houses, surrounded by gardens and orchards, were scattered over the sides of the mountains. To the right ran the valley which leads to the Zab." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. I. pp. 165, 172.)

Mr. Layard found the village in alarm at another threatened invasion from Bedr-Khan-Bey, one of the Kûrdish chiefs. The district of Tchoma, which had escaped the former massacre, was now to be the object of his fanatical vengeance. The men there were preparing for defence, getting their arms ready and making gunpowder. The women were burying their ornaments and domestic utensils in secure places. The priests were collecting their books and holy vessels to be hid in the mountains. On the principle, we suppose, that a wild cat in the chamber is more dangerous than a lion in the field, they had sent a deputation to the Pasha of Mosul, beseeching his protection and assistance.

Mr. Layard keeps his readers in suspense for thirty-five pages more, while describing the remainder of his tour; and just when we were beginning to hope that the poor Tchoma mountaineers had escaped, we become undeceived. 'The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold.' The Tchoma people made some resistance, but were soon overpowered by numbers. An indiscriminate massacre followed. The women—a few of the most beautiful girls excepted—

were murdered in cold blood. The principal villages were destroyed and the churches pulled down. Nearly half the population fell victims.

There have been no more massacres of Christians in Kûrdistan. The Porte could no longer resist the representations of the foreign ministers, and fitted out an expedition to punish this last atrocity. The Kûrds were defeated by the Turkish troops, and their chiefs banished to Candia. The district is now divided among the neighbouring Turkish Pashaliks, and is effectually subjected to Turkish law, and, we fear, to Turkish misgovernment.

For any later information about the condition of the mountain Nestorians we are entirely dependent on the scanty notices given in the reports of the American missionaries down to last year. With their schools and their printing-press these missionaries have done good work in the neighbouring Persian province. Not, however, without drawback ; for in both 1866 and 1868 they were compelled to seek, through the Evangelical Alliance, the help of the British Foreign Office towards making the Government of Persia fulfil its engagements and control its officials ; and the Foreign Office now professes to take an "official interest" in the Nestorians. The efforts of the missionaries among the mountains across the Turkish frontier have been thwarted by emissaries of the Church of England ; his indignation towards whom Mr. Layard does not attempt to conceal. Nothing could be more transparently well-intended, but nothing could have been more injudiciously conceived and carried out, than the mission of the Rev. Mr. Badger. In recalling him, the Church Societies who sent him out may have desired to put a stop to the mischief he was doing ; but they could not put a stop to the evil effects of the fallacious hopes he had inspired and the cruel prejudices he had excited. But a new generation is now coming upon the scene, and there is ample field in Kûrdistan both for those who would visit it for purposes of curiosity and observation, and for those who would seek its hills in order to teach and improve its people.

Meanwhile, the conditions under which we have been able to draw this present sketch have been so limited, and we have had so often to resist a temptation continually presenting itself to turn into some interesting side-path—eccle-

siastical, historical, geographical, linguistic—that we are not without hope we shall be found to have pointed the way to some one else who, having learning and leisure, may be willing to undertake the larger and fuller history which remains to be written.

W. J. LAMPORT.

# THE THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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## I.—THE SIBYL

*Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen.* Herausgegeben von Dr. I. H. Friedlieb, Professor an der Universität zu Breslau. Leipzig. 1852.

*Die Jüdische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Von Dr. A. Hilgenfeld, Licentiat und Professor der Theologie in Jena. 1857.

“THE voice of the Sibyl, although its notes be harsh and rude, penetrates to a thousand years.” Such is the emphatic sentence in which, five centuries before the Christian era, the renowned philosopher of Ephesus, Heracleitus the Obscure, testified to the historical existence of the Sibyl and the perennial transmission of Sibylline song. Herodotus and Aristophanes next caught the echo of the voice which rang with such subtle potency down a millennium of time. Following them, Plato enrolled this primæval muse in the illustrious ranks of those privileged persons who inherit the prophetic vision and faculty divine; and following Plato, Aristotle, or an Aristotelian writer, included among his wonderful reports the rumour that at Cumæ in Italy was shewn the subterranean cave of the oracular Sibyl, who, according to some, was born in that city, according to others, was a native of Erythræ. In a later day, we find Cicero declaring that, in the belief of the old Romans, the divination of frenzy or an overpowering enthusiasm was the generic characteristic of the Sibylline verses, and distinguishing between the influence from the earth that inspired the prophetess of Delphi and the natural influence

that inspired the Sibyl, and in particular the Sibyl of Erythræ. Strabo, Plutarch, Dion, Josephus, are all familiar with the Sibyl in her singular or plural capacity, for she sometimes appears as an indeterminate unit, and is sometimes resolvable into distinct personalities. Ælian, an elastic pluralist, believed in four Sibyls, the Erythræan, the Egyptian, the Samian, and the Sardian. The more decided Varro admitted ten into his catalogue. Pausanias, an expert in Sibylline lore, assures us that the first woman who sang oracles was Lamia, the daughter of Poseidon, the paramour of Zeus, the mother of Herophile. At Delphi he saw the elevated stone on which this inspired child of the Thunderer revealed the world's approaching fates, singing of the beautiful and deadly Helen while yet unborn, and anticipating, in her prophetic mood, the tale of Troy divine long ere Paris chose "the fairest and most loving wife in Greece." Though Samos, Delos and Delphi, were thrilled with the tragic utterances of the wandering Herophile, it was to the city thus foredoomed that she consecrated the last days of her prophetic career. A legend on a sepulchre, in the grove of Smintheus, commemorated the resting-place of the "melodious maiden who had been a clear interpreter of the will of Phœbus."

Of these inspired women the most renowned is the Sybil of Cuma or Cumæ. It is she whose legend is embalmed by Virgil in immortal verse; it is she, as both the poet of the *Æneid* and the singer of the *Metamorphoses* attest, counselled the pious son of Anchises, before his descent into the underworld; it is she in whose name the famous prediction was put forth which Cicero credulously whispers, and which Lucan adopts as a genuine Sibylline vaticination, warning the adventurous soldier of Hesperia not to tread the fatal shores of the Nile. It is she, too, who, in current belief, appeared before Tarquinius, in the guise of an old unknown woman "from some far region sent," proposing to sell nine books for a prodigious sum; who, when the king refused to become a purchaser, burnt three of them and renewed the offer; who, on his repeating the refusal, threw three more into the fire; and who, then demanding for the residuary volumes the price at first demanded for all the nine, so stimulated the curiosity of the repenting Tarquinius, that he willingly conceded her exor-



bitant terms, and on the sudden disappearance of his mysterious visitor, found himself the happy possessor of the precious remnant of her Apocalyptic library.

The costly volumes thus strangely acquired were filled, as men believed in Rome, with oracles pregnant with the doom of the imperial city. As such they were religiously preserved within the capitol in Jupiter's cell. Inscribed on palm leaves, they were composed partly in verse and partly in symbolical hieroglyphics, the prototypes of the leaves of the Cumæan Sibyl, immortalized by Virgil, who possibly intended a direct allusion to the external form of the old Sibylline oracles. The privilege of consulting these hallowed memorials in the critical moments of the national existence was confined to an order of consecrated men.

But however jealously protected the mystic volumes of Tarquinius may have been, they were not destined by the Providence that watched over Rome to an eternal duration. More than eighty years before Christ, the Temple of Jupiter, with its invaluable deposit, was destroyed by fire. Public and private stores were ransacked to supply the material for a new collection, and the prophetic echoes of hoar antiquity that murmured through the cities of Italy, Greece and Asia Minor, were eagerly caught up by the zeal or credulity of the officers commissioned for this purpose. Innumerable spurious oracles were subsequently brought to light, and in pursuance of an edict of Augustus more than two thousand rolls of supposititious prophecy were committed to the flames. The oracles pronounced genuine were ultimately deposited in two golden caskets within the pedestal of the statue of the Palatine Apollo. This select canon of unimpeachable integrity, as Mr. Merivale graphically designates it, was afterwards revised by order of Tiberius, and then supplemented by senatorial decree. In Nero's reign the Sibylline books were again destroyed, to be again restored. The process was repeated yet a third time in the reign of Honorius. The literary Phoenix, however destructive the fire which consumed it, invariably reappeared. Nor did the respect with which these combustible but immortal oracles were regarded suffer any abatement. To the sixth century of our era, they continued to satisfy the pious curiosity of patient interrogators. The fame of the Sibyl indeed penetrated even to the Byzantine

historians, to Tzetzes, Zonaras and others; but Fabricius, from whose luxuriant fields we glean some ears of erudition, refuses to identify the predictions which they contain with those known to Vopiscus, Dion, Suetonius and Tacitus.

What, then, it will be asked, is the Sibylline literature which the indulgent hand of time has transmitted to our own age? The entire collection of still extant oracles which bear the Sibyl's name is comprised in twelve different divisions or books. Of these, eight were edited from a Codex in the library at Augsburg by Xystus Betuleius, who, in 1545, had the honour of restoring them to intellectual day. About forty years later, Johannes Opsopæus re-issued the work, adding the important fragments which form the original proem to the Third Book. In 1828, Angelo Mai republished at Rome the so-called Fourteenth Book, which had already appeared at Milan under his auspices, magnificently supported by three new books, the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth. Finally, Friedlieb, in 1852, assisted by Keil and Gildemeister, re-edited the primary eight books of Betuleius and the supplementary four of Mai, introducing them with an instructive commentary, and accompanying them with a German metrical translation. It will be observed that the number of Sibylline books is but twelve in all, that is to say, two less than the number suggested by the titular enumeration of Angelo Mai.

This remarkable collection of ancient predictions has been subjected to rigorous and minute scrutiny. The first eight books in particular have been scanned with a severely critical eye. The general result of the careful investigation instituted by Professor Bleek, has been confirmed by the analytical labours of subsequent inquirers. In accordance with this result, the entire body of Sibylline vaticination contained in the eight books of Betuleius, is distributable among different writers of different periods, from about B.C. 200 to about A.D. 500, an interval of nearly seven hundred years. The abridgment of time proposed by Friedlieb, who places the terminus of downward composition at A.D. 350 and that of upward composition at B.C. 140, either affects an unimportant part of this singular literature, or leaves the general character of a more significant constituent precisely what it was in the chronological estimate of the earlier critic. In all that is essential, not only Bleek and Friedlieb,

but Bernhardt, Möhler, Gfrörer, Zeller, Lücke and Hilgenfeld are happily agreed.

These oracles evidently have no claim to the sublime origin which the Wise Woman of Tarquinius arrogated for her prophetic thesaurus, much less to association with the voice of the Sibyl, for which the criticism of Heracleitus suggests a date in the very "backward and abysm" of time. Of the Sibyls of the Pagan world, as of the predictions that they delivered, we have but an inadequate knowledge. Like the Velleda of the Germans, like the Miriam or Deborah of the Hebrew race, women in Greece, in Italy or in Asia, endowed with a sensitive temperament, gifted with a musical inspiration, and swayed by an impulsive fancy prone to forecast the future, under the influence of a mastering fear or exulting hope, gradually came to acquire a reputation for prophetic discernment. They were supposed to be the servants of the Deity, who, according to one derivation of their generic name, agitated and filled them with the divine afflatus, or agents selected to announce the counsel of the God; according to another etymology, the Æolic form of the word *θεός* being *σιός*. Professor Max Müller, however, discarding both these derivations, conjectures that Sibylla or Sibulla is a diminutive of an Italian word, Sabus or Sabius, meaning wise, which, although not found in classical writers, must have existed in Italian dialects. Whether regarded, however, as the wise women of antiquity, or as the chosen subjects of divine possession, or as the express interpreters of the celestial counsel, the Sibyls appear in general to have delivered political oracles of a profoundly melancholy character; to have conveyed to men the commands or prohibitions of the Gods, or to have instructed them how to avert the anger or propitiate the favour of supernatural personages. The Sibyls of Plutarch and Pausanias announced volcanic eruptions, the menacing elevation of the ocean waves, and the downfall of stately cities. Cicero and Livy confirm this view of their prophetic attributes. The few fragments of an extremely remote Sibylline composition that have survived, present the same external characteristic of hexametrical versification, and where there is any theological reference, invariably indicate a polytheistic origin. In some instances the particular prediction was coerced into the acrostic form.

The assertion throughout of a pure monotheism is one of the marks which aid us in determining the character and date of the extant Sibylline oracles, and incontrovertibly establish their Jewish or Christian authorship. "The sound and healthy feeling" (the expression is borrowed from Neander) which induced the apologists of Christianity to assume the existence of a prophetic element, not in Judaism alone but also in Paganism, had already been anticipated by their Alexandrian precursors. Thus Aristobulus, a century and a half before our era, pretending that Plato and other philosophers plagiarised their ideas from the Old Testament, proceeded to interpolate Orpheus, Linus, Homer and Hesiod, in support of his hypothesis. Thus, too, we are assured by the eminent theologian already cited, Christian fiction from the very first century after Christ added its own quota to the general mass of spurious composition, while the lamented historian of Latin Christianity declares that "nothing would be more tempting to the sterner or more ardent Christian than to enlist, as it were, on his side these authorized Pagan interpreters of futurity; to extort, as it were, from their own oracles the confession of their approaching downfall." Writings attributed to the Sibyl, accordingly, are quoted by the oldest and most distinguished fathers of the Church. The Sibyl appears to have been known even to Clemens Romanus, and the Shepherd of Hermas testifies to her influence. It is probable that in both these instances the Sibyl commemorated was of heathen descent. Clemens Alexandrinus quotes an unquestionably Pagan Sibyl, and draws abundant illustrations from her Jewish or Christian sisters. Theophilus and Justin were acquainted with the Hebrew Sibyl, and supported their views by arguments drawn from her inspiration, without suspecting the true source of that inspiration. Origen mentions the Sibyl once only, and does not cite her as an authority. In the time of Eusebius and Augustine, the Sibyl had lost much of her former prestige. There can be no doubt, however, that Justin received the artificial utterances of a Christian *falsarius* as the genuine deliverances of a Pagan prophetess. The credulity of Justin was imitated by Theophilus of Antioch, who in his address to Autolycus attributes verses to "the inspired Prophetess, the Greek Sibyl," which form the proem of our third and oldest book.

The estimation in which the Sibylline oracles were held, their influence in facilitating the reception of Christianity,\* the conviction that in the oldest of these fictitious prophecies we have undoubted utterances of the Hebrew muse, though clothed in Greek singing robes, anterior to the Christian era, and thus helping to illustrate the general mental progress of mankind, justifies the present attempt to epitomize the results of critical investigation. With Friedlieb to direct our steps through this labyrinth of prophecy, we will now glance at the contents of the Sibylline books one by one, reserving the Third Book, that of the Hebrew, Cumæan or Erythræan prophetess, for a final and separate examination.

The *First Book* of the Sibylline Oracles opens with a solemn premonition. The subject matter of the address, which celebrates the creative power of God, is borrowed from the legends of the Old Testament; but one exceptional passage occurs in it, recording the commission of Noah to preach repentance to all people, which is not a biblical incident, but an echo of a Jewish tradition recognized by Josephus and the Talmud, and noticed also by Theophilus of Antioch, who on the strength of a forced etymology identifies the patriarch with Deucalion. Still more remarkably, this missionary function re-appears in the Second Epistle bearing the name of St. Peter. With ideas derived from the Mosaic narrative, the Sibyl curiously combines the Hesiodic conception of a division of time into periods; but the number of generations which she enumerates just doubles the number of ages in the computation of the Greek poet. The sixth generation of the Sibyl is the golden age of the world, luxuriant as with the life of the primæval Eden. Adam, Eve and Noah, are placed here in close proximity with the Titans. Tartarus and Erebus alternate with Paradise and Ararat. In his Hellenizing Judaism the author endeavours to provide a common ground of religious thought for Jew and Gentile. The golden age is followed by the destruction

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\* "It must be allowed," says Mr. Merivale, "that the preaching of Christianity owes some portion, however trifling, of its success to the false pretensions of the so-called Sibylline Oracles, which form no part of its genuine credentials."—*The Conversion of the Roman Empire*. The Boyle Lectures for the Year 1864. By Charles Merivale, B.D., Rector of Lawford, &c. London. 1864.

of the seventh race. In this second constituent of the book, the imagery is borrowed from the New Testament. The advent and career of the Son of God are described, and the propagation of the new religion foretold. The book closes with the destruction of the temple. In so anti-Jewish a spirit is this particular oracle conceived, that the author stigmatizes the Hebrew exiles as seditious itinerants.

The *Second Book* is a resumption of the first. It expatiates on two great eschatological events, the moral deterioration of mankind and the triumphant establishment of the Messianic kingdom. This delineation is interrupted by the insertion of a didactic poem, consisting of ninety-three verses, modified from the hexameters formerly attributed to Phocylides, but which since I. Scaliger's time have been regarded as the undoubted production of an Alexandrian Jew, who borrowed his ideas from the Hebrew Bible. This poem is succeeded by a prophetic recital of the impressive drama to be enacted under the tenth and last race of the Sibylline Theodicy. The subversion of idolatry, the destruction of Rome by fire, the appearance of Belial or Anti-christ, the descent of the avenging Tishbite in a chariot from heaven, the inauguration of the Great Age in which the celestial City shall be established, are the solemn themes of the Sibyl's enthusiastic song. To these wild fancies might be added many other strange conceptions, serving to illustrate the traditional faith of antiquated Judaism or primitive Christianity. Thus, in one place, the quest of the Hebrews after the lost or banished tribes, is a speculation that had already attracted the author of the apocryphal *Esdras*. In another, the notion that the mystical harvest or final consummation would be announced by the cessation of human births, is clearly a popular belief of the second century; for it occurs not only here, but in Clemens Alexandrinus, and in the Gospel of the Egyptians to which he refers it. In a third place, the mediation of the Holy Virgin harmonizes with a corresponding representation in Irenæus; while the Purgatory sanctioned in another passage shews that an extreme antiquity may be pleaded in support of this anti-Protestant speculation. We must not, however, conceal that the argument is somewhat precarious; for it is precisely to the date of our first and second books that the chronological difference of view between Bleek and Friedlieb has its

principal application. Both critics are agreed that the two books, which are closely united in one ancient manuscript, are a continuous production, manufactured from an older prophetic rhapsody by a Jewish Christian, who added, omitted and interpolated, as fancy dictated or religious prepossession inspired. Agreeing thus as to the general character of the composition, they unfortunately differ as to the time in which it first appeared. Friedlieb, arguing from internal evidence and fairly accounting for the absence of historical testimony, refers it to the beginning of the third century A.D. at latest. Bleek, on the other hand, finding no patristic citations in its favour for the first four hundred years after Christ, places it as low down as the middle of the fifth century. With Friedlieb we accept the earlier date.

Postponing our comments on the Third Book, we note the decisive attitude which the Sibyl assumes in the *Fourth* vaticinatory address. It is not, she asserts, as a prophetess of Phœbus, but as an inspired emissary of the true God, that she reveals the secrets of futurity. Invested with this sublime function, she pierces the historical vista with her mental eye, surveying the progress and decline of the successive empires of Assyria, Media, Persia and Macedonia, and announcing the subversion of the last of the four by the Italian king who inaugurates the supremacy of Rome. As she glances from earth to heaven, she varies the subject of her song, now threatening Samos and Delos with an earthquake in verses known to Tertullian; now predicting an extension of the silver waves of the Pyæmus to the holy island of Cyprus, in the words of an old oracle quoted by Strabo; now menacing Salamis and Paphos with the inundation recorded by Eusebius, when, in A.D. 71, Vespasian still swayed the destinies of the Roman world; and now foretelling the earthquake in Italy and the eruption of Vesuvius, which, eight years after, were distinguishing incidents in the reign of his illustrious successor. In this passage of her wild descant, the Sibyl depicts the return of the wicked Roman king, that is of the Emperor Nero, in whose continued existence or mysterious impending revival contemporary enthusiasts unhesitatingly believed. In chronological association with this preternatural re-appearance is placed the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, a



synchronism which necessitates the inference that the composer lived about that time. In fact, the Fourth Sibylline Book, with the exception of some earlier verses, is the production of the first century of our era, written just ten years after the Apocalypse of St. John, and, according to Hilgenfeld, reflecting the Jewish form of the legend which has its Christian embodiment in the vision of the rapt apostle; for that the fifth king of Revelation xvii. is none other than Nero has been shewn almost to demonstration by Baur, Zeller, and other approved theologians. Still further to establish the correctness of this chronological determination, the return of Nero as Antichrist occurs in close conjunction with the fall of Jewish nationality and the predicted inundation in Cyprus. Quoted by Justin Martyr in his *First Apology*, and afterwards by Tertullian and Clemens Alexandrinus, this section of the Sibylline Oracles enjoys the sanction of the highest historical authority.

The saga of the return of the matricide king is repeated in the *Fifth Book*. Announcing herself as the sister of Isis, the Sibyl begins her prophetic dirge with a description of the calamities that await Egypt. From the fall of Memphis she passes to the war between Persia and the country of the Nile, denouncing a mysterious king from the West and his impious enterprise against the City of Blessed Men. The verses (115—178) portraying the return of Nero and the ruin of Rome were unquestionably written in the first century of our era. The correspondence of the execution with the designs announced at the commencement, demonstrates the unity of authorship of the entire book,—a unity but little affected by the occasional incorporation of archaic oracles in the original text. Whether the work of a Christian, as Bleek supposes, or of a Jew, as Friedlieb contends, it at all events emanates from the pen of an inhabitant of Egypt, familiar with its idolatrous ceremonial, acquainted with the temple of Leontopolis, destroyed at nearly the same time as that of Jerusalem, and ingeniously availing himself of the imagery supplied by the signs of the Zodiac, as particularized in the *Phænomena* of Aratus.

The *Sixth Book* may be despatched almost in a sentence. Consisting of twenty-eight verses only, it is neither more nor less than a hymn to Christ as the Son of God. It was known to Lactantius, Gregory Nazianzen and Augustine.

From its notice of the apocryphal tradition that a fire illuminated the place where the Saviour was baptized, and the heretical fancy that Christ, the offspring of the Dove with white wings, was first united with the man Jesus on that occasion, we may infer that it was composed in the second century.

The *Seventh Book* is a conglomerate of old and new oracular deliverances, the opening verses being borrowed from the First Book. The expulsion of Apis from Egypt marks the reign of Hadrian. Its doctrine of angels resembles that in the Shepherd of Hermas, and the three towers, built for the incarnate God by the great Heaven, and tenanted by Hope, Piety and Holiness, recall a similar representation in the third vision of that feeble though not uninteresting allegory. The fire-baptism of Christ points to an Ebionitish source. The picture of the general conflagration, the substitution of a new and happy world for the old sinful world thus destroyed, the restoration of the privileged people, and the Messianic kingdom, evince that its author was a Judaizing Christian, who probably wrote in the second half of the second century.

In the *Eighth Book*, an acute critical analysis has detected a medley of nine different pieces. The first and second, in which occurs the myth of the ever-appearing Nero, are referred by Friedlieb to one author. Some echoes of Apocalyptic prediction, with the announcement of the reign of a woman ushering in the Messianic period, imply a Christian origin of some of the constituents of this book, or at least a Christian modification of earlier documents. At the commencement of this heterogeneous composition we have clear allusions to Hadrian and his adoptive sons. The fifteen kings whom it enumerates are the fifteen emperors of Rome, from Cæsar to Hadrian inclusive. With the belief in the return of the wicked king Nero, we find in close combination the belief in the return of the fabulous Phoenix. The fourth advent of the warning bird had given distinction to the reign of Tiberius; the fifth was to be coincident with the destruction of Rome. The numerical value of the letters which compose the name of that city is 948. As the Sibyl makes the three significant events, the return of Nero, the fall of Rome, and the re-appearance of the Phoenix, synchronous with the termination of the sixth royal race,

that is with the race of Hadrian and his three successors, and as A.U.C. 948 corresponds with 196 or 194 A.D., when Septimius Severus was master of the Roman world, we are warranted in fixing the composition of the Eighth Book to one of the closing years of the second century.

The *Ninth Vaticination* is a long historical recital in the guise of prophecy, displaying the fortunes of Egypt and other countries in which the Jewish people were interested. In the epilogue, the Sibyl, indignant that she can obtain no credence among her compatriots, threatens to leave Egypt and fly to Phocis, of old the sanctuary of Apollo. Since the Romans are represented as still in possession of the territory between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and since they ceased to retain it after the time of Hadrian, we may assign the date of composition, with unusual certainty and precision, to the period A.D. 115—118. Its author was a Jew, residing in Egypt in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian.

The *Tenth Book* is indebted for its exordium to the Fifth. Its principal theme is the succession of Roman Emperors from Augustus to Septimius Severus. The portrait of Nero, as the expected Antichrist, resembles that in a previous book. The eulogium bestowed on Marcus Aurelius, the recognized persecutor of the Church, Friedlieb attributes to ignorance, natural in a writer who lived probably about the middle of the third century.

The *Eleventh Book* is an historical resumé. Flitting from Arabia to Palestine, the Sibyl descants on the dangers that menace Rome from the invasion of the German and Gothic hordes, and foretells the return of the Roman fugitive, who with uplifted sword and with myriad allies shall pass the Euphrates and waste Syria with fire. This book is the production of a Christian. An apparent allusion to Valerian fixes its date a little below A.D. 260.

A similar expansion of Roman history is repeated in the *Twelfth* and last division of our Sibylline volume. It anticipates the restoration of the Jewish monarchy, and was evidently fabricated by a Jew, for it recognizes the duty of propitiating God by sacrificial observances. It was perhaps written in the third century.

We approach the central region of Sibylline song. But before we enter on our promised examination of the *Third*

*Book*, we will recapitulate the evidence which has convinced careful critics that we have in this interesting little work the genuine production of a Jew living in the Maccabæan period. When we first come upon the track of the Jewish Sibyl, it is under the varying appellations of the Persian, Chaldæan or Hebrew prophetess that she presents herself. Alexander Polyhistor, who wrote in the troubled times of Sulla's dictatorship, quotes the story of the Tower of Babylon, which was blown down by a miraculous wind, as a Sibylline communication; and Josephus, towards the end of the first century of our era, cites the same legend in nearly the same words in which it is related in our Third Book. The verses which follow the citation form an appropriate, natural and coherent sequel; and a little further on occurs a description of the "white and many-headed power from the western sea," an evident allusion to the Roman senate of the republican period, at once confirming the antiquity of our Sibyl and supplying an independent indication of the proximate date of composition. A few lines on we gain another chronological landmark. In the reign of the seventh king of Egypt, a revival of former prosperity is promised to the people of God, which here, as in the second Isaiah, is portrayed as a collective missionary, with all mankind as the object of its religious labours. This representation points to the later period of Ptolemy Physcon, when the Jews, under the conduct of Simon the Maccabee, recovered somewhat of their former social and political importance. The invective against Homer which we find about the middle of the poem, in which he is stigmatized both as a mendacious writer and a plagiarist, borrowing his inspiration from the books of the indignant prophetess, that is from the sacred writings of the Jewish people, was ascribed to the Erythræan Sibyl by Apollodorus, himself a native of Erythræ, a city of the Ionians. According to Lactantius too, from whom we derive this statement, Varro, the contemporary of Cicero, reckoned the Erythræan as the fifth of his ten Sibyls, identifying her with our interpreter of futurity by descriptive marks having their correspondents in the delineations of the rhapsody before us. The same ancient Father professes to quote verses both from the commencement and from the end of "The Erythræan Sibyl," and these verses we find in the fifth and sixth verses

of the famous proem preserved by Theophilus, and in the 774th line, at the end of the Third Book. In all, Lactantius cites seventeen verses from this introductory address, fourteen of which he expressly assigns to the Erythræan Sibyl, while by numerous other extracts which are scattered over his pages, he affords abundant proof that he attributed the authorship of the entire work to the same Ionian prophetess. In particular, he invites attention to the still extant conclusion, in which the Sibyl complains that, though really born in Babylon, men would call her "The Erythræan." That the now detached proem was originally a constituent part of the work, may also fairly be inferred from a remark of Clemens Alexandrinus, which connects the Sibyl's testimony to the unity of the Divine Nature, the principal topic of the proem, with what is plausibly held to be the apocalyptic sequel of the Third Book. Justin, too, or the unknown author of the "Exhortation to the Greeks," cites unquestionably from the same source some verses which seem to have formed a part of a well-known hymn to "God the Omnipotent," and one of which is quoted by Lactantius as from the Erythræan prophetess. Lastly, Theophilus of Antioch, who has inserted in his treatise to Antolycus the prefatory fragments of which we are speaking, has inserted also the legend of the wind-laid Tower, and his language warrants the conclusion, though he does not explicitly assert, that he referred both the story and the proem to the same inspired authority, that is to the Sibyl of Erythræ. An additional argument for the pre-Christian origin of the composition is supplied by the interpolatory prediction in which the poet, connecting the Roman rule in Egypt with the advent of the Holy King, announces a Roman war, under the presidency of three Latin men, meaning Antonius, Octavius and Lepidus, and makes the dissolution of the elements coincident with the imperial sway of a luxurious and extravagant widow, visibly Cleopatra, thus indicating a period immediately preceding the battle of Actium as the date of this exceptional prophecy. From the close of this paragraph at v. 96, to the termination of the poem at v. 817, the whole of the Third Book, was composed by a Jew, warm with the glow of Messianic expectation, and domesticated in Egypt, in the Maccabæan period. In it we have the undoubted utterance of the Erythræan Sibyl, with whom Varro and Poly-

histor before Christ, Theophilus and Athenagoras after Christ, were familiar, and whom Lactantius preferred to all the prophetic notes. If we deduct the later additions, prefix the proem as it was originally written, and allow for the verses that have dropped out, our book would doubtless contain the "nearly thousand hexameters" computed by Lactantius, since in its present imperfect form it numbers nine hundred and five.

The "Jewish Sibyl," thus authenticated, had, as Hilgenfeld has conclusively established, its origin in appropriate historical circumstances. It professes to be a revelation of the future, and is a branch of that apocalyptic literature of which the prophecy of Daniel is the primary and cardinal illustration. With the canonical seer, as with the Sibyl, the field of view includes the victorious struggle of Judaism with Greek civilization. But whereas in Daniel the Greek race is the object of invincible and final antipathy, in the Sibyl the antagonism between the Hellenic and Hebrew mode of thought is softened down. The new prophetess is not a Palestinian, but an Alexandrine diviner; for the Jew in Egypt had already learned to assimilate his monotheism to the Greek speculative type. Accordingly the Sibyl, borrowing from Hellenic sources and assuming a natural belief in the Divine unity as the primitive faith of mankind, proclaims a religious universalism, accommodating the spirit of old Hebrew prophecy to the rhythmical movement of an extraordinary ambassadress of Apollo. The Sibyl, a mythical personification of the free priesthood of nature, but not a formal official of the Pythian God, was, from this very independence of sacerdotal obligation, the most suitable organ of a conciliatory mission that an Alexandrine Jew could select. Differing in external characteristics from the purely Jewish apocalypse of Daniel, the Sibyl differs also in the selection of the historical horizon travelled by her prophetic eye. In the order of time she is a step in advance of the canonical seer. In her day the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Syria had been seriously weakened, while the Jewish people had partially reconquered their freedom and independence. The Messianic expectation had also lost much of the extravagant character which it had assumed in the earlier period. From the conquests of Achaia and Macedonia by Rome, and the ex-

tension of the power of that great republic in the East, the political prophet was justified in anticipating the downfall of Hellenic supremacy. It is at this crisis that the Sibyl steps forward, as a representative of the primitive religious sentiment common to all mankind, before the monotheistic descendants of the patriarchs were formally separated from the idolatrous members of the human family.

The Sibyl commences her prophetic effusion with a direct invitation to the polytheistical constituent of the race to acknowledge the sovereignty of the only Creator and exclusive Ruler of the world. In the recognition of a deity that, dwelling in all men in a common light, serves all as a guide or discriminating principle, Zeller has detected the influence of Stoical speculation.\* In the Sibylline predicates, proud, carnal, mortal, applied to the adorers of Greek or Egyptian divinities, Gfrörer finds evidence of Philonian or Alexandrine derivation. Is God declared by the Sibyl to be invisible to flesh? He is also declared by Philo to be invisible to flesh. Does the Sibyl describe God as unbegotten, or as abiding in pure ether? Philo has already described God in similar terms. Another trait that indicates the geographical position of the prophetess, is the denunciation of animal worship. The superhuman pride which Philo stigmatizes as an outrage on Deity, was the incentive to rebellious aspiration, typified in the starry tower which the winds overthrew, and in its penal consequence—the diversity of languages—the direct occasion of the dispersion of mankind, the apportionment of earth, and the formation of separate monarchical communities. By an ingenious use of this legendary material, the Sibyl facilitates the transition from the confining atmosphere of Hebrew orthodoxy to the freer air of Hellenic thought. In the tenth generation after the flood, sings our euhemerizing poetess, the excellent children of earth and heaven, Kronos, Titan and Japetus, were the acknowledged monarchs of the world. The peaceful sway of the good Saturn had a miserable contrast in the dissension between the Olympians and Titans which succeeded that joyous prime. The one true God, carefully distinguished by the Sibyl from the deities

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\* Die Philosophie der Griechen. Dritter Theil. Zweite Abtheilung, s. 228-9.



of polytheism, took part against the Titans, and on the ultimate extinction of the two contending races called into political existence the leading monarchies of the world, Persia, Media, Macedonia, Rome, &c. Thus by converting the pagan gods into human and terrestrial kings, a connection between the Biblical narrative and the Hesiodic theogony is secured, and a transition from the recital of supernatural transactions to actual history rendered possible.

The Sibyl has now won her appropriate chronological standing-point. She has for her field of prophetic vision, Egypt, Macedonia and Rome. In three separate movements she traverses the entire circle of history. Her first excursion (v. 162—294) introduces us to the cardinal nations of the contemporary world, the Greeks, the Romans and the Jews. Against all three a divine judgment is threatened. The punishment for the Greek or Macedonian empire is to succumb before the growing energy of republican Rome. The punishment for the people once ruled by the great Solomon is to see its splendour fade in the light of the same conquering power. The punishment for Rome, the insolent victor, is the ruin which will befall it in the days of Egypt's seventh Hellenic king. The royal personage here intended is Ptolemy Physcon, not indeed at the commencement of the joint reign with his brother Philometor, but after his assumption of undivided empire at Philometor's death, an assumption which had as one of its most striking concomitants the revival of Jewish consequence described in the text. This chronological distinction has been amply vindicated by Hilgenfeld. In its acceptance consists his second deviation from the data laid down by Bleek. The difference, however, though it has interesting results, does not vitally affect the general question, as it simply advances the time of composition by twenty or thirty years, or from B.C. 170—160 to B.C. 140. On another critical point which arises in this division of the Sibyl's song, we agree with Bleek against Hilgenfeld, that the original of the king sent from heaven is not the Messianic Prince, invested with the attributes of David, but the conquering ruler from the East described in Isaiah. The picture is retrospective, and Cyrus is the presiding genius of the Persian period.

Here ends the first prophetic excursion of the Sibyl. It is introduced with a brief preface, a sort of formula of con-

secration inaugurating the mission to which she is appointed. The second series of predictions has a similar preface (295—448). The idea of a divine compulsion which the subject of this exhausting inspiration struggles in vain to escape, harmonizes with the genuinely Hebrew character of the work. Forced to discharge the duties of her sacred office, the Sibyl proceeds with her disclosure of futurity. As before she commenced with Judæa, so now she commences with Babylon, whose mythical tower was made the starting-point of her historical survey. Having recounted the calamities prepared for the men of Babylon, the destroyers of the temple, she turns her fatal eye on Egypt, announcing dispersion, death and famine, in the seventh royal generation, and so betraying an acquaintance with the corresponding sufferings of the ancient land of the Pharaohs in the second period of Ptolemy Physcon. Then, kindling into anger at the thought of the cruel avarice of Rome, she predicts that her insolent outrage and oppressive character shall be dearly expiated by the rapid realization of the old and cherished dream of Asiatic empire. By a bold personification, recalling the imagery of the Apocalypse, she assimilates the city community of the great republic to a voluptuous maiden intoxicated with pride at the thought of her numerous lovers. The golden daughter of Latin Rome, cries the Hebrew Cassandra, shall be wedded like a slave without bridal ornament, and be shorn of her delicate hair, as a meet reward for her evil life. After picturing the happy interval that succeeds the fall of Rome, the Sibyl retraces her steps, and, as it were from the watch-tower of a remoter period, she sees the freedom of Asia menaced by the bastard brood of Zeus, that is by Alexander, the pretended son of Jupiter Ammon, and his companions in arms. The progress of the conqueror, the extension of his dominion over all lands on which the sun shines, succeeded by as sudden a decline and fall, are sketched with a few hurried but vigorous strokes. Turning to Syria, one of "the late-born children" of the perished empire, the Sibyl descries a man coming into Asia, wearing a purple mantle, wild, fiery, with strange notions of right, and swift as lightning in his movements. This personage we at once identify with Antiochus Epiphanes, the central figure of Daniel's Apocalypse, who, arriving unexpectedly from Rome, took forcible pos-

session of the Syrian throne. We cannot, however, in this place further trace the fortunes of Antiochus, or sketch the destinies of his own or of his brother's line, neither can we pause to unravel the tangle of Sibylline prediction in which they are described. A key to the cipher will be found in Hilgenfeld's *Jüdische Apokalypik*. Assuming the correctness of the German critic's interpretation, we derive from this group of predictions an independent and exact determination of the time of composition, for the historical allusions relate to events which fell in the interval B.C. 142—137.

After a brief rest, the Sibyl again resumes her prophetic excursion, the final and third stage of her progress, like the initial and intermediate stages, being marked by a formal official exordium (v. 489). Having given a hurried glance at the fortunes of Phœnicia, Crete, Thrace, and the half-fabulous countries of Gog, Magog, Marson and Aggon, the Sibyl arrives at the central subject of her new poetical flight, the approaching fate of Hellas. Hellas, she announces, shall be conquered by a barbarous people, a prediction verified in the Roman subjugation of Achaia, B.C. 146; and this disaster she regards both as a punishment for Hellenic confidence in human power and military skill, and as an incentive, not to the Greeks only, but to all mankind, to return to the old primitive religion, faith in one God who made heaven and earth. The conversion of Hellas is represented as the indispensable prerequisite to the extinction of war, pestilence and slavery. By this anticipated installation of the worship of the true God we are transported into the ideal region of Messianic felicity. The organ of the religious reform so earnestly desired, is a holy race of men, faithful and honoured exponents of Mosaic legalism, and more particularly, perhaps, a prophetic corporation, selected from this privileged community, to be the diffusers of a universal joy. Thus in the Sibyl, as in Isaiah, an ideal Israel is the divinely authorized missionary, whose piety and purity of life will so favourably impress the nations addicted to an idolatrous ceremonial and profligate habits, that they will cease to adore their hereditary deities, and adopt the exclusive worship of the immortal Father. Returning again to her permanent chronological pivot, the reign of a seventh Hellenic king, the Sibyl predicts the invasion and destruc-

tion of the realm of Egypt through the agency of an Asiatic prince, once more placing before our eyes the formidable oppressor of the Jewish people, Antiochus Epiphanes. Almost, but not quite, contemporaneous with this catastrophe is the arrival of the Hebrew golden age ; for the two events are not so closely conjoined, but that the announcement of the Messianic theocracy, following the invasion of Egypt, may be understood as a summary anticipation, susceptible of that amplifying refinement which it actually receives—thus justifying the position of Hilgenfeld, that the expected celestial triumph is to be dated, not at the commencement, but at the end of the seventh Ptolemy's reign. The signs which herald the approach of this majestic revolution are detailed by the Sibyl in language that recalls the phraseology of the New Testament ; for then, she exclaims, king shall lead king captive, nation destroy nation, and rulers their people. At this crisis a supernatural interposition shall redeem humanity. The mysterious drama of the Messianic age shall be unfolded. God shall send a King from the sun, or it may be from the East, for it was the EAST that in popular belief, based perhaps on this very vaticination, was to attain to imperial power, and it was from Judæa that, according to the Roman historians, the future lords of the world were to come, in fulfilment of old and constant tradition, or of prophecy preserved in sacerdotal books. This Prince from the orient, this Monarch from the sun, not acting on his own counsel, but confiding in the divine decrees, is destined to overcome all his enemies. Partly by victory in battle, partly by prudent alliance, he shall triumph over all opposition, make war impossible, and glorify the world with an everlasting peace. In no distant day, continues the patriotic Sibyl, the people of the great God shall recover their pristine splendour, and, kindling at the thought, she sketches the magnificent future that awaits the favoured nation ; but in the very midst of this brilliant anticipation the vision of the Sibyl darkens ; for the siege of Jerusalem, as in the synoptic Gospels, is here made coincident with the appearance of the Messiah, though the capital of the theocracy, here, as in the Apocalypse, escapes the ruin denounced in the pathetic recital of St. Luke. It must be accepted as a conclusive proof of an earlier date, that in our Alexandrine romance the Temple, the

special object of the enterprize of the pagan kings, is found uninjured at the end of the siege, while in the synoptics its destruction is absolute and entire. The prodigies which precede or accompany this extraordinary display of divine energy, by which the threatened danger was averted, recall the corresponding portents of Josephus, Tacitus and the evangelical narrative. Combining the delineations of two different but related passages, we read of fiery swords that fall from heaven or are seen there in the night, towards sunset or before sunrise ; of the disappearance of the sun at mid-day ; of moonbeams that suddenly fall to the earth like drops of blood ; of warriors fighting in the clouds, like shadowy hunters pursuing the chase ; of the trembling souls of men ; of the shaken earth, the affrighted sea, the rent and opening mountains, and the ghastly exposure of the dark abode of the dead. The agency by which God defeats the allied princes, enthroned in pride and offering their wicked sacrifices in sight of the beleaguered city, is a destructive tempest, with fire and brimstone, hail and flood. With this supernatural exhibition of the strife of the elements is combined a military demonstration, and the cry of the men that perish by the sword, no less than of those that perish in the storm, goes through the earth, which drinks the blood of the slain. This is the only "latter-day" retribution that the Sibyl recognizes. With her the final judgment is a purely secular retribution. While in the proem she menaces idolaters with eternal hell, and promises the faithful eternal life in the blooming garden of Paradise (which St. Luke, too, knows as the dwelling-place of the happy dead), she has no literal arraignment of criminals before the divine tribunal, no resurrection of the body, no judicial formality separating the evil from the good—in short, no "Last Judgment." In an analogous spirit, the extravagant fancies of a general conflagration and renewal of the earth, entertained by the older Jews, are represented by our Sibyl in the softer outlines and with the subdued colouring of an Alexandrine versifier.

As the most promising agent of Jewish restoration, the Sibyl turns a wistful eye to Greece, entreating her not to abandon herself to the arrogant consciousness of imperial power, but to repent of her idolatry, embrace the true religion, that she may participate in the expected prosperity,

and to send to the city, which is ever in her thought, the people that want wisdom, the exiles from the holy land of God. In the anticipation of this conversion the Sibyl sees the realization of her dearest hope, and predicts the advent of the "great day," of the beginning of happy times. Transported into this age of imaginary bliss, she describes the miraculous fertility of the earth, revels in the vision that rises before her of corn, wine, fruit, sweet honey, drink from heaven, kine, lambs, goats, fountains of white milk, and all the fair commodities of city or of field; pictures the glorious age of the majestic and universal peace, when there shall be no sword, no tumult, no earthquake, no drought, no hail; salutes the holy hour in which the Immortal who dwells in the starry heaven shall give a common law to all mankind; shews us the new subjects of the eternal kingdom hastening from every country with frankincense and all costly gifts, as offerings at the only shrine at which future generations shall kneel; traces the steps of innumerable travellers by field and shore, or watches the vessel of the voyager as it bounds lightly over the wild waves of the sea; and finally, with this magnificent prospect of national restoration and universal felicity before her, breaks into the rapturous cry, "Rejoice, O virgin, and be glad; for He that created heaven and earth hath given thee eternal joy."

Thus the Sibyl approaches the end of her dream in verse; but willing still to linger on the golden morrow of her hope, she includes even the wilder and lowlier members of the animal world in the beautiful circle of Messianic influence, painting with idyllic pencil the wolf grazing with the lamb, the leopard feeding with the kid, the lion and the ox eating straw from the same manger, infants and serpents sleeping carelessly together, and young children binding and leading in fearless security the tenants of forest and of field.

In all this poetic detail the spirit of the old Hebrew prophet revives, and we hear echoes from Isaiah's song murmuring in the verse of his Alexandrine imitator. But mingled with these musical reverberations from a national past, a classical under-tone haunts our memory, as long centuries ago it haunted that of the eloquent Lactantius, when, struck with the resemblance of the Messianic time to the Saturnian age, he compared the Greek hexameters of our Sibyl with the Latin ones of Virgil's fourth pastoral, the

notes borrowed from the song of Cumæ with the strains of her sister of Erythræ. Was the same melodious interpreter of the future known under different names? Can Virgil's "Cumæansong" have been our Sibyl's verse? We can scarcely doubt it. The same characteristics are found in both. In our Sibyl, as in Virgil's Pollio, we have the "last time," the beginning of a new period, the offspring from heaven, the reign of justice, the peaceful earth, the fruit, the honey, the milk, the serpent, the lion, the fearless flocks, and the exultation of the world in the glories of the coming age. External indications corroborate internal evidence. Plutarch and Clemens Alexandrinus name the Erythræan Sibyl Herophile; and Herophile is the name given by Varro to the Sibyl of Cumæ. Clemens, too, calls our Sibyl the Hebrew Sibyl, and, correcting what he conceives to be Virgil's error, accredits the prophetess of Erythræ with the poetic light ultimately borrowed from Isaiah's glowing strains. In describing Babylon as the birthplace of the Sibyl, Justin adds that she prophesied at Cumæ; and as our Sibyl affirms that, though miscalled Erythræan, she was born at Babylon, it seems a fair inference that the three names indicated the same prophetic personage. In Germany, Friedlieb and Hilgenfeld regard it, the first as certain, the second as highly probable, that Virgil's description of the golden age was suggested by kindred delineations in these Sibylline leaves. In England, the learned Milman admitted that it is by no means impossible that the Pollio of Virgil may owe many of its beauties to the Alexandrian versifiers of the Hebrew prophets; and Merivale, the candid historian of "the Romans," makes a still nearer approach to the truth when he says, "the glowing language of the fourth eclogue breathes some portion of the spirit, while it appropriates every image of the Messianic predictions, and points to the Sibylline oracles as the medium through which the biblical imagery found its way into Virgil's verse." Thus, while illustrating old Alexandrian speculations, embodying Jewish conceptions modified by Hellenic influence, serving as the authoritative sanction of ideas which afterwards became popular, this remarkable production of the second century before Christ derives an adventitious charm from the reflection that it is in all probability the original of the Cumæan



song which, through the musical murmurs of the Latin poet, vibrates like "a strain of higher mood."

W. M. W. CALL.

NOTE.

Since writing this paper on the Sibyl, we have read with interest Dr. Hilgenfeld's critique of M. Alexandre's new edition of his *Oracula Sibyllina* in the Academy of February 12, 1870. In this critique he defends his chronological position against the assault of M. Alexandre, contending that the "Jewish Sibyl" contains distinct indications of an origin about 140 B.C. Thus in v. 316, &c., we meet with the bloodshed caused by Ptolemy VII. at the conquest of Alexandria. The comet, portending sword, famine and death, and the destruction of great generals, was the same which Seneca (*Natur. Quæst.* vii. 15) mentions shortly before the Achæan war, B.C. 147. The generals spoken of will be Perseus of Macedonia, Hasdrubal and Critolaus, the general of the Achæan league. The tribute levied by the Romans in Alexandria and Asia (vv. 349, 350) is explained by the appearance of Scipio Africanus Minor in Asia about B.C. 142. In answer to M. Alexandre's assertion that the *Proœmium* was written by a Christian, A.D. 79 or 80, Hilgenfeld refers to the expression "holy hecatombs," v. 21, and the doctrine of the indwelling spirit, so evidently non-Christian. As regards the fourth book, to which M. Alexandre ascribes a Christian origin, and which, as we have seen, was composed soon after the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79, Dr. Hilgenfeld is of opinion that it is decidedly Jewish. In v. 161, it is not Christian baptism, but the lustrations of the Essenes, which are recommended. "The blessing before eating and drinking, v. 25, &c., is still purely Jewish; the rejection of bloody sacrifices, Essenian. As a record of Jewish Essenism this prophecy is important. It contains also the first anticipation of the return of Nero (vv. 119, &c., 137, &c.), but in a Jewish form, without Nero's death and resuscitation, as I have lately shewn in the *Zeitschrift für Wissensch. Theologie*, 1869, i. 435." We may add, that besides referring to 1 Clem. c. 51, Dr. Hilgenfeld appeals to the sermon of Peter (and of Paul), edited in *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*, Vol. IV. p. 60, for a recognition of the Sibyls as prophets of the one God and of future events.

## II.—THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN NATIONAL EDUCATION.

NOBODY can be much surprised if so ingenious and elaborate a measure as the Elementary Education Act, 1870, fails to give entire satisfaction to every section of the community. Nor can any Ministry be blamed if, in their attempt to overcome the many difficulties in the way of a great scheme of National Education, they have still left some knotty problems to be solved by a future Parliament, perhaps by a future generation.

It is the object of the present paper to shew, first, that such a problem exists ; and, secondly, to shew how it may be solved. The problem is, how the people of this country can teach their children those doctrines and articles of religion which they believe to be true, without prejudice to the equal rights of all religious denominations. That such a problem exists, and that it is not a mere abstract question undeserving the attention of practical men, scarcely requires demonstration. The frequent discussions in the House of Commons on those portions of the Act which relate to religious teaching sufficiently evince its existence. The "religious difficulty" is even a stock phrase in the controversy. There is not the smallest reason to believe that this difficulty is now settled. Large classes of the nation, so far from being satisfied with the measure that has been passed, have received it with extreme discontent and with a vehement protest. These classes are not likely to rest in their opposition to those sections to which they take exception. The charge of wantonly disturbing what has just been determined by the wisdom of Parliament will of course be brought against them. But, considering that they conscientiously believe a principle of the highest importance to the national weal to be violated by this Act, they can afford to disregard this accusation. In no way are they bound to remain quiet under an alleged injustice, more especially an injustice against which they earnestly protested before it was committed. The problem therefore exists, and will necessarily again engage the attention of statesmen.

We have now to consider how it can be solved consistently with the equal rights of the several denominations,

and also, it should be added, of individuals who do not belong to any organized denomination at all. And, first, it may be assumed that it is recognized by all parties to this debate to be a desirable object that children should receive some religious instruction. Even those who may call in question the utility of such instruction, do not deny that if parents wish their children to receive it, it is proper that this wish should be carried into effect. The dispute turns, not on the propriety of religious teaching in itself, but on the propriety of any compulsory payment in order to provide for it. Again, we may assume that all are willing to recognize the equality of the several denominations before the law in the matter of education. Even if Conservative politicians do not universally admit this claim, no Liberal could openly maintain that he wishes to establish inequality among sects, without evincing a flagrant disregard for the past history of his party. If the Education Act creates any inequality, it must be because Liberal statesmen have failed to observe all the deductions which legitimately flow from the doctrine of equality, not because they disavow that doctrine in itself.

Religious education, then, and religious equality are the ends to be secured. The difficulty arises when we come to consider the means of securing them. And here (overlooking minor subdivisions) we find the public divided into two great parties. The one maintains that in order effectually to secure the end of religious education, the State must permit it to form a part of the instruction regularly given in the national schools.\* The other contends that wherever schools are supported by compulsory payments—whether in the shape of general taxes or of local rates—it is unfair to apply any portion of the funds thus raised to the purpose of religious teaching, because such teaching must, in their opinion, always be sectional ; that is to say, must be in accordance with the views of a section of the contributors to such funds, but not of the whole body. And since they deem it incompatible with justice to promote the particular opinions of a part of the community by means of taxes levied upon the whole, they arrive at the conclusion that no species

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\* This term is used here, and in the following pages, to designate the new schools brought into existence by the late Act and supported by the agency of local rates.

of religious instruction should be permitted in any schools but those supported by voluntary contributions.

It is the object of the following remarks to adduce a few considerations in favour of this latter opinion. And, first, it is somewhat strange that the promoters of the Elementary Education Act never seem to have realized that they were imposing a real disability upon a minority of the people by permitting the embodiment of religious lessons in the authorized work of the national schools. Parents who dissent from the doctrines taught are supposed to be completely protected by the permission to withdraw their children from these lessons. They are in fact protected exactly as the Nonconformists were in the case of church-rates by the freedom they enjoyed to stay away from the parish church. No sound argument can be urged against a church-rate which does not apply with equal force to an education-rate applied to religious purposes. Nay, the case against the latter is far stronger; for the clergy might with some show of reason urge that, so long as Parliament saw fit to uphold a National Church and an authorized form of worship, it was but fair that the expenses of this Establishment should be borne by the nation at large, and not merely by its own members, like the expenses of a Dissenting sect. But no such vantage-ground exists in the case of the national schools, for the religion taught in them is not to be that of the Church alone; it is not to be one which the people, by their representatives in Parliament, have stamped with their approval; but it may vary indefinitely at the pleasure of local authorities and individual masters. Now, whatever others may feel, we for our part, if we are to be forced to contribute to the propagation of doctrines which we conscientiously disapprove, would greatly prefer that the doctrines should be those publicly avowed in well-known documents accessible to all by the National Church, rather than those which a majority of our own parish or district may happen for the moment to approve of. In the former case, at least we know what we are about, and the authority which imposes the obnoxious creed upon us is the highest in the realm. In the latter, an obscure local body, probably of limited information and narrow views, is empowered to tax us for the support of dogmas of which no official statement is to be found, and the nature of which will be very imper-

fectly known. A serious disability will then be imposed on dissenting parents (the word dissenting being used with reference to the religious teaching of the school), for they will contribute as much to the common fund as others, but they will not obtain the same advantages. For, in the first place, their children will receive only secular, while those of conforming parents receive both secular and religious education. And, in the second place, if they desire religious instruction as well, they will be obliged to seek it elsewhere, at their own expense, while conforming parents obtain it in the school, at the expense of the public. A like disability will be imposed on dissenting ratepayers who are not parents. They will be rated for the support of a faith they do not hold, while conforming ratepayers will be rated only for the support of a faith they do hold. The latter, moreover, will be privileged to teach their faith at the general expense ; while the former, if they wish to teach their faith at all, must do so at their own. If these privileges on the one side, and disadvantages on the other, do not constitute religious inequality, it is hard to say what does.

Nothing can be further from the character of the present Government than any disposition to persecute ; yet the principle which underlies these provisions of their recent measure is precisely the principle on which persecution is defended. For persecution justifies itself by a fear, or at least a suspicion, that religious truth cannot be left to take care of itself, that it requires the patronage and protection of temporal governments, and that complete liberty would be dangerous to its existence. And what else is the meaning of the common notions that Government ought to be religious ; that it is right to maintain a State Church ; that it is well to guard by legislation against the admission of infidels to university offices ; that if the State took no notice of religion, its character would be degraded by its restriction to mere duties of police ? The real meaning of all this is, that Religion ought to be upheld and strengthened by the use of physical Force. For what other advantage does a Government enjoy over individuals, or associations of individuals, but its command of Force ? Obviously none. Private societies can and do combine, with the utmost success, to establish places of worship, to preach, and to inculcate by every means in their power their views

of religion. But they lack one thing which the State possesses, the power of compelling others either to conform to their doctrines or to subscribe to the expense of their dissemination. And those who maintain that the State should have a religious character, practically intend to say that this power which it alone enjoys should be employed for the benefit of that form of belief to which they themselves adhere. The cry against secular national schools is a cry for the assistance of the physical Force of Government in teaching certain doctrines of religion. If this be not the kind of assistance expected, what is it? Private effort can establish Sunday-schools and day-schools as well as Government, and can teach in them whatever faith it pleases. No one proposes to curtail this liberty. Why then is private effort insufficient for the purpose? Surely there can be but one reason: because private effort cannot levy a compulsory rate for the maintenance of its schools; cannot, that is, make use of Force to attain its ends.

This tendency to make the power of the civil magistrate subservient to the attainment of religious ends was once universal in Christendom, and indeed its parentage may be traced back far beyond Christian times to a very early period in the history of the Jews. The sanction it gave to the employment of Force in behalf of the national faith is repeatedly signalized by the most eminent modern historian of the Hebrew nation as the radical and inherent defect of ancient Judaism. Doubtless the methods now in vogue for upholding religion by Force are widely different from those that found favour in former days. From the summary massacre inflicted by Elijah on the Hebrew Nonconformists to the rate inflicted on those in England by Mr. Forster, there is a very considerable step. That Christians should have discarded torture in favour of taxes argues an immense advance. But it would be a still further step to abandon even taxation for the purposes of religion, and to rely exclusively on moral and spiritual agencies for the production of moral and spiritual results.

That those who refuse to put their trust in moral and spiritual agencies alone are nevertheless right to a certain extent, is perfectly possible. It is hardly probable that Christian nations would so universally have adopted the principle of Force, had there been no foundation whatever

for the belief that Force was advantageous to particular opinions. That the rapid advance of the Mahometan creed was due in no small degree to the warlike methods adopted by its adherents will scarcely be denied. Christianity would not have been driven from the field in Africa, in Syria, and in a large part of Europe, by the merits of the Koran alone, without the help of the sword and the tribute. But it does not follow that because Force is often successful we ought to adopt it, even though we have abandoned the sword and retained only the tribute. For what is the real result of these violent means? Special beliefs, particular denominations, sectarian views of religion, may gain by them, not indeed permanently, but for a considerable time, perhaps even for centuries. But it is not the Truth which gains, though the Truth may lose, and that very seriously, by having Force opposed to it. The real interests of Truth, and therefore the real interests of Religion, are best served by the most absolute freedom.

The Education Act is one more of the numerous measures (most of them now repealed) which have been enacted at various times in this country with a view of giving special advantages to opinions held by the majority for the time being to be the truth as revealed in Scripture. The partizans of the Act, indeed, endeavour to escape from this conclusion by an ingenious device. The instruction to be given in the national schools is, they tell us, not to be sectarian. It is to have a kind of universal character, being confined to those doctrines which are common to the several denominations, while carefully avoiding those that are special to any. So far has this view been pushed, that the Government have actually consented to embody the following extraordinary provision in their Bill: "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." A more futile safeguard it would be difficult to imagine. The master is prohibited from using catechisms or formularies distinctive of any denomination, but not from teaching the doctrines which those catechisms or formularies contain. He may inform the children that a belief in the existence of the Trinity is indispensable to salvation; but he must not do this in the words of the Athanasian Creed. He may explain the nature of the Sacraments of Baptism and the



Eucharist, in the sense of the Church Catechism ; but he must beware of clothing his thoughts in its familiar phrases. This sub-section was, in fact, added under the influence of a most unreasonable abhorrence of catechisms and formularies, combined apparently with a vague but unfounded impression that it was more liberal or more consonant with religious equality to teach directly from the Bible. Now, considering for how many centuries Christians have made the Bible an object of unceasing study, yet how continually and how widely they have differed as to its proper meaning, how even now they are so far from having arrived at any agreement about it that every day brings forth fresh interpretations, it cannot but be admitted that formularies of faith have still a useful function to fulfil. They sum up, in a short and convenient form, the spiritual experience of more than one believer and more than one generation of believers. They present us in definite words—free from that impenetrable obscurity which we have seen attaches to the words of Scripture—with the particular interpretation which those believers and generations of believers have determined to be the right one. It would certainly appear, then, as if nothing were to be gained by leaving the master to express again in his own way that which in all probability has been better expressed by others. If the doctrines he desires to teach be contained in some catechism or formulary accepted by one or more of the sects, he may as well be permitted to use it ; while if they be not contained in any, it is obvious at once that the prohibition is useless.

Perhaps it will be said that the object of the Government was to render the religious teaching as wide as possible, so that Churchmen and Dissenters might both benefit by it, while those tenets of either party which might cause offence to the other should be carefully excluded. To a certain extent this end can be attained. Many dogmas are common to the Church and to a considerable portion—sometimes nearly the whole—of the Protestant Dissenters. But it is altogether misleading to argue that because several sects are able to unite in teaching certain things, therefore that teaching is unsectarian. Whatever meaning may properly belong to this very indefinite word, it is evident that, for the purposes of this discussion, that teaching only is un-

sectarian of which not *some* only but *all* denominations can approve. That a doctrine is held in common by Wesleyans and Episcopalians would not make it less sectarian in the eyes of Baptists or Quakers if they happen to repudiate it. To them the teaching in which that doctrine is embodied is, for all practical purposes, sectarian teaching. The exclusion of formularies does not save them from the disability formerly alluded to, of being compelled to pay for that which they do not receive. Neither does it save them from having to provide for themselves that part of their children's training which the children of others obtain at the public expense. Still, it must in candour be conceded that if the plan contemplated by the Government be carried into effect, the nature of the instruction given will be such as to render it available both to Churchmen and to the majority of the Dissenters. But this, while it may make the injustice less glaring in appearance, does not make it less real. Many persons seem to think that if an oppressed minority be not large, the oppression itself does not matter. Yet in such a case as this it is no consolation to the excluded sects that they are the smallest, the poorest, the most scattered, and therefore the least able easily to provide religious education for themselves. Nowhere will there be a Unitarian school, nowhere a Quaker school, nowhere a Jewish school, supported by rates. Formerly it was the Church of England alone which used to claim unjust and unequal privileges as against Nonconformists. Now it is a combination of Churchmen with the more powerful Nonconformist sects which claims and enforces them as against the weaker sects and against individuals who stand aloof from all sects. It is a melancholy incident of this controversy that some at least of the Protestant Dissenters—not, it is to be hoped, worthy representatives of the general body—have accepted this Act with satisfaction. It is the unhappy tendency of religious bodies to demand only toleration and liberty as long as they are weak; but so soon as they have acquired sufficient strength, to be content with nothing short of the exercise of power. From this general tendency the Dissenters in question are evidently not free. Henceforth we shall be better able to appreciate their language when they declaim against the monopolies still enjoyed by the Established Church. The patronage of the State is

odious in their eyes when it is extended to a form of Christianity which they disapprove ; but let it be employed in favour of a form which commends itself to them, and they are ready to welcome and applaud it.

Strange as it may seem, the name of religious liberty itself has been invoked by the opposite party in this controversy. How, it has been asked, can you refuse to allow the people to have religion taught in the schools? Is it not an interference with their reasonable liberty to prevent them from reading or teaching the Bible? Why should this Book be the only one excluded from the national school? The notion that under a secular system the Bible would be the only book excluded from the school, implies so complete a misapprehension of the question at issue, that any attempt to render it intelligible to those who reason thus would probably be a failure. So far from the Bible being the only book which the advocates of secular schools wish to exclude, it is the only one of its kind which the advocates of religious schools wish to include. What other work can be found in which the date, the authorship, the meaning, the historical accuracy, the general trustworthiness, the moral tendency of the several parts, are all matters of keen and widespread controversy, yet which it is proposed to use as text-books for the instruction of children? Would it be right to teach science from text-books which eminent scientific men declared to be inaccurate? Or history from works which were pronounced by some, at least, of the ablest historical inquirers to be ill-informed and totally misleading? Or the literature of a nation on the principle of deciding dogmatically the authorship of all works considered by critics to be doubtful, without even telling the children that such doubts exist? Yet this is what we do in the case of the Bible. Now it is not because we deem a knowledge of the Bible to be unimportant, but, on the contrary, because we think it of the deepest importance, that we protest against such a mode of dealing with it. And so far from making a special exception in order to keep it out, we should wish to exclude all books that are either controversial themselves or the subjects of controversy, except, of course, when they are read as literature, without any demand being made upon the belief of the pupils.

Why, then, it may be asked, may not the Bible be read

as literature? Doubtless it well deserves to be studied, if only for its literary beauties; but those who clamour for religious teaching would be shocked indeed if the children were only taught to admire these. What they contend for is, that it should be taught in a controversial spirit. Half-educated local bodies, called school boards, are to decide absolutely, as if gifted with the Papal attribute of infallibility, that a particular view of the infinite number of difficult questions raised by the study of the Bible is to be impressed upon the children, and that they are to be kept in ignorance as to the very possibility of any other view. And these decisions of the infallible school boards are to be supported by taxation levied upon the whole district over which they preside. Let us take a few instances to shew how the system will work.

It has been said that the date of some of the books of Scripture is matter of dispute (of course we mean the approximate date, as the exact date can never be fixed). Now it may be assumed that the schoolmaster will duly conduct the children through the narrative portions of the Pentateuch. But will he lead them to suppose, in direct opposition to the opinion of critics, that the whole of this work was written at one time, and that the most ancient time in the history of Israel? If he did, the popular judgment and the school board would no doubt support him, but those who have given the longest and deepest study to the text would be altogether against him. And the children, believing naturally that the master was well-informed as to the subjects of tuition, would be led to the false conclusion that the extreme antiquity of the whole Pentateuch was absolutely undoubted. If the date of these books is disputed, it follows that the authorship is too. On this point very divergent opinions prevail; and perhaps one thing only may be confidently asserted, namely, that no competent critic would for a moment dream of attributing their composition to Moses. Yet it is believed that the old tradition of Mosaic authorship is still clung to by many persons in England. If they should be strong enough to obtain majorities in the school boards, the unfortunate children will learn as an unquestionable fact that the first five books of the Bible emanated directly from the inspired pen of the venerable legislator. And this is only one of the many

cases of doubtful authorship. Probably they will also learn, in opposition to the plainest evidence, that the whole of our book of Isaiah was the work of that prophet; or that the fourth Gospel and the book of Revelation were both written by one man, and that man the apostle John, though both these opinions are rejected by eminent scholars. Again, it is well known that the historical accuracy of both Testaments, in so far as they contain history, is called in question by men no less learned than parochial school boards are likely to be. Esther and Daniel, for example, are treated by Renan and other writers as moral romances, by no means relating to real facts. Here they are considered as valuable fragments of history, and it may be supposed that the children will be duly impressed with this doctrine. Other portions of Jewish history have not escaped doubt; and even if the doubt be unfounded, it ought at least to be made known that it exists.

Turning from these exterior difficulties to those, more formidable still, which beset interpretation, we shall find if possible still stronger reasons for refusing to entrust any temporal power with the decision of such matters and the right of enforcing their decision. Let us look at the question of Messianic prophecies. This question would probably be acknowledged by all learned divines to be full of difficulties, yet the knot of these difficulties is to be cut by schoolmasters who have never attempted to unravel it. In Genesis xlix. 10, for instance, the words, "until Shiloh come," are interpreted as a reference to Christ, and the marginal references in the Authorized Version plainly point to this interpretation. Yet Ewald, perhaps our highest authority on matters of Hebrew scholarship, says that no competent judge would thus understand the words, which are generally admitted to be mis-translated. But school boards and schoolmasters do not read Ewald, and perhaps would not profit by it if they did. Englishmen in general live in the happy conviction that they, by perusing the Bible in their own language, are rendered quite as fit to pronounce authoritative judgments upon its meaning as men who have devoted long years of labour to the original text,—possibly, indeed, rather fitter, since they are less likely to fall into those dangerous heresies which unhappily are so often the fruit of learning. Let us glance,

then, at a difficulty of another kind, which we may all decide for ourselves without any recurrence to students of Hebrew. Masters will doubtless tell their pupils that the words which Moses wrote on the stone tables were the words of the Decalogue. No one is likely to accuse them of treating the Pentateuch as unhistorical if they do; yet this common opinion is in direct contradiction to the book of Exodus. That book does indeed say that Moses, at the bidding of Jehovah, wrote ten commandments on the two tables of stone; but these ten commandments, which it quotes at full length (Exodus xxxiv. 1—28), are not those contained in the Decalogue.\* The same book, in quoting the ten commandments of the Decalogue, does not say that they were written on tables of stone. Deuteronomy, indeed, differs, at least in appearance, from this account, and if it were a secular work would be held to contradict it. It represents Moses as saying that the Lord wrote the words of the Decalogue on two tables of stone and delivered them to him. Which version should a schoolmaster adopt? And if the latter, which harmonizes with the prevalent belief, why is the authority of Exodus to be so totally disregarded?

If it be imagined that the New Testament would give rise to fewer of these difficulties of interpretation, a little reflection must dispel such an illusion. Is it desirable, for instance, that a master should infer from the parable of Dives and Lazarus the dogma of an everlasting condemnation of the wicked to hell fire, to which so many persons, including even members of the Church of England, strongly object? May he or may he not found upon Mark xvi. 16, an argument for the necessity of baptism and belief to salvation, thus inferentially condemning the Baptists, whose unbaptized infants must be inevitably damned in case of their death? May he or may he not, relying upon certain texts, teach the doctrine of Predestination, or, relying on the words of Christ at the Last Supper, inculcate belief in the Real Presence? With no sort of truth can it be said that these are questions which do not concern children, and are unlikely to be brought before them. Predestination is emphatically taught in the Shorter Catechism, which Scotch

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\* This discrepancy between Exodus and the popular belief did not escape the acuteness of Goethe, who signalized it in one of his earliest writings, "Zwo wichtige, bisher unerörterte, Biblische Fragen," written in 1770-71.

children learn ; and Roman Catholic children are most certainly instructed to believe in the Real Presence. We cannot exclude such dogmas without placing the most embarrassing fetters on the freedom of the teacher. We cannot admit them without allowing the school to become completely sectarian.

Difficulties of interpretation, however, are by no means the gravest that will encounter us. Questions of morals are raised by some portions of Scripture which certainly do not admit of easy solution. The moral tendency of some passages of the Old Testament is open, to say the least, to considerable suspicion. But any doubt whatever as to the moral character of a book used in schools demands the most careful consideration. Is, then, the national schoolmaster to take no count whatever of such doubts, however respectable the quarter from which they emanate?

Now if individuals or private societies alone concerned themselves in the instruction of children in Scriptural knowledge, the varying views they might take as to the sense of this or that passage, the date and authorship of this or that book, would not concern us. But when the interpretation of Scripture is conducted by Government officials, paid by taxation to which we all contribute, the matter assumes a very different aspect. For we are now bound to inquire, Are the theological doctrines which will be taught in our national schools under the name of religion likely to be in the main true? Now the popular opinion on the various critical points to which reference has been made may be altogether right. Still it is opposed to the judgments of very eminent foreign scholars who have every right to be heard. That a private master, employed by his own sect, should utterly overlook foreign scholars, would be a matter of indifference to us ; but that officials, employed by the State to teach the Bible, should pass them by, is disgraceful to the country. It implies an assumption of knowledge, on the part of our public servants, of subjects concerning which they are in reality extremely ignorant. As public servants they bring discredit on the nation which employs them. This objection would hold good even on the assumption that the biblical critics are utterly mistaken, and that the English sects are in possession of perfect truth. The opposite assumption is far more fatal to the



**Act.** It would convict us of deliberately teaching as indisputable facts, at the general expense, by means of public officials, things which the enlightened and well-considered judgment of the ablest inquirers in Europe has pronounced to be fictions.

Yet even this danger is one from which it is impossible, without extraordinary self-confidence, to believe ourselves altogether free. Everybody knows what extraordinary and, as it now seems to us, puerile superstitions prevailed not long ago among the most advanced and civilized European nations. Everybody knows too that at the present day, if we pass beyond the limits of Europe, we find all the rest of the world (excepting countries colonized by the European race) entertaining beliefs and upholding forms of religion which we know to be utterly erroneous. Nay, even the largest part of Europe itself is given up to forms of Christianity which Protestants believe to be full of the grossest errors and the most ignorant superstitions. Looking, then, to the condition of the world both in the past and the present, it is impossible not to admit that there is an antecedent improbability of a very high degree against the supposition that religious truth is the exclusive inheritance of that little section of mankind which is alike Christian and Protestant. Yet this is the position we must take up if we desire the Government to charge itself with teaching religion. Our assurance that we, and we alone, have arrived at the truth must be so complete as to induce us not merely to propagate our own creed, but to propagate it with the full strength of the nation and by the agency of national funds. Yet surely, if every religion but our own is admitted to be full of falsehood, there is at least the gravest presumption that we shall be employing the full strength of the nation in the propagation of falsehood. To deny this inference, is to assume—utterly without grounds—that we alone have escaped the effects of the general liability to error which is the attribute of the human race.

The method by which this danger may be avoided is simple. Let the sole teaching permitted in the national schools be that which is known as secular. Let religious teaching be conducted by those whose natural sphere it is, the parents and the religious bodies. Whatever these may teach their children will then be plainly understood by all

to rest upon no higher authority than the belief of the particular person or association by whom the instruction is conducted. The nation will be in no way involved in the errors of individuals.

Scarcely any solid objections have been urged against this system, except perhaps these two : first, that the feeling of the country is opposed to secular schools ; secondly, that religious instruction is of vast importance, and that under a secular system it would not be given. With reference to the first, it may be briefly answered that if the feeling of the country is really opposed to secular schools, we must of course wait for their adoption till the feeling of the country has changed ; but that the alleged hostility probably arises from a misapprehension of the real character of the secular plan. With reference to the second, it is not denied that religious instruction is very important. So also it is important that Dissenters should be provided with good men to conduct their worship, and good buildings to worship in ; but Government does not supply them with these requisites. Moreover, if religious instruction be really of such vast importance, and really cannot be obtained but with the aid of the State, why do we not supply it to the Jews, the Unitarians, the Society of Friends, the Mormons, the Peculiar People, to all of whom it must be no less essential than to the favoured sects ? That religious instruction would not be given under a secular system cannot be conceded, for it would be the business of clergymen and ministers of religion to see that it was given. But suppose there were reason to fear that it would not, surely the argument addressed to dissentients on the score of this fear is rather singular. " We believe," our opponents say, " in certain doctrines which you reject and repudiate. You tell us that if we wish to teach these doctrines, we should do so at our own expense. But we reply that if we were not allowed to teach them in the national schools, to which you also contribute, we should be unable to teach them at all. Therefore you will at once perceive the necessity of laying you under contribution for the support of these doctrines which are odious to you, which you deem altogether false, and which we well know that you would not support unless you were compelled by law to do so. The fact you allege, namely, that you also have a faith which you desire your children to acquire, and which you will

be left to impart to them by your own voluntary exertions, while at the same time you are helping to teach ours, is nothing to us. Our faith is the right one, and yours is the wrong one; besides, we are the great majority of the nation, and as we tell you that we cannot teach religion at our own cost, it is only fair that you, the small minority, should pay in part for the maintenance of our belief, and altogether for the maintenance of your own."

Such an argument may pass muster now; it is to be hoped, however, that when the rights of minorities are better understood, it will not be admitted as a valid plea. Imperial Parliament should have nothing to say to the complaint of religious denominations that they are unable, without its aid, to accomplish their own special work of training up the infants born in their ranks in the doctrines they happen to believe. If the existing denominations are unable to do this work, others, inspired by a more zealous faith, will arise in time to take their places. The utmost they can fairly demand—and this ought to be conceded—is, that the whole available time of the children should not be occupied in secular tuition. That concession being made, the sole remaining duty of the nation is to stand aloof, looking with calm and unswerving indifference on the struggles of the numerous religious parties who divide the public, and who all profess to have discovered the certain road to everlasting life.

AMBERLEY.

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### III.—THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE ARYAN NATIONS.

*The Mythology of the Aryan Nations.* By the Rev. G. W. Cox, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1870.

THERE are few subjects at once so fascinating and so repellent, so important and so obscure, as the traditional beliefs of the fathers of modern civilization. On some soils and in some respects they assume a form so charming, that they have furnished to art and poetry themes whose attrac-

tion has been constant and only too forcible. At other times we find them disfigured by a coarseness and brutality that tempts us sometimes to ask in wonder if nations, whose thoughts of the Divine assumed such forms, must not have been wholly strange to the guidings of the moral sense. Sometimes we fancy we can gain from them frequent hints upon the moral and intellectual condition of the people among whom they originated; that if they are of little service for the history of events and facts, they are at least of essential help for the history of the human mind. But then, again, we find ourselves utterly baffled when we attempt to conceive the condition of those who invented the stories of the Indian, the Greek, or the Norse mythology. How comes it that the legends of the gods and heroes are filled with the details of atrocious and revolting crimes unknown to the men of the historic ages? We may be willing to lay all the stress that criticism can fairly ask of us upon the fact that the Greeks were essentially an unmoral, if not an immoral people; that the Indian imagination, like the Indian soil, runs riot in a profusion of wild exuberance; that the nations of the North, constantly struggling with Nature in its sternest and most forbidding forms, became themselves rough and pitiless. But still the question must press itself upon us, what were the origin and meaning of the myths, what their proper position in the history of human development? These questions have long engaged the attention of scholars, and, as might have been expected, the most various and contradictory schemes of interpretation have been framed with the utmost ingenuity, supported by the widest learning and defended with the most vigorous tenacity. The uneducated accepted the whole mass of myths, or at least that portion of them which happened to be known and current in their own locality, with a simple unquestioning faith which, in the words of M. Maury, *veut sans cesse de nouveaux faits, qu'elle puisse croire*. The philosophers, unable alike to reject them *in toto* or to accept them as they stood, solved the difficulty by infusing into them an allegorical meaning, which afterwards could be drawn forth as the original purport of the story. It was not till a period of waning faith and unscientific scepticism, that Euhemerus applied to them his pseudo-historical method. By rationalizing explanations he at-

tempted to bring the mythical stories within the range of historic credibility, and gave out the result as objective truth. According to this school, Jupiter was an early king of Crete; "Æolus, the god of the winds, became a mariner, skilled in predicting weather; the Cyclopes were a savage race inhabiting Sicily; the centaurs were horsemen; Atlas was a great astronomer, and Scylla a fast-sailing filibuster." This method of criticism is carried to its legitimate extent in our naive and amusing old friend Palæphatus, and has not been without followers in modern times. The Abbé Banier devoted six volumes to a discussion of the "Mythology and Fables of the Ancients as explained from History," and made it his object to "prove that notwithstanding all the ornaments which accompany fables, it is no difficult matter to see that they contain a part of the history of primitive times." The writer of a singularly worthless article on Mythology in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gravely informs us that Jupiter, Juno, Mercury, Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, Neptune, Minerva, and the other descendants and coadjutors of the ambitious family of the Titans, left Phœnicia, "we think," in the days of Moses, settled in Crete, a large and fertile island, and from this region made their way into Greece, where "the deluded rabble insisted on paying them divine honours." Instances of this extreme kind are happily rare; one would have thought them by this time confined to the manuals of mythology in use in third-rate country girls' schools; but the principle which underlies them is found often vitiating able and ingenious speculations. There is, indeed, something very tempting in the hope of being able to arrive at some credible residuum after the rejection of all that is evidently fabulous; and no small number of scholars would still cling to the belief in a siege of Troy, with the interposition of gods and goddesses, the legends of speaking horses, and perhaps the exaggerated numbers, omitted. Yet there is no more surely established canon of evidence, whether historical or judicial, than that "*le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable*." The possibility, or even the plausibility, of a story affords no ground whatever for our believing it, independent of the evidence on which it rests. To use Mr. Grote's apt instance: if it is asserted that on the day of the battle of Plataea rain fell on the spot where

now New York stands, we reply that nothing is more likely, but that, however likely a fact may be, we need some proof before we can accept it. A witness who has been shewn to be untrustworthy by making several incredible assertions, does not at once recover our confidence by stating something which is possible. We have precisely the same authority for believing that Hector was killed by Achilles, or that Priam entered the Greek camp to ransom the body of his son, that we have for believing that ichor flowed from the arm of Aphrodite when pierced by the spear of Diomed. One of the most satisfactory parts of Mr. Cox's work is that in which he examines and refutes the views of Col. Mure and Professor Blackie as to the Trojan war. Following here in the footsteps of Mr. Grote, he is able to shew most clearly that the results of these modern Euhemerizers rest upon pure assumption, and that their arbitrary demands upon our credulity are quite unwarranted. The whole of this pseudo-historical method is founded upon a presumed "verifying faculty" which gives new results to every new critic, each as much and as little to be trusted as the last. Mr. Grote's words remain, as far as this method is concerned, as true as ever, that with regard to a Trojan war, "without Helen, without Amazons, without Ethiopians under the beautiful son of Eos, without the wooden horse, as the possibility of it cannot be denied, so neither can the reality of it be affirmed." Whether a new method of inquiry will lead us to more trustworthy results, we shall have to consider further on.

But side by side with the system of Euhemerus a different method was being pursued. As the one had attempted to determine the historical basis of the myths, so the other, conceiving them to have been the invention of early wise men, made it its object to discover the moral and spiritual lessons which they had been intended to convey. Some of the members of this school held that the inventors had purposely disguised their meaning, in order that the mysteries of their sacred wisdom might not be divulged without their own consent. Others thought that the mythical method had been adopted to convey physical, metaphysical and spiritual truths in the language best fitted to the capacities and needs of the time; but that afterwards the esoteric meaning was forgotten by all but an illumined few.

Both these views were known to the later Greek philosophers; and one of them, Metrodorus, went so far as to resolve "not only the persons of Zeus, Hera and Athene, but also those of Agamemnon, Achilles and Hector, into various elemental combinations and physical agencies, and treated the adventures ascribed to them as natural facts concealed under the veil of allegory." The excesses to which this tendency was pushed by the Neo-Platonic school are familiar to every student. In later times the learned and voluminous work of Creuzer (*Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*) was written to shew that under the Greek mythology lay a deep, mysterious wisdom, due to an Eastern priesthood, who had veiled under legends their monotheistic religion, and removed the veil only for those who were initiated into the mysteries. But this theory was refuted with equal learning and a far superior intuition by J. H. Voss in his "*Anti-Symbolik*," and Lobeck in his brilliant "*Aglaophamus*." Indeed, the whole allegorical method of interpretation must always be unsatisfactory. It rests as much as the pseudo-historical method of Euhemerus upon the arbitrary judgment of the individual critic, and is essentially incapable of scientific verification. One scholar may assert that a myth is the allegorical expression of a certain doctrine; another may find in it quite another: what test can be applied to decide between them? Sometimes, indeed, the allegorical method of interpretation furnishes so ready a solution, that we can hardly help adopting it; but at other times, as Mr. Grote has pointed out, it cannot be employed without great violence. The general result of all the many previous discussions of ancient mythology is shewn by the position taken up by this distinguished historian a quarter of a century ago. This appears to have been somewhat strangely misunderstood by Mr. Cox. Mr. Grote is very far from maintaining that allegory or personification will furnish a real explanation of the whole of the mythology. Still less would he be willing to be considered merely an historian of outward facts, and one who did not care to trace the history of the human mind. It is perhaps the crowning merit of his magnificent work that it does give us a picture of the thoughts and mental methods of the Hellenic race, fuller and more complete than any which we possess in the case of any other nation.



His method of dealing with the myths may be, we believe is, inadequate, and so far unsatisfactory. But his own authority, supported as it is by the hearty adhesion of Mr. Mill, is quite sufficient to claim a careful statement and examination of his theory in any work that deals with the subject of mythology. The two main points on which Mr. Grote insists are, the readiness with which narratives purely fictitious will acquire ready and uninquiring credence, provided only they be plausible, and the tendency of any feeling, sufficiently fervent and widely diffused, to find expression in fictitious narratives. He has shewn, in an admirable discussion of a story told by Goethe about Lord Byron, the manner in which such myths originate, and the causes which give them currency. But what he has not shewn is just that which is of most importance in determining the origin of the Aryan myths, i.e. the origin of the primary conceptions round which myths so readily cluster.

It is perhaps hardly needful to do more than mention the theory which is supported by Mr. Gladstone with all his wonted eloquence and earnestness. This would ascribe the vast mass of Hellenic legend, with all its inconsistencies and frequent repulsiveness, to the perversion of a divine revelation imparted to Adam. We may admire the patience and ingenuity needed for the elaborate discussion of the attributes of the various Olympic deities in the "Homeric Studies" and the "Juventus Mundi." But no principle is held more firmly by the vast majority of scholars than that of development. We find it utterly impossible to believe that Messianic ideas, whose growth can be traced through every stage of the Jewish literature, should have been known in all their fulness long before that nation had any separate being. Mr. Cox had no very difficult task in clearing away this theory from his path; but he has done his work with admirable thoroughness and completeness. Whatever interpretation of mythology may prove to be the correct one, it has been shewn abundantly that it cannot have arisen from the sinful corruption of an elaborate and pure revelation.

It may seem that hitherto little or nothing had been done towards the solution of the problem. This is not exactly the case. It was something that the historical, the allegorical and the symbolic systems of interpretation had been weighed in the balances and found to be wanting.

But, as with every science, the destruction of a false hypothesis did not fail to leave behind it some residuum of established truth. The various myths were collected, grouped and analyzed, with at least partial success. The comparative method had been to some extent employed, and Welcker had done good service in shewing that the myths must be studied individually, and not as parts of some imaginary system which never had had any real existence. The materials were accumulated in a profusion quite bewildering, and, as in the old fairy tale, they were only waiting for the magic spell which should group them in beautiful order. This spell was spoken by the science of language, and the charm that it used was the poetry of the Vedas. What the discovery of Sanskrit was to the science of comparative philology, that the discovery of the Vedic hymns was to comparative mythology. In the one case, just as in the other, what had been so long needed was something which should serve to unite the scattered and diverging phenomena, by pointing back to a past in which they were one. And just as Sanskrit, though not itself the primitive speech, carries us in most respects much nearer to it than any remaining language, so the Vedas, though not themselves representing the earliest religious condition of the Aryans, still bring us so far on the way back to it, that we are able to discover the road which we must travel in order to reach it, and the course of development which it took.

Ottfried Müller long ago saw the essential importance of a thorough knowledge of the Vedas for the study of mythology. But the first to apply this new and powerful instrument with precision and effect was Professor Max Müller, in his brilliant essay on Comparative Mythology, published in the Oxford Essays for 1858. This was really epoch-making, to use a convenient Germanism. The method once clearly shewn, and its value demonstrated by striking examples, other scholars began to apply it. Kuhn, Schwarz and Weber in Germany, and Bréal and Baudry in France, with many others of less renown, have worked in the field thus opened, and have accumulated a mass of material that is ready at least for provisional systematization. Mr. Cox was one of Professor Max Müller's earliest and most devoted pupils; and many English readers gained their first conceptions of the results of comparative mythology from his beautiful little "Tales of the Gods and Heroes." These were

succeeded by two other volumes ; and all three are now reprinted in one of the most charming little volumes that we know, the "Tales of Ancient Greece." Having thus prepared the public and himself for a fuller discussion of the subject, he has now presented us with a very full and complete treatise on the Mythology of the Aryan Nations, and has thereby earned the heartiest thanks of the student.\* There is not, indeed, very much that is new in these volumes, and that portion of the work for which the author claims more originality does not appear to us to have the same substantial weight as the theories of which he is only the expounder. But it is no slight service to have gathered together the *disjecta membra* of the new science, and to have ranged them so as to bring the whole extent of their operation on the field of mythology into collective view. Mr. Max Müller's invaluable observations are scattered through the essay above referred to, others reprinted with it in "Chips from a German Workshop" and the second volume of his Lectures. M. Bréal has only dealt with a portion of the subject, though he has handled this in such a masterly way as to bring into clear view the leading principles of the science. Dr. Kuhn's very important discussions are principally contained in the volumes of his *Zeitschrift*, now extending to a formidable number. Neither on the continent nor in England is there anything to fill the place which Mr. Cox has attempted to supply. And on the whole the work has been done satisfactorily. The numerous repetitions, sometimes in almost identical words, may be partly accounted for by the author's anxiety to impress upon the reader theories which at first are startling by their novelty ; partly are caused legitimately by the manner in which the various myths cast light on each other, the explanation which unlocks one furnishing the key to another also ; but the effect is very often only to

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\* Many, who were not unacquainted with the results of comparative mythology, will echo the words which Professor Max Müller used of a former work by the same author. "I was really surprised at seeing how much progress had already been made in the interpretation of Greek myths. I had no doubt that we were working in the right direction, and from the several pillars and arches that had been laid open by various diggers, I felt convinced that in comparative mythology we had discovered a real crypt underlying and supporting the temples and statues of the ancient gods of the Aryan world. But I never saw so clearly before that the main work is really finished."

weary the reader.\* Again, in stating and explaining theories which to many readers will seem but dubious, it is surely worth while to present early in the exposition some of the more certain and brilliant results, and to keep those applications of it which still may be disputed till confidence has been more firmly established. But Mr. Cox has, on the contrary, placed in the First Book some of the most dubious results of his investigations, results in which he stands for the most part alone, and has postponed till the Second the certain conclusions which must carry conviction to the mind of any thoughtful student. These, however, are but slight defects of arrangement. They would not indeed have been worth referring to but for the general excellence of the book. It is perhaps of more importance that the rival theories of other comparative mythologists (notably MM. Kuhn and Schwarz) do not receive the discussion that the reputation of their authors give them a right to claim. But with some expansions, which Mr. Cox hopes to furnish at a future time, and perhaps still more compression, it may well aspire to be the standard work on its important subject.

Mr. Cox has stated clearly, following here, as usually, Professor Max Müller, the two main sources of mythical speech. One of the most prominent features of an undeveloped language is its polyonymy, i.e. the existence of numerous synonyms. Where all names were originally descriptive, it was but natural that an object should have just as many names as it possessed striking qualities, and among these there would be a struggle for life decided by a principle of natural selection. "Wheat," for instance, the "white" cereal, must have had many another appellation before the Aryan nation could decide upon denoting it by a name drawn from its colour. The sun, M. Bréal informs us, has more than twenty names in the Vedas; but these are not pure equivalents; each is meant to bring out some special aspect of his character, physical or moral. He is the Brilliant (*Surya*), the Friend (*Mitra*), the Noble (*Aryaman*), the Beneficent (*Bhaga*), the Nourisher (*Pûshan*), the Creator (*Tvashtar*), the Lord of Heaven (*Divaspati*), and so on. As long as the primary meaning of each of these words was

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\* For instance, the interest with which we read Book II. chap. x. section x., is very much impaired by the frequent references we have had beforehand to the explanations therein given, especially in Book I. chap. x.

kept in remembrance, no confusion could arise. But let us suppose a case which the history of language often shews to us realized. Let us imagine the name of *Surya* no longer applied to the sun, some other appellation having displaced it in popular use. Still phrases, "Surya scatters the clouds with his shafts," "Surya loves the dawn," "Surya is born of the night," would retain their hold upon the memories of men. They had been produced in almost unimaginable profusion by the tendency, which Mr. Cox has so well described, not indeed to personify, for man in those early ages "knew no distinction between consciousness and personality," but to ascribe to them that vague existence which was all that he was aware of in himself. And now they would still continue to be used, although the original meaning was lost. Professor Max Müller's example is as happy a one as could well be chosen. "Suppose," he says, "that the exact meaning of the word gloaming had been forgotten, and that a proverbial expression, such as 'The gloaming sings the sun to sleep,' had been preserved; would not the gloaming very soon require an explanation? and would nurses long hesitate to tell their children that the gloaming was a good old woman who came every night to put the sun into his bed, and who would be very angry if she found any little children still awake? The children would soon talk among themselves of Nurse Gloaming, and as they grew up would tell their children again of the same wonderful old nurse."

We can readily believe that the names of many, nay all, of the Greek and Roman divinities are significant. But how are we to find out what they signify? At this point earlier students of mythology were brought to a stand-still. Zeus was evidently a name for the sky, as seen from the use of the word in many proverbial phrases. Apollo, in spite of a marked distinction from Helios in later poets, is plainly the sun-god. But what are we to say of Hera, Athena, or Poseidon? We may be able to gather together the attributes of these and of many other divinities, to determine the sphere of their operation, and to form some notion of the nature ascribed to them. But how did such conceptions arise, and what was the origin and meaning of the numerous and often conflicting legends told of each? Here it is that the Veda comes in to give us such valuable help. Sometimes we find in them as a simple metaphor that

which afterwards became a myth, sometimes it is a traditional usage which illuminates a puzzling legend, but most frequently the myth is already forming, but the words in which it is expressed have not fully assumed the force of proper names, and are used in a passage immediately following simply as common names. As M. Bréal expresses it, many Latin and Greek proper names "are common in the Vedic idiom; replaced in surroundings analogous to those in which they had their birth, they recover transparency and life." If Apollo pursues the flying Daphne, this is no mere metaphor, as some would have it, to express that the bay-tree rejoices in the full radiance of the sun; translated into the language of the Vedas, we have at once the god of Day pursuing Dahana, the Dawn, who flees at his approach. If Hera is the partner of Zeus, the lord of heaven, we find in the Sanskrit *sva* (the Zend *hvar*), "heaven," the key at once to the name and to the partnership. From the same root we have Heracles, "the glory of the sky," i.e. the radiant sun, passing from land to land, striving wherever he can to benefit the sons of men, ever toiling on their behalf, apparently at the bidding of another, yet full at times of a jovial merriment, and with all his purposes of help, sometimes harming in the fierceness of his unbridled strength. When, in the language of the Vedas, to quote Mr. Cox's words, "Kephalos, Prokris, Hermes, Daphne, Zeus, Ouranos, stand forth as simple names for the sun, the dew, the wind, the dawn, the heaven, the sky, each recognized as such, yet each endowed with the most perfect consciousness, we feel that the great riddle of mythology is solved, and that we no longer lack the key which shall disclose its most hidden treasures." The key may need some care in its application; the strictest laws of letter-change must be observed, the myth under examination freed as far as possible from later accretions, but patient investigation is pretty sure to solve the problem of its origin and meaning. It will not cause surprise to any one who remembers the prominence of solar worship among all the nobler uncivilized nations, to find that the greater number of the legends have been resolved into myths of the sun and dawn. This may have been done by Professor Max Müller and his follower Mr. Cox to somewhat too great an extent. Kuhn is inclined to believe that the daily operations of

nature excited but little attention among the early Aryans, and that the more irregular phænomena of storm and earthquake created deeper interest, and consequently gave birth to a larger crop of mythical stories. The truth will be probably found to lie between them; some of the assumed contests of the sun with night may possibly refer rather to his struggle with the storm-clouds. But on the whole it is not likely to be very far from the view adopted by Max Müller. He rightly speaks of "the Titanic assurance with which we say the sun *must* rise," as quite unknown to the early worshipers of nature. "The Vedic hymns bring before us a people to whom the death of the sun is a present reality, for whom no analogy has suggested the idea of a continuous alternation of day and night, and who know not, as the fiery chariot of the sun sinks down in the west, whether they shall ever see again the bright face of him who was their friend." In a time when

Phœbus in his chair,  
Ensaffroning sea and air,  
Makes vanish every star,  
Night like a drunkard reels  
Beyond the hills to shun his flaming wheels ;—

was not the language of poetry, but simply of daily life and thought, and a quick imagination, hampered by no metaphysical knowledge, invested all around with life, there would be nothing watched with such deep interest as the birth, the journeying and the death, of the mighty being whom they believed to be the fountain of life to earth and man. Heracles, "glory of the sky;" Bellerophontes, "slayer of the storm-cloud;" Perseus, "the destroyer" of evil; Chrysaor, "he of the golden sword," and dozens of similar appellations would be lavished upon him, all in their turn to fall into disuse, and to furnish the material for the myths of the future. And these myths would shape themselves according to the changing fortunes of the glorious orb to which they had all at first related. Let us take only the close of his course before the eyes of men. Sometimes he would sink beneath the horizon, tinging the clouds near and far with a flood of crimson; then we should hear of a bloody and agonizing death of Heracles on Ceta. Sometimes the ensanguined radiance would surround the



sun, not at the moment of his setting, but while he was yet struggling with the storm-clouds above the horizon ; then we should hear of the fearful vengeance upon the host of enemies taken by Achilles or Odysseus, followed by a brief bright period of repose. At another time it would sink into dreary mists or blackening gloom, and Bellerophon would end his days an exile on the Aleian plain, or Perseus, having slain him to whom he owed his life, would die in darkness. Or sometimes, after a day of storm, the sun might sink to its rest in cloudless peace, while the faint rosy flush in the east would seem to watch lovingly, but from a distance, the place of his repose ; and then we should have Oidipous passing away amid the quiet of the grove of the Eumenides, while his beautiful daughter Antigone looked after him with eyes of love. And wherever we find the stories of the sun, his mother, sister, wife or daughter, the bright far-spreading dawn is with him. As the type of all grace and beauty, she comes to us in Aphrodite, child of the foam, the nursling of the sea, "*quam cœrulum profundum pelagi peperit, et ros spumantium fluctuum educavit.*"\* But as the bringer of light to the world, the waker of men to life and thought, she is the pure Ahanâ, the Greek Athene, sprung from the forehead of the sky. Her epithets are found, raised as usual into personal names, in many compound appellations that have hitherto defied analysis. Names are always significant ; the oldest names are usually the most transparent, as the least affected by corruption and detrition. But words like Euryanassa, Europe, Eurydike, Eurynome, Euryphassa, Euryganeia, Eurydomene, or, again, Iokaste, Iaso, Iole, Antigone or Antiope, are all but meaningless when applied to mortal maidens ; they recover their meaning only when restored to the far-spreading violet hues of the morning, or the flush that is sometimes seen in the East, as the sun sinks down to his Western rest. A full examination of these and similar myths will be found in Mr. Cox's work ; enough has been already said

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\* Appul. Met. iv. 28. Mr. Cox has not noticed Dr. Kuhn's theory that the only sea known to the united Aryans was the great cloud-sea overhead ; and yet there seems to be very much evidence for it, and it furnishes an excellent clue to some of the myths. If we adopt it, we may perhaps suppose that the reference of the origin of Aphrodite to the ocean arose from the etymological confusion to be subsequently noticed. It is certain that Poseidon was a god of the air as well as of the water.

to shew how readily a body of mythology would spring up from a few of the simplest phrases.

But another great principle was also at work, less powerful for production, but of far-reaching influence in the change and the disfiguration of myths. It happened often that an object was denoted by several names corresponding to its various prominent qualities; but it happened hardly less often that different objects, in each of which the same quality was conspicuous, bore names nearly or quite identical. If Augeias (the bright-rayed) has vast herds of cattle, it is only because, in the language of the Vedas, *go* (the mover) denotes at once a cloud and a cow, and *gotra*, the heavens and a stable. The golden apples (*μῆλα*) of the Hesperides are but another form of the fleece of the golden sheep (*μῆλον*) of Phrixus. One of the most brilliant of Professor Kuhn's expositions is that in which he shews how the Seven Shiners (*rikshas*) became the constellation of the Bear (*ἄρκτος*), and Mr. Cox has well brought out the influence of the homonym in the numerous myths in which the bear is introduced. Not less important are the results of a like confusion between *λύκη*, "light" (the Latin *lux* and kindred words), and *λύκος*, a wolf, "the glossy" beast: the equivocation is possibly conscious in the prayer of the Thebans in Æschylus, *καὶ σύ, λύκει ἄναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίψ*, but its latent effects were very much wider. For the story of Lycaon, for Zeus Lycæus and Apollo of Lycia, and for all the dismal legends of lycanthropy, it is alone responsible.

To the two principles just stated and illustrated we owe the foundations of Aryan mythology: it needs a careful study of the details, as gathered together and forcibly expounded by Mr. Cox, to see how clearly and certainly these may be traced, and how entirely adequate the causes alleged are to produce them. But Mr. Cox has not brought out so clearly the influences which moulded into shape and vastly expanded these primary myths among the various Aryan nations. Some weight must doubtless be given to the influence of conscious etymology. As M. Bréal says, "Le peuple est un philologue naïf, qui veut se rendre compte des noms qu'il entend, et qui, grâce à son imagination, trouve aisément une histoire pour expliquer un nom propre. Plus même le conte qu'il invente est bizarre, plus il s'y

attache, et bientôt il cite le nom comme preuve à l'appui du récit." The instance that he quotes appears a little doubtful,\* but the influence of the principle cannot be questioned. Here, however, the effect of the mythopœic tendency on which Mr. Grote lays so much stress comes in. It is inadequate to explain the origin and meaning of the myths, but it accounts, as nothing else can, for their subsequent form and development; and it is one of the most serious omissions in Mr. Cox's work that he has not brought this into prominence. Creuzer saw part of the truth when he said, "Der Grund-trieb der Mythos ist das Gedachte in ein Geschehenes umzusetzen:" the popular mind cannot allow any conception to remain in the abstract, but instinctively and almost unconsciously clothes it in form. Stories, for instance, grow up around any popular hero which express so forcibly the universal opinion of him, that they are received unquestioned, on little or no historical authority. This mythical tendency has been so abused by applying it to times and circumstances where it is manifestly inappropriate, that grave suspicions have not unnaturally been brought upon it. But Mr. Grote, and Mr. Mill in reviewing him, have brought so many instances of its continued operation, as to compel us to recognize it as a characteristic of the human mind. Hence we may fairly assume that after the figure of Aphrodite, for example, had once acquired personality from the misapprehension of the early phrases that spoke of the charm of the rosy dawn, men would inevitably form some conception of her character, and not less inevitably frame their legends to embody this character in a concrete form. This seems at once the only legitimate and a fully adequate explanation of some of the mythical developments. There are many stories told of deities and heroes who are themselves of solar origin, which cannot without great violence be forced into any relation with natural phenomena: and just as solar feats are undoubtedly often ascribed to real historical characters (e.g. the legendary early life of Cyrus), so round characters of purely solar origin

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\* If we find in the Rig-Veda that "Ushas, the Dawn, sprang from the head of Dyu, the mûrddhâdivah, the East, the forehead of the sky," we need not look to any etymological confusion between Tritos, the god who ruled the water and the air (the Vedic Trita), and a supposed Æolian word for "head," *ῥηίς*, to explain the surname *Τριτογένεια* and its resultant myth.

stories may have often gathered by the free operation of the mythopœic imagination. But if the action of this undeniable tendency be sufficiently recognized, we can easily understand how the whole vast fabric of the Hellenic mythology should have been developed. And when we speak of Hellenic mythology, we must always remember that it is only the one branch out of many sprung from a common stem which has burgeoned and blossomed most fairly. The rich fertility of the Greek mind, ever kept within the limits of grace by an artistic self-control, preserved their legends from the barren hardness and dryness of those of Rome, from the wild, unpruned luxuriance of those of India. But the seed cast in and the influences tending to develop it were at first identical. And the manifold stories told of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Athene, Aphrodite and Demeter, are the natural development of the language in which men spoke in the oldest times of the sky and the bright ether, his partner, of the sun, the moon, and the night, from whom both seemed to spring, of the dawn so bright and so beautiful, and of earth, the mother of us all.\*

Thus far we have been dealing, though only in a rapid and summary fashion, with what may be regarded as established truths; but now we pass to more dubious ground. The "old wives' tales" of the various Aryan nations were long regarded as only fit for the amusement of children; and great must have been the amazement of many when two of the most learned and eminent scholars of Germany set themselves for long years to learn from the lips of unlettered peasant-women the fairy legends of their kitchen corner. But this was only one instance of the many in which (to use the words of another illustrious German) they sought far and near for rare and unknown blossoms, and, losing none, wove them into immortal garlands. As the original

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\* We must not pass without notice the very great service which Mr. Cox has done in shewing (in opposition at once to Kuhn and to Max Müller) the true character of Saramēya or Hermes. The latter has satisfactorily extinguished the greyhound Saramā, on which Dr. Mommsen discourses, and disproved Dr. Kuhn's idea that Saramā is identical with *storm* and *ὄρμη*; it is simply the Dawn that goes before the face of Indra. But how then should Saramēya, the Dawn-child, be "the god of twilight"? (Max Müller, *Lectures*, ii. 475.) Surely it is far more in accordance alike with the etymology and with the myths relating to him, to see in him the gentle breeze that is born with the birth of day. Mr. Cox has given an admirable exposition of the Hymn to Hermes, viewed from this standpoint, and his words must carry conviction with them.

unity of the Aryan nations became established, the fundamental identity of their folk-lore pressed upon the attention of scholars. The further afield researches were pushed, the clearer this became ; fresh evidence came in to support it from Iceland, the Deccan, Germany and the Western Highlands ; attempts to account for it by a theory of borrowing in very many instances utterly failed ; and at last it was proved beyond a doubt that the stories that delighted our childhood had their origin in the earliest home of the Aryans on the plains of Central Asia. But what should there give birth to them ? What could produce the elementary notions that, variously expanded, lie at the root of so many of them ? Take, for instance, the character of Boots, the younger brother, hero of numberless stories, as sketched by Dr. Dasent. "There he sits idle whilst all work ; there he lies with that deep irony of conscious power which knows its time must one day come, and meantime can afford to wait. When that time comes he girds himself to the feat amidst the scoff and scorn of his flesh and blood ; but even then, after he has done some great deed, he conceals it, returns to his ashes, and again sits idly by the kitchen fire, dirty, lazy, despised, until the time for final recognition comes, and then his dirt and rags fall off—he stands out in all the majesty of his royal robes, and is acknowledged once for all a king." Mr. Cox finds here what he has found in Herakles, in Phoibos, in Oidipous, in Odysseus, the sun long hidden in darkness by the clouds, but bursting forth at last in all his native splendour. But he admits that very much of the common folk-lore cannot be accounted for by any phrases referring to physical phenomena, and points back rather in some cases to a storehouse of moral proverbs, in existence before the separation of the Aryan nations ; in others, to a framework of legend already put together, but treated with freedom and independence among the various peoples.\* What, then, is the evidence that any of the popular tales are mythical, in the

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\* It is not very easy to reconcile the language used towards the beginning of Book i. Chap. viii. (Vol. I. p. 110), with the words with which the same chapter closes (p. 168). It seems as if Mr. Cox's theory grew upon him as he stated the evidence for it ; and that while re-asserting it forcibly at the conclusion of his discussion of its proofs, he did not care to repeat the qualifications with which he had previously limited it.

sense in which we have hitherto employed the word? That which was hitherto our surest guide now fails us utterly. The science of language taught us to see in Zeus, Dyaus, in Athene and Daphne, the cognate forms Ahanâ and Dahanâ, and the Vedas shew us what these mean; while in Prokris, daughter of Herse, we have at once the dew-drop ( $\pi\rho\omega\acute{\xi}$ ), child of the morning dew.\* But with Punchkin and Vikram, Aschenputtel and Dummling, we have no such helps to identification. Our only guide is the extent to which the legends, when reduced to their simplest and barest forms, may seem to express naturally some appearance or change of nature. And here most students will probably be inclined to think that Mr. Cox's zeal in the application of a theory elsewhere sound has carried him somewhat far. It requires a powerful imagination to see in the story of Cinderella only a mythical expansion of phrases describing the intermittent gleams of light breaking through a cloudy day, and the burst of glory that often marks its close.

In another respect his elucidation of the stories admits of doubt. In the Nibelungen Lied, as in the legend of the Argonauts, of Conall Gulban, even of Helen of Troy herself, much of the interest centres in the recovery of stolen treasure. Mr. Cox, in one of the most eloquent passages in these well-written volumes, seeks to identify this with the riches of the golden palace of Helios, blazing with intolerable splendour; in other words, with the light of day in all its varied aspects and with all its wonderful powers; stolen by the malignant thieves of night, sought for through all the hours of darkness, and, even when won with the dawn, still to be brought back to the Western home whence the plunderers ravished it, in peril of storm and mist and vapour throughout all the changes of the day. This theory is stated with such graphic power, and many of the details familiar to us in the various legends are inwoven with such

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\* Even in the epic stories we find many names that lend themselves readily to the same analysis. Max Müller has proved the identity of Paris and the Panis, of Helenê and Saramâ; for the somewhat unusual development of a Greek n from m is sufficiently established by Curtius (*Grundzüge*, 408) and Ferrar, though Schleicher doubts it. Even in Achilles, if we may accept Dr. Sonne's explanation (*Zeitschrift*, x. 98), "hell leuchtend," we find the same clue. This last etymology seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Cox, though it strongly supports his theory.

singular skill, that it is hard to withhold assent. And yet the unconscious poetry which spoke of the treasures of the sun-god stolen by the demons of darkness, could not have been the earliest instance in which the notion of stolen treasure presented itself to the early Aryans. If dwelling at peace among themselves on those Asian uplands (as the best authorities seem to hold), they were still surrounded on every side by the wild Turanian hordes. A pillaging raid, the long pursuit, the return in triumph with recovered spoil, must have been familiar long before the imagery drawn from them had been applied to the heavenly phenomena. We are told that imagination does not create, it merely re-arranges. But the subject-matter for re-arrangement and development is given as much by the primary meaning of the words as by their subsequent application. It cannot be said that the actual experience of a plundering excursion of wild Turanians would excite the feelings less intensely, and impress the imagination less deeply, than the shadowy image of the same events in the changes of the heavens. Nor is it exact to say that we have in all the varying legends where a treasure is lost and won, "precisely the same causes, with precisely the same incidents and the same results." Strip the stories of the *Iliad*, of the *Argonautica*, of the *Völsunga Saga*, of the return of the *Herakleidai*, to their simplest form, and the outlines of each differ widely from the others. The incidents, related most baldly, remind us far more of the changeful features of earthly strife, than of the grand monotony of the heavenly revolutions.

But a full examination of the numerous deeply interesting questions raised in this important work would require a space far transcending the limits of a single article. The theories of comparative mythologists are so novel, that the reasons of assent must always be assigned; and even those that appear most fanciful are often supported by a weight of evidence that needs to be carefully examined before they can be rejected. Two subjects would be especially tempting, were there time to discuss them as they deserve. The one is that on which Mr. Cox himself lays very great stress, the theory that "the epic poems of the Aryan nations are simply different versions of one and the same story, and that this story has its origin in the phenomena of the natural world, and the course of the day and the year." The



claim of originality for this hypothesis can hardly be sustained in the face of some very explicit words of M. Bréal;\* but Mr. Cox is probably the first who has developed it to its full extent. Startling as the theory may at first appear, it is supported strongly by a large amount of converging evidence, and still more strongly by the conspicuous failure of all other attempts to account for the facts of the case. If we limit our assertions to the original forms of the legends, we may fairly accept this explanation of them. But we must fully recognize the modifying and even transforming power of the various influences that moulded them into their present shape. One argument used by Mr. Cox is of a nature to damage his own cause. He urges that the incidents related in many of the epics display a ferocity and brutality of manners which we cannot believe historical; "as though," to use the words of Bishop Thirlwall, "any popular tale, whether true or false, could be at variance with the manners of the age." "While professedly describing an uncertified past, their combinations are involuntarily borrowed from the surrounding present." (Grote.) Quite different arguments from any drawn from the cruelty of Achilles or the treachery of Hagen or Gudrun, are needed to shew us that they cannot have been real men living in the time when deeds like theirs were possible. Again, Mr. Cox is merely weakening his own position by his explanation of the length of the Trojan war. Holding the *ten* years of the siege to form an essential feature of the myth, he explains this number to refer to the hours of darkness left, when one hour has been subtracted for the dawn and another for the twilight. But the myth cannot have retained its transparent solar character for any long time after the separation of the Aryan nation. All the incidents belonging to it that arose from its connection with nature must have

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\* E. g. : Que ce mythe (of the *Nibelungen Lied*), modifié par le génie et d'après le climat des peuples du nord, soit originairement identique à celui de *Vretra*, c'est ce qu'il n'est guère permis de révoquer en doute. La ressemblance de Siegfried avec Achille est manifeste et conduit à l'hypothèse que l'Iliade a comme les *Nibelungen*, pour donnée première un fait mythologique, que des événements réels, qui y ont été mêlés, ont contribué à défigurer. And again : Le *Rāmâyana*, et l'Iliade reposent peut-être sur la même donnée, et l'Odysée, l'Énéide, les *Nibelungen* et le *Schâh-namêh* contiennent certainement des épisodes, qui, sous les noms différents, retracent un seul et même fait.

been added before this period. Now have we any reason at all for believing that the division of the day and the night into twelve hours each, was known to the early Aryans? M. Pictet is certainly not too much inclined to scepticism on such points, and his words are very plain: "Rien n'indique que les Aryas primitifs aient connu l'usage des heures tel qu'il s'est introduit sous diverses formes, et à diverses époques, chez plusieurs peuples anciens."\*

Another subject of very deep interest and importance is that discussed by Mr. Cox in his section on the Vivifying Sun. Many would hesitate to go all the way with him in tracing the original meaning of the stories that refer to goblets and horns of plenty, and would think that in other respects he had pushed his theory to somewhat fanciful conclusions. But about the deep importance of it there cannot be a question. Perhaps it is to be regretted that he has not referred to Dr. Donaldson's valuable researches on the origin of serpent-worship, and has passed unnoticed Dr. Kuhn's very curious demonstration of the relation supposed to exist between the *pramantha* (the earliest implement used among the Aryans for the production of fire) and the sexual symbols of fertility. It is highly probable that many of the emblems referred to the latter belonged more properly to the former.

In closing a very imperfect survey of the many topics of interest supplied by Mr. Cox's pages, two thoughts press themselves upon us. In the first place, it is by a singularly happy coincidence that the study of language has brought forth some of its richest fruits, just at the time when so many are loudly declaiming against its usefulness. There has been just and timely indignation that the precious results, and not less precious methods, of physical science, should have been so long excluded from education. But physicists have, in their turn, shared no small amount of the narrowness and shortsightedness of their opponents, and have wished to exclude entirely that which simply needed to be taught its limits, and to be compelled to assume itself more rigour and scientific accuracy. The science of language now comes forward with a clear demonstration of facts of the utmost importance in the history of

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\* *Les Aryas Primitifs*, II. p. 591.

the race. We are profoundly grateful for all the light that biology or geology can cast upon the origin and the early condition of the human species. But all that they have done as yet is little compared with the assured results of the despised and antiquated study of language. We shall do well to take care that in withdrawing claims that are now untenable, we do not rob the oldest of the sciences of a place that no other can fill.

But, again, there seems but little doubt that the science of comparative mythology adds its weight to the ever-increasing amount of authority which is compelling us to re-consider our traditional opinions upon the early condition of mankind. It does not, indeed, shew to us the depth of degradation involved in the hypothesis of the conscious and deliberate publication of revolting stories about the Divine. But the simplicity of the earliest myths is far from pointing, as some have thought, to a golden age of child-like purity and goodness. We see an unformed condition of mind and spirit, capable of sinking to the lowest depths, capable also of being educated to the noblest and most spiritual conceptions. But it was essentially rude and imperfect. If there was as yet no conscious polytheism, there was just as little of pure monotheism, simply a vague sense of the Divine embodying itself, now in the brightness of Dyaus, now in the all-embracing bounty of Varuna, now in the glorious splendour of Indra. If the story of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is a myth, it is a myth of profoundest meaning: it was needful to know the depth, that men might struggle to attain the heights. Here, too, in the words of Schiller, we find the Fall a mighty stride in the development of humanity, even if we are to regard it as a fall of long declension rather than sudden overthrow. And in the declension as well as the uprising, in the corruption of the myths, which led the noblest thinkers, as they struggled to escape their demoralizing influence, to rise to a height to which they might never have aspired, we may surely see the education of the Father's wisdom, the training that was to make the world prepared and yearning for the advent of the Lord.

A. S. WILKINS.

## IV.—BISHOP ELLICOTT ON BIBLICAL REVISION.

*Considerations on the Revision of the English Version of the New Testament.* By C. J. Ellicott, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: Longmans and Co. 1870.

THIS is a well-timed publication. Moreover, it comes from one whose learning, character and position, qualify him for speaking effectually respecting the great question of Biblical Revision. The advice he gives "to the learned and faithful men that will shortly address themselves to this great undertaking," is summed up in these words:

"Do your work together; consider experience your truest guide; don't try to 'improve' our present Version, but be satisfied with correcting it; use the old words, and have an ear for the old rhythm; don't decide till after-thought has exercised its due influence; make the text better than the margin; and, lastly, follow the spirit of the old rules."\*

The propriety of this advice, together with the necessity of revision, is discussed minutely and fully in the volume. In general, the character of its contents corresponds with what the subject demands, and what might be expected from an author who had previously gained laurels in sacred literature. Yet certain qualities in the book diminish its value, which may in part have ensued from unavoidable haste, but which the supreme importance of the issues raised does not allow us to leave wholly unnoticed. And, first, the style lacks the simplicity, precision and finish of the scholar, and is disfigured by such terms as the Latinism maturation ("time for maturation"†) and the Gallicism "pronounced"‡ instead of decided; not to urge the numerous repetitions from text to note and from note to text, as well as from the beginning to the middle and from the middle to the end. Not a little superior in execution are two somewhat similar works which lie before us, and to which we shall have occasion to refer again by-and-by. The first in point of time, as well as execution, is the "Preliminary Dissertation" prefixed to "A New Translation" of the Prophet Isaiah, by Robert Lowth, D.D., Lord Bishop of London (1778). The second is, "The Prospectus

\* P. 219.

† P. 9.

‡ P. 18.

of a New Translation of the Holy Bible, from corrected Texts of the Originals, compared with the Ancient Versions; with various Readings, Explanatory Notes and Critical Observations, by the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL.D." (1786). These two instructive and well-written essays may be taken to represent in its beginning the movement in favour of Biblical Revision, which Dr. Ellicott's volume represents now, as we hope, near its close. According to the dates which the compositions bear, the movement extends over almost a century. A comparison of the latter work with the former two shews us that, if we stand to-day less distant from the accomplishment of the object, the object itself, as described by the Bishop of Gloucester, is not so wide as that which was sought after by the Bishop of London and his coadjutor, Dr. Geddes; and the remark is seen to have more point when it is added, that the latter was a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, and found his chief patrons in Roman Catholic laymen.

What, however, is the object of Dr. Ellicott's production?

"The following work is written to supply a need which at the present time may be felt by many. We seem to need a Hand-book which, in an easy and popular manner, and yet at the same time with reasonable accuracy, might put before us the whole subject of the Revision of the Holy Scriptures." \*

The "reasonable accuracy" seems to be in fault when the revision of King James's translation is spoken of as "the Revision of the Holy Scriptures," especially as there is no intention to follow Dr. Geddes in correcting the texts of the originals except *en passant*. The promised "easy and popular manner," too, seems to have been forgotten in the composition of some pages, where the learning is more suited to the University class-room than to a popular Hand-book. We cite an illustration from the paragraph having for its title, "Additional Critical Materials;"† and this we take the rather because it gives an opportunity of expressing regret at the depreciatory way in which, in comparison with inferior English scholars, he who is *facile princeps* in the department of textual criticism is unnecessarily spoken of:

"To the Syriac Versions a great and critically important addi-

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\* Preface, p. i.

† P. 41.

tion has been made by the discovery and the publication of the singular and sometimes rather wild Curetonian Syriac Version. Much has also been done in the Gothic Version by De Gabelentz and Loebe, Massman, Bosworth and others; and something in the Coptic by Paul de Lagarde; and in the Ethiopic by Pell Platt; but it must be frankly admitted that what has already been said in reference to exegesis (p. 26) is also partially true in reference to criticism. Our great critics have had avowedly to use the eyes of others in ascertaining the testimony of some of these last-mentioned Versions, and of the less important but still interesting Armenian Version. It is not unfair to say that if Dr. Tischendorf *had devoted only the time which he has unfortunately spent in personal controversy* to the study of the original languages of those two or three ancient Oriental Versions, which he confessedly only cites on the authority of others, he would have put all scholars and critics of the New Testament under still greater obligations to his unwearied industry, and himself have been still better qualified to labour for *the inspired volume* for which he has done so much." \*

The paragraph on which we are commenting makes it to be a part of the intention of the author "to put before us the whole subject of the Revision of the Holy Scriptures." "The Holy Scriptures" is a phrase which comprises the Old Testament as well as the New; but the writer restricts his attention to the Authorized Version of the latter. The whole subject of the revision of that translation comprises a review of all that has been done in the matter, at least by English scholars, from the beginning of the present movement until now; whereas Dr. Ellicott all but exclusively concentrates himself on the proceedings of "Five Clergymen," of whom he is one, and those of Convocation, of which he is a member.

And here we must take leave at once to supplement the information he has given touching the endeavours made by scholars within the last 150 years for the revision of that part of the Scripture to which he restricts his remarks, namely, the New Testament. In doing so, we must let the reader see in what way he speaks of such revisers as are not of his fold. In connection with a book which is the common treasure of all who use the English tongue—a treasure valued no less by Nonconformists than Church-

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\* Pp. 41, 42.

men, no less by Unitarians than Trinitarians—a sense of propriety, if not the higher feeling of Christian brotherhood, should have prompted a liberal and comprehensive, if not truly fraternal tone. But in these pages Nonconformists are tolerated and Unitarians snubbed. Under the heading, “Increase of Learning among Nonconformists,” the Bishop says :

“Some worthy representatives of sound biblical scholarship will be *now* found among the Nonconformists. The *half-generation* that has now elapsed since revision was last under consideration has witnessed the gradual rise and progress of sacred exegesis in all the higher training colleges of Wesleyans, Baptists, Independents and other communities. . . . . The men that may hereafter sit around the table of revision . . . . will be bound by the holy bond of reverence for the same book and adoration for the same Lord.”\*

So, then, one test of fitness for sitting around the table of revision with Dr. Ellicott and other Episcopalian dignitaries is belief in the inspiration of the Bible and the adoration of Christ. The actual imposition of such a test would be exclusion from the council chamber of the men who not only represent the most advanced, as well as sound and sober biblical scholarship, but also have done more than members of all other Nonconformist denominations—nay, more than Anglicanism itself—to bring this great subject to the forward position which it at present occupies. But, what is more important, the enforcement of any dogmatical test whatever would be fatal to the result. Orthodoxy has faded, is fading, will and must fade. And all but extinct in Protestant lands is the possibility of creating either a new creed or imposing an old one for a new purpose. The mere notion shews that the writer of this volume stands somewhat in the rear of his age. Then notice the quiet scorn expressed for Nonconformist learning in the Biblical department. There has, it seems, been an “increase” of the same during *half a generation* ! The period is “twelve years” in a note, which curiously ends by declaring, “We all live and learn.”† The reference is to the Archbishop of Dublin, who twelve years since did not “contemplate the presence of Nonconformists at the

\* P. 23.

† P. 23.



actual revising board, or *as sitting there on equal terms* ;” and the reference is made in connection with the probability that “my valued friend may very likely have modified his opinion.”

And here we are reminded of another remark by Dr. Ellicott :

“Up to the present time, it must be said, Convocation has failed in one of its great duties as a representative of the local Church in her holy office as guardian of the archives of the Truth.”\*

Yes, no doubt ; and the failure should teach its members modesty, and something better than toleration and rebuke to such as have “not been found wanting” in this great issue. But so long as the Established Church boasts of being “guardian of the archives of the Truth,” in contradistinction to Catholics or other Dissenters, she will find her spirit of lordship overpower her brotherly spirit, and so bring on herself from all who are not of her pale the reproach of being the mother of sects and heresies.

Yet while Convocation has been failing in its duty, error has been spreading both “within the walls of Troy and without.” “Earthquake-like movements have taken place.” “The age has welcomed Essays and Reviews, and passionately praised such a SEMI-SOCINIAN treatise as ‘Ecce Homo.’”† This is not the tone which should prevail in a book intended to explain and recommend an enterprize which can never be accomplished by narrowness. We prefer the spirit of Dr. Geddes, who, in the Prospectus before spoken of, utters these admirable words :

“If to future translators I may not be able to exhibit a model of taste and elegance, I flatter myself I shall set them no common example of religious moderation. It is certainly the interest, and ought to be the concern, of both Catholics and Protestants, to have their common code as pure and genuine as possible, and their only contest in this respect should be, which shall do most to clear it from every sort of corruption. To despise the labours of another because he is of a different country or creed, is unworthy of a rational being, and contrary to the practice of the best Christian writers of antiquity. Origen was so far from depreciating the works of those who were not of his own communion, that he

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\* P. 87.

† P. 193.

joined in the same volume the versions of Jews and reputed heretics with that which the Church used ; and St. Jerome, profiting by his collection, made no scruple to borrow from all of them as he saw occasion.”\*

But perhaps the learned and valuable three quarto volumes which he accomplished of his intended translation of the whole Bible (1792), stand in Dr. Ellicott's category of “the wretched attempts at revision in the past century.”† Such a description of a religious literature which, considering the time in which it was produced, we venture to pronounce in general excellent, tempts one to think that the writer speaks from impulse rather than knowledge. Certainly those who are most familiar with the subject will most admire the tone, partly of anticipation and partly of modesty, yet of the widest acquaintance with the subject, which prevails (e.g.) in the following extract from the Preface, and on which our eye fell on throwing open the book :

“It has been well observed by Michaelis that all external testimony is here of little avail ; it is from intrinsic evidence that we must derive our proofs. Now from intrinsic evidence three things seem to me indubitable : 1st, the Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses ; 2ndly, it was written in the land of Canaan, and most probably at Jerusalem ; 3rdly, it could not be written before the reign of David, nor after that of Hezekiah. The long pacific age of Solomon (the Augustan age of Judæa) is the period to which I would refer it ; yet I confess there are some marks of a posterior date, or at least of posterior interpolation. But though I am inclined to believe that the Pentateuch was reduced into its present form in the reign of Solomon, I am fully persuaded that it was compiled from ancient documents, some of which were coeval with Moses, and some even anterior to Moses. Whether all these were written records, or many of them oral traditions, it would be rash to determine. It is my opinion that the Hebrews had no written documents before the days of Moses ; and that all their history prior to that period, is derived from monumental indexes or traditional tales. Some remarkable tree, under which a patriarch had resided ; some pillar which he had erected ; some heap which he had raised ; some ford which he had crossed ; some spot where he had encamped ; some field which he had purchased ; the tomb in which he had been laid—all these served as so many links to

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\* Prospectus, p. 147.

† P. 99.

hand his story down to posterity; and corroborated the oral testimony transmitted, from generation to generation, in simple narratives or rustic songs. That the marvellous would sometimes creep into these, we may easily conceive; but still the essence, or at least the skeleton, was preserved.

"From the time of Moses, there can be no doubt, I think, of there having been written records. Moses, who had been taught 'all the wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts vii. 22), most probably was the first Hebrew writer, or the first who applied writing to historical composition. From his journals a great part of the Pentateuch seems to have been compiled. Whether he were also the author of the Hebrew cosmogony and of the history prior to his own days, I would neither confidently assert nor positively deny. He certainly may have been the original compiler, and may have drawn the whole or a part of his cosmogony and general history, both before and after the deluge, from the archives of Egypt; and those original materials, collected first by Moses, may have been worked up into their present form by the compiler of the Pentateuch in the reign of Solomon. But it is also possible, and I think more probable, that the latter was the first collector, and collected from such documents as he could find either among his own people or among the neighbouring nations.

"Some modern writers indeed, allowing Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch, maintain that he composed the book of Genesis from two different written documents which they have attempted to characterize. Although I really look upon this as the work of fancy, and will elsewhere endeavour to prove it so, I am not so self-sufficient as to imagine that I may not be in the wrong, or that they may not be in the right. The reader who wishes to see the arguments on which they ground their assertion, may consult Astruc and Eichhorn."\*

Dr. Geddes here refers to the hypothesis which has been since amplified and established by the highest biblical science, and for contributions to which the Anglican clergy, represented in Convocation, not long since pronounced Bishop Colenso anathema.

A few words from the translation itself will shew what degree of revision sound scholarship judged desirable in a work which was intended not for national but private use. By the side of the rendering of Dr. Geddes we put that of one whom Dr. Ellicott would call a "semi-Socinian," the Rev.

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\* Preface, p. xix.

Charles Wellbeloved, formerly the learned Theological Tutor in Manchester New College, York, one of those academical institutions originated by Nonconformists for the purpose of giving university training to divines and laymen, at a time when that advantage was denied by the Church of England to all but members of its own communion, and which did train a number of scholars who were not of the last "half-generation," one of whom, we are glad to say, has been thought not unworthy of being associated with Churchmen in the at length intended revision of the Sacred Scriptures. The work from which we cite a few verses, entitled, "The Holy Bible, a New Translation," &c. (1838), being left unfinished by the author, has since been revised and completed by the gentleman just alluded to, the Rev. G. Vance Smith, B.A., in union with the Rev. John Scott Porter, of Belfast (1859). The entire translation, in three volumes, 8vo, having for title, "The Holy Scriptures of the Old Covenant in a Revised Translation," may be recommended to the attention of the recently appointed company of revisers. The general character of the "Revised Translation" may be gathered from words extracted from the Preface :\*

"The authors of this revision have not undertaken either the establishment of a new text or the production of a new translation of the Scriptures. They have assumed the Common Version as a basis, and have departed from it only when, in their judgment, the text was clearly corrupt, the rendering inaccurate, or the phraseology obsolete or obscure. The present publication is intended for the use of a class of readers who have no means of weighing critical evidence ; and its purpose being practical, the Editors have in doubtful cases admitted the prescriptive right of a Version, which two centuries and a half have rendered sacred to the religious mind of England. Its style and idiom have been carefully preserved, where change seemed the duty of a faithful translator."

Premising these explanations, we make the promised extracts. It matters not from what part they are taken ; the character remains the same.

*Geddes.*

When Reuben returned to the pit, and saw that Joseph was not in the pit, he rent his

*Wellbeloved, Smith and Porter.*

And Reuben returned to the pit ; and lo, Joseph was not in the pit ; and he rent his clothes

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\* Pp. v and vi.

clothes, and coming back to his brothers he said : "The lad is not there ; and I, whither shall I go ?" They now took Joseph's coat ; and having killed a kid, they dipped the coat in the blood, and sent and brought the coat (the embroidered *coat*) to their father, and said : "This we found ; know whether it be thy son's coat or not." He knew it and said : "This is my son's coat ! an evil beast hath devoured him ! Torn, torn in pieces is my son Joseph !" And Jacob rent his garments and put sackcloth upon his loins and mourned many days for his son. And though all his sons and all his daughters endeavoured to comfort him, he refused to be comforted. "For to my son," said he, "will I go down mourning unto the grave." While his father thus bewailed him, the Midianites sold him into Egypt to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's and captain of the guard.

and said : "The child is not ; and I, whither shall I go ?" Then they took Joseph's coat and killed a kid and dipped the coat in the blood ; and they sent the coat of many colours and brought it to their father, and said : "Know now whether it be thy son's coat or not." And he knew it, and said, "My son's coat ! a wild beast hath devoured him : torn, torn in pieces, is Joseph !" And Jacob rent his clothes and put sackcloth upon his loins and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted, and said, "For I will go down to my son mourning to the grave." Thus his father wept for him. And the Midianites sold him into Egypt, to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, captain of the guard. (Gen. xxxvii. 29—36.)

The sole difference between the two versions is manifestly this, that the first is a somewhat modernized form of the second ; that being more true to the English idiom, and this to the Hebrew. The two have their respective advantages, and when read in union they combine to impress the reader with a conviction of the certainty, at least as to the meaning, of a narrative, two different versions of which are so nearly alike. And then perhaps the reflection may arise in his mind to the effect, that since Conformist and Nonconformist translations of a common book so much resemble each other, what a pity it is that one translator should in the slightest disagree with the other ! Instead of prescribing one particular form of translation, the true scholar, however, is glad to see a variety at least of such as are intended for

private use ; for there are several wants to be met, and of these some demand a freer style of rendering than others. The ideal in this matter would be reached if idiomatic and scholarly elegance were consulted in one translation, and closeness to the originals in another. Certainly there are often qualities and constructions in the Hebrew and Greek texts which a rigid adherence to the letter can in no way reproduce in English. In consequence, the freedom taken by Geddes, and even that of Harwood (of whom we shall say a word or two shortly), will be welcomed by the wise and large of heart as contributing to the elucidation of the import of the sacred text. This wider conception of the translator's duty is well expressed by the learned and accomplished Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth :

“The design of the following Translation of Isaiah is not only to give an exact and faithful representation of the words and of the sense of the Prophet, by adhering closely to the letter of the text, and treading as nearly as may be in his footsteps ; but, moreover, *to imitate the air and manner of the author, to express the form and fashion of the composition, and to give the English reader some notion of the peculiar turn and cast of the original.* The latter part of this design coincides perfectly well with the former ; it is indeed impossible to give a just idea of the Prophet's manner of writing otherwise than by a close literal version. And yet, though so many literal versions of this Prophet have been given, as well of old as in later times, a just representation of the Prophet's manner, and of the form of his composition, has never been attempted, or even thought of, by any translator in any language whatever, whether ancient or modern.”

The reference here made in the phrase, “form of the composition,” regards the poetic form in which a large portion at least of the Old Testament has been transmitted. Here Bishop Lowth stands in the foremost position as an originator. He first translated Isaiah's poetry as poetry, the tokens and rules of which he also gave, and so set an example which has been sparingly imitated in the communion of which he was indeed a *decus et tutamen*. That example is followed by Geddes, Wellbeloved, Smith and Scott ; it is also followed by Sharpe ; but regard to it is not placed by Dr. Ellicott among the points which ought to receive attention from our present revisers.

Sharpe, whom we have just mentioned, is Mr. Samuel

Sharpe, who, though something more than a "*semi-Socinian*," has rendered great service, as to historical literature, so specially to biblical revision. Among the first to give the English reader the benefit of Griesbach's important changes in the original text of the New Testament, in his "New Testament translated from Griesbach's Text," the second edition of which bears for date the year 1844, he has laboured diligently and ceaselessly until he has produced an excellent revision of the entire Bible, in four volumes (1865). The principles on which he has worked may in substance be found in the following words :

"The translator (of the New Testament) has made no change for changing's sake, being well aware how much every new word grates upon the ear that is accustomed to the beautiful simplicity of the Authorized Version. His aim has been to give the meaning and idiom of the corrected Greek text as far as possible in the well-known words, and to lay before the English reader those fruits of our numerous biblical critics which are already well known to the learned."

If any one familiar with the Bishop of Gloucester's treatise exclaims, "Why this is the very thing that Dr. Ellicott recommends !" let him be told that, while he speaks the truth, he does not explain how it has come to pass that the latter has none but words of disparagement for works that proceed from "*semi-Socinian*" pens.

Indeed, the worthy Bishop seems haunted by a ghost which he has himself evoked. He has a horror for *improved* versions of the Scripture: "We want a revised, not what is ambitiously called an improved, translation." We confess to a certain dulness of intellect here. We do not very well see how there can be, and we are quite sure there ought not to be, a revised version of the Authorized English Scriptures without the same being an improved version. Is not improvement the object of revision? Or would Dr. Ellicott be satisfied with a revised edition which was not an improved one? In truth, there is no real distinction between a revised and an improved version. Improvement is involved in revision, and revision is simply the path to improvement. We do not affirm that all revisions are improvements, but we declare that improvement is the sole reason for their existence.

Perhaps the reader thinks the sentence above quoted a



hasty word. Not at all. It is a deliberate utterance. Six times at least does the aversion fall from the learned author's lips. One other instance must suffice :

"Such a version" (one that did "not preserve the wisely drawn lines on which that (the Authorized) Version was constructed") "would simply pass into that limbus of improved and happily forgotten translations to which almost every generation, for the last hundred and fifty or two hundred years, has added some specimen. The present century has been more prolific than those which preceded it, but very few of the yet extant revisions have been happy in preserving the character, tone, rhythm and diction of the Version they have undertaken to amend."\*

We fancy that this terrific spectre is called "semi-Socialian." Certainly the London Unitarian Association did publish a work entitled, "The New Testament in an *Improved Version*," numerous editions of which have appeared. In the title-page there stand words which, as coming from an orthodox source, might have relieved the Bishop of Worcester's troubled mind :

"No offence can justly be taken for this new labour ; nothing prejudicing any other man's judgment by this doing ; nor yet professing this so absolute a translation as that hereafter might follow no other who might see that which as yet was not understood.—Archbishop Parker's Preface to the Bishops' Bible."

Dr. Ellicott has given us in his volume specimens of what he thinks a perfectly revised text. We subjoin a few verses (containing some difficulty) from one of these, and place by their side the corresponding parts of the rendering of the "Improved Version."

*Bishop Ellicott.*

No man can serve two masters ; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Be not careful for your life, what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body

*Improved Version.*

No man can serve two masters ; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Wherefore I say unto you, Take no anxious thought for your life what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink ; nor for your body with what ye

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\* P. 58 ; compare p. 98.

what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the meat and the body than the raiment? Behold the fowls of the air; that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Which of you by being careful can add one cubit unto his lifetime? And why are ye careful for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God so clothe the grass of the field which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Be not therefore careful, saying, What shall we eat or what shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek: for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Be not therefore careful for the morrow, for the morrow shall be careful for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

shall be clothed. Is not your life more than food, and your body than clothing? Behold the fowls of the air; that they neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye much better than they? Now which of you by taking anxious thought can add one cubit to his stature? And why take ye anxious thought for clothing? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they neither labour nor spin; yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Now if God so clothe the herb of the field which flourisheth to-day and to-morrow is cast into the furnace; will he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Wherefore take no anxious thought, saying; "What shall we eat? or what shall we drink? or what shall we put on?" (for after all these things the Gentiles seek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no anxious thought about the morrow, for the morrow will take anxious thought for [the things of] itself. Sufficient to the day is its own evil. (Matt. vi. 24—34.)

Now, after the reader has carefully ascertained how much these two versions differ from each other, and how much from the Common Version, let him turn back to the Bishop's charge, and judge for himself whether or not it is

justified. On one difference we must say a word or two, as it involves a principle which Dr. Ellicott requires to be observed in the forthcoming revision, namely, that no word be employed in the new Version which does not exist in the old or authorized one. This "hard and fast line" is unreasonable and untenable. It is unreasonable, for it supposes that the English language remains the same as it was in 1611, and that our knowledge of Scripture and scriptural things is not corrected and enlarged. If the language is not the same, then by confining yourself to the old terms you either perpetuate archaisms, or employ terms which say too little or too much. If our knowledge is corrected, then you lack corresponding correct terms; if enlarged, then you try to force a large peg into a small hole, or to pour a quart of wine into a pint bottle. The only important difference in the two versions is found in the rendering of *μέριμνα*. The word signifies solicitude or anxious and morbid care. This is the sense which comes forth from the whole passage. It is not thought or thoughtfulness that is meant, but undue and troubled thought. It is not care or carefulness, but carking and sombre and self-tormenting care. In a word, it is irreligious anxiety. How is this to be expressed? To keep up in the English a desirable resemblance to the original, we must have a verb corresponding in meaning to the noun. We consequently want a noun and a verb having the common meaning of *anxiety*, *to be anxious*. But those terms are not used in the Bible. The sole alternative, then, is to forfeit the true sense of the passage, or to employ an unbiblical term. Dr. Ellicott sacrifices the sense to an abstract law; the Improved Version disregards the law and expresses the true sense. Which is preferable, the "revised" or the "improved" Version?

That the Bishop's rendering fails to give the sense of the original is manifest at the first sight. "To be careful for" a person or a thing is not wrong but right; is not a morbid but a healthy state of mind; is not an irreligious but a religious act. He that is most deeply and vividly conscious of his dependence on God's Fatherly providence, will be most careful for every one whom duty bids him love or serve, and for every opportunity of usefulness, for the crumbs which fall from his table or the heritage he has received from his forefathers. Indeed, the application of

this rendering to the passage in question sets the Scripture at variance with itself, for the "being careful for," which Christ is thus made to prohibit, appears otherwheres in the Bible as a commendable act. Thus in 2 Kings iv. 13, the prophet Elisha is an object of gratitude with the Shunamite, because he had been *careful for her family*. Thus, also, in Philippians ii. 20, Paul speaks of Timothy as "*naturally*" caring for the state of the members of that community. It follows that Paul approves what Jesus disapproves.

In connection with the Bishop's strong preference for a revised over an improved version, we are able to mention a fact which will, we hope, remove his solicitude. A Protestant Archbishop is the author of the offensive term Improve. In the Preface to his "Attempt toward Revising our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures" (2 vols. 8vo, 1796), Archbishop Newcome says, "My original intention extended no further than to *improve* our Authorized Translation." The fact is pleaded by the Editors of the Unitarian "Improved Version" in the following terms :

"The Editors regret the umbrage which has been taken at the title of an 'Improved Version,' which has been prefixed to this publication. If, indeed, the translation had been their own, the title might justly have been censured as savouring of an unbecoming vanity. But as more than nine-tenths of the translation is the work of the late learned and pious Archbishop Newcome, and as by far the greater part of the variations where they occur have been selected from other learned and approved critics, they see no impropriety in recommending this Version as, in their estimation, a considerable improvement upon the public Version by King James's translators." \*

It is painful to see a scholar and a Church dignitary picking up exploded impeachments and invidious names, to discredit a whole class of laudable endeavours to remove blots and specks from a version of Scripture which he himself is really desirous to improve as well as to revise, and which all who have a right to speak on the subject value as wisely, if not as much, as the Bishop of Gloucester himself.

Dr. Ellicott, in words already cited, speaks of revisional attempts which have fallen into deserved contempt. What

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\* Advertisement to the Fourth Edition, p. iv.

his knowledge on the subject may be it is not for us to determine, but if there is the amount of literary rubbish implied, his experience differs from ours. In the department of Unitarian revision we possess books both of the last century and the present which might be advantageously consulted by the newly-appointed revisers. We subjoin a list which contains none of those the merits of which have just been cursorily indicated.

*List of New Testaments in English translated by Unitarians.*

1. William Whiston's Primitive New Testament. 1 vol. 8vo, 1745.
2. A Liberal Translation of the New Testament. By E. Harwood, D.D. 2 vols. 8vo, 1768.
3. A Translation of the New Testament. By Gilbert Wakefield, B.A. 2 vols. 8vo, 1795.
4. The New Testament in the Common Version conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text. 1 vol. crown 8vo, Boston, U.S.
5. The New Testament Revised from the Authorized Version. By a Layman (Mr. Edgar Taylor). 1 vol. crown 8vo, 1840.
6. The New Testament Translated from the Original Greek (Tischendorf's Text of 1850). By Leicester Ambrose Sawyer. 1 vol. crown 8vo, 1858.
7. The New Testament Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf (1865). By Rev. Robert Ainslie. 1 vol. 12mo, 1869.
8. The New Testament Translated from the Greek of Tischendorf—the Eighth critical Edition, still in progress; the *Synopsis Evangelica* (1864), and the Seventh critical Edition (1859). By George R. Noyes, D.D.

Adding these eight to the two ("The Improved Version" and Mr. Sharpe's Version) mentioned previously, we find that the Unitarian form of thought, in its various shades, has produced not fewer than ten revisions of the New Testament in English since the year 1745. There are, it is believed, one or two more, but as they are not possessed by the writer they are omitted.

Now there is one peculiarity of these translations to which we respectfully invite the attention of Dr. Ellicott. They are all of them free of two things which he does not enumerate among the changes which the revisers appointed by Convocation ought to introduce. Not one of them has

headings to the chapters. Not one of them contains what is called "The Three Heavenly Witnesses" (1 John v. 7). How is it that here, in a matter so grave, one being a perpetual commentary, the other a manifest forgery,—how is it, we ask, that the Bishop of Gloucester is silent on these two cardinal points? Possibly it arises from consideration toward weaker brethren. We can understand the motive. We can approve of its influence in matters that are not of principle. But the revisal of the Bible is a matter of principle. A more solemn task does not exist. Here duty is paramount. Yet here (we are sorry to be obliged to say) Dr. Ellicott has gone too far. There is a certain vacillation in his book which may encourage weaklings and make them weaker still. As a leader of the liberal *corps d'armée* in this great campaign, the Bishop of Gloucester would have acted at once more faithfully and more efficiently had he presented a bold front to the enemy. This same misplaced consideration is perhaps the source of other omissions. Without entering into these, we must make the cursory remark that the whole subject of divisions into chapter, verse and paragraph, deserves careful attention. When the revisers proceed to the task, they would do well to consult a valuable "Translation of the New Testament from the Original Greek, humbly attempted by Nathaniel Scarlett, assisted by Men of Piety and Literature, with Notes, 1 vol., 1798." Scarlett was, we believe, the last of the race of learned booksellers who devoted themselves to Biblical subjects.

Our space does not allow us to characterize the several contributions, of which we have just given a list, toward a satisfactory translation. It may, however, be well to intimate that in succession they shew a disposition to present in an English form the several ascertained steps made by critical science in the Greek text of the New Testament. In regard to one of these translations a few words in addition must be uttered. On p. 187 of his book, Bishop Ellicott uses these words :

"Surely no one contemplates, or ever did contemplate, except in the days of Purver and Harwood, sending down our beloved Bible into the crucible to be melted down."

We deprecate the unfairness of thus insinuating that Harwood, in his Version of the New Testament, contemplated

something as foolish as to melt down the Scripture. Harwood was a good scholar and an honest, as well as able, critic. He published "The Greek New Testament, collated with the most approved Manuscripts, with Select Notes in English, and References to those Authors who have best illustrated the Sacred Writings; to which are added a Catalogue of the Principal Editions of the Greek Testament, and a List of the most esteemed Commentators and Critics, by E. Harwood, D.D.," 2 vols. 12mo, 1775; that is four-and-twenty years after the famous and invaluable critical edition (1751) of Wetstein, another "semi-Socinian." Of Harwood's Greek Testament, Orme, in his "*Bibliotheca Biblica*," speaks in these terms:

"This may be considered a critical edition of the Greek Testament on a small scale. The Codex Bezae and the Clermont MS. are the principal authorities followed. Both Michaelis and (Bishop) Marsh speak of this edition in terms of commendation. The appendix to Vol. II. contains a useful list of editions of the New Testament, and of critics and commentators on it."

Dr. Harwood also published "A New Introduction to the Study and Knowledge of the New Testament, 1767—1771." Bishop Marsh speaks of the work in the following terms:

"As these dissertations display great erudition and contain much information illustrative of the New Testament, they are certainly to be recommended to the theological student."

Dr. Harwood's Introduction was intended to prepare the way for his "Liberal Translation of the New Testament; being an Attempt to translate the Sacred Writings with the same Freedom, Spirit and Elegance, with which other English Translations have been lately executed; the Design and Scope of each Author being strictly and impartially explored; the true Signification and Force of the Original critically observed, and, as much as possible, transfused into our Language; and the whole elucidated and explained upon a new and rational Plan; with Select Notes, Critical and Explanatory, 2 vols. 8vo, 1767." This is Dr. Ellicott's "crucible." Now what is there in this programme to frighten any one? Dr. Harwood is not revising the Authorized Version for the use of all who speak the English tongue, but exhibiting the words of Scripture in a scholarly dress; and this he does, not for the general public, but for



persons of high and varied culture. Surely, if persons of the kind can be conciliated by speaking in their own dialect, it would be wrong to neglect such an opportunity of usefulness. But let the author speak for himself:

“My plan is to clothe the genuine ideas and doctrines of the apostles with that propriety and perspicuity in which they themselves, I apprehend, would have exhibited them had they now lived and written in our language. The reader is desired ever to bear in mind that this is not a verbal translation, but a liberal and diffusive version, and is calculated to answer the purpose of an explanatory paraphrase as well as a free and elegant translation.

“What animated and inspired me through the whole was the pleasing thought that I might, through the blessing of God, engage the rising generation and persons of a liberal education and polite taste to peruse the sacred volume, and so to understand the duties, doctrines and discoveries of the Gospel, and to venerate Christianity as the cause of God, of truth, of liberality and of immortality.

“I can truly say, and I appeal to that Being for my sincerity, before whom I must shortly stand, that my primary design in this work was to exhibit the Christian religion in its native purity, unadulterated with human systems, creeds, doctrines and modes of faith. Religious liberty has still a temple in the breast of thousands, and the love of truth, ‘as it is in Jesus,’ is warm and vigorous in immense numbers of my happy countrymen. Many of these worthy souls have encouraged me. For these I have translated the New Testament. These, and these alone, will be my readers.” \*

Sentiments such as these were little likely to recommend the volumes to persons whom position and custom led to stand by “old things” and to stand in the way of “new things,” instead of being each a good householder after the fine model of the Divine Master (Matt. xiii. 52).

But the day for this persistent retardation of society is all but passed away. Not least forcible among the proofs of this is the fact that the class of persons who, with a few noble exceptions, withstood all revision of the Biblical writings, now move in its behalf. We welcome these new labourers into the fields of social and religious progress. They may not achieve, they may not even desire, all that

others have prepared the way for, and would now gladly make national, if not co-extensive with the English race. But having attempted to act according to their light in this momentous issue, the latter leave others to do the same, well assured that the wise and benignant providence of God will make all faithful efforts work together for the common good. Specially gratifying is it to them to see members of the Church of Christ, qualified for the task by position as well as character and learning, spontaneously undertaking a severe labour on behalf of an object second to no other in importance. And here we must express our high sense of the active earnestness manifested by the Bishop of Gloucester. We differ from him on other points besides those already specified. For instance, we think he over-estimates the unquestionable value of the Authorized Version. Years ago we gave it as our deliberate opinion that Tyndale made more use in his translation of the Vulgate and Luther than the original texts,\* and continued study of the subject confirms us in that view. Yet these and other divergences are as nothing compared with our agreement on the main point. On that point we said in 1857 :

“As a last word, we ask whether all the Greek scholarship and all the New Testament learning gained during the last hundred and fifty years, a period of most extraordinary mental activity, and a period equally memorable for progress in sacred learning,—whether the labours of Grotius, Semler, Ernesti, Matthæi, Porson, Bentley, Winer, and very many others, are to pass for nothing, so far as the people’s Bible is concerned? Do not our English scholars bestow the greatest care on editions of the classics, in order to render the text as pure as possible? or rather, do they not import from Germany editions more pure and every way better than their own? If they judge it desirable to read a Greek comedy or a Roman satire as nearly as possible in the very words of their respective authors, how can they think it otherwise than important that they themselves, that the people of England, that persons speaking English all over the world, should read the words of ‘holy men of old led by the Spirit of God’ as nearly as possible as those words were uttered, and as they have been handed down to us by the special care of Divine

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\* “A Revised English Bible the Want of the Church and the Demand of the Age, comprising a Critical History of the Authorized Version, and Corrections of numerous Mistranslations, by John R. Beard, D.D.,” 1 vol. 1857, pp. 26—59.

Providence! Yet this, their privilege and their right, they cannot fully enjoy, unless the English New Testament is now once again subjected to a careful and systematic revision.”\*

That great service is about to be rendered at a day much earlier, we confess, than we expected when we wrote those lines. We rejoice in the fact. We feel glad almost as if a personal kindness had been done to ourselves. And if in anything that precedes we may appear to have been unduly critical, let it be thought to have arisen solely from a certain jealousy lest the work should be performed less fully, less liberally, less perfectly, than we could desire. Not, indeed, that we are so presumptuous as to question the varied learning and high character of the appointed revisers, or suppose for a moment that they fall short of the requisite zeal; but their very position before the great English public of the world may make them moderate even to timidity, and in the possible danger they may find an excuse for the freedom with which one less charged with responsibility, but not less earnest in the matter than themselves, has spoken in the foregoing pages.

The confidence which we have expressed of a satisfactory result is founded, after the righteousness of the cause, mainly on the people and the press of England, both of which have warmly greeted the promise of the boon. They will not suffer themselves to be balked. The danger lies there where the proposal has originated. Convocation is certainly not the body which we should have preferred, unless fully diluted by lay elements. Yet it is not all darkness in that *camera obscura*. Liberal minds of the highest culture, to whom, in union with others, England looks in combined confidence and hope for its religious future, have already done much to put it into harmony with the best spirit of the age. Their ascendancy and rule would save Convocation from threatening dissolution, and make it a source of blessing to the land. Such men must not succumb to marplot bigots and incrustations of sacerdotal ignorance and conceit, who are as blind to the signs of the times as the “hypocrites” whom Jesus of old rebuked, and who (any more than they did) would not yield to the reproaches of the Lord himself, were he to come to earth and

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\* P. 190.

stand in bodily presence before their eyes (Matt. xvi. 3). We care not to spend our own time, and waste that of our readers, in reviewing the proofs which poor creatures of this kind have lately given of invincible stupidity. One instance concentrates the essence of all. History will look back with eyes of loving veneration on the scene which was visible in Westminster Abbey when the intended revisers, forgetting for a moment their dogmatical and social divergences, and remembering vividly and thankfully their points of agreement, knelt, as if hand in hand, and ate of the bread of life and drank of "the cup of blessing," in devout and loving remembrance of that common Lord and Saviour who, when about to go to the Father, said to his disciples, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; love one another, as I have loved you; *by THIS* shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another" (John xiii. 34, xiv. 27). Among the glories of that venerable fane, none more brilliant, none more durable, than that simple act of Christian communion! Yet among the authorities of the Church of England (O unhappy Church to have such authorities!) there are priests who, being priests rather than men or Christians, could find in an observance embodying and exemplifying the spirit of the large-hearted Master and Friend, nothing but grounds of exception and reasons for complaint. Doubtless in God's universal workshop even "The English Church Union" may find a task to which they may usefully turn their hand. But that task is not Biblical criticism. This truth, which they will not learn from us, they may be induced to listen to when uttered by one of the great luminaries of their Church, whom had that Church taken as its guide, it would now have been as distinguished for Biblical learning as it is notorious for clerical dulness and commonplace. Dr. Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, in a note to a chapter entitled, "General Rules for deciding on the Various Readings" in his Translation of Michaelis's "Introduction," makes these remarks:

"This admirable chapter has been written by our author with the coolness and impartiality of a profoundly learned critic, without the least regard to any party whatever. In subjects purely theological he has at all times abided by the established doctrine of the Lutheran Church, of which he was a member; but on points

of simple criticism he investigates the truth with all the aid of learning, indifferent as to the event, and wholly unconcerned whether the conclusions that may be drawn from his inquiries are favourable to his own system or to that of his opponents. The attention which has been paid to apparent trifles, both in the text itself and the notes of the translator, may frequently appear superfluous; but let no one forget that ACCURACY AND IMPARTIALITY ARE THE TWO GREAT VIRTUES OF A CRITIC, and that objects of no importance in themselves lead not seldom to consequences of the greatest moment. Lastly, we may derive this useful lesson from the foregoing chapter, that charity and moderation toward those whose sentiments are different from our own are the greatest ornaments of those who bear the name of Christian.”\*

At the close of these words, and as if to shew that they were more than words with him, Dr. Marsh transcribes in the original Latin of Wetstein, the following passage:

“Sacred Scripture has not been given preferably to Christian men in order that in perpetual disputes they may confute and damn each other; the gift is intended to work for peace, and in every part it breathes and inculcates mutual love and toleration. These variations of the text consist mostly in the minutest points, as whether the article should be used or not, or whether a short line should be in a letter or a longer one above a letter. What sane person can believe that the most wise and most benignant providence of God has made the everlasting safety and the final perdition of men, matters so transcendently momentous, depend on these jots and tittles, which almost escape from the keenest inspection of the human eye?”†

But Dr. Vance Smith has been made to “run the gauntlet” by other unfriendly critics. “Is not the Nicene Creed recited in the Church of England Service? Yet he does not believe in that form of ecclesiastical dogma.” As if oneness in dogmatical belief were the chief pre-requisite to religious communion. Admit this principle, and you abolish public worship and common prayer. It may be safely affirmed that scarcely two intelligent persons in any Unitarian congregation of worshipers in the United Kingdom take in the same sense words which every minister utters in prayer or in

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\* Marsh's Translation of Michaelis's “Introduction to the New Testament,” Vol. II. p. 526.

† Wetstein, Nov. Test. II. 864.

his scriptural readings or in his selected hymns. By no means do we disown the importance of doctrinal distinctions and fidelity to individual modes of thought and speech. But we expressly declare that nothing more than general concurrence can be expected in any case ; and that if anything more is made essential on special occasions, the circle of "common prayer" must be reduced to a point—in other phrase, to the criticising individual, so as to make "common prayer" an impossibility. But even the Nicene Creed contains among many tares the good seed of universal Christian truth. There Christ is owned and honoured in the two relations which he bears, and, to be Christ, ever must bear ; first, to God from whom he came ; and secondly, to man to whom he came. Here is that human element and that divine element in Christ which form at once his sublime and tender life,—a life which has made and ever will make him the one light, the one hope, and the one strength of the one true Church. In the recognition of that universal faith, as centered in that one universal life, lies the specific distinction of Unitarian Christianity. This one grand substantive reality was seen and owned by Dr. Smith. Seeing, owning and loving it, he also gave it public recognition by kneeling in that most Christian and most interesting service side by side with Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Trinitarians. Had he, when invited, kept aloof, he would have shewn himself as narrow as are his Trinitarian rebukers. He would also by a kind of anticipation have taken all propriety and all point out of the terms of reproach employed in this essay on those who attempt to cry down every liberal idea and effort by vulgar and petty imputations of Socinian and Nonconformist heresy. We sincerely thank Dr. Smith that he has saved our religious communion from so serious a charge of inconsistency, and, if blame there is, we publicly profess our willingness to share it with him, by asserting that, if we know ourselves, we should have acted in the case exactly as he has done.

JOHN R. BEARD.

## V.—THE ETHICS OF SPINOZA.

*Benedict von Spinoza's Ethik. Uebersetzt, erläutert, und mit einer Lebensbeschreibung Spinoza's versehen.* Von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Berlin. 1869.

*B. de Spinoza's Kurzgefasste Abhandlung von Gott, dem Menschen und dessen Glück. Aus dem Holländischen zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem Vorwort begleitet.* Von C. Schaarschmidt, Prof. in Bonn. Berlin. 1869.

*Benedict von Spinoza's System der Philosophie nach der Ethik und den übrigen Traktaten desselben in genetischer Entwicklung dargestellt und mit einer Biographie Spinoza's versehen.* Von Moritz Brasch. Berlin. 1870.

*Benedict de Spinoza; his Life, Correspondence and Ethics.* By R. Willis, M.D. London: Trübner and Co. 1870.

LESSING's complaint that men were in the habit of treating Spinoza as if he were a "dead dog," could not be made by him were he alive now. In fact, the study of the works of the excommunicated Jew was already reviving at the time Lessing held his famous dialogue with Jacobi. From that day to the present, Spinozistic studies have been zealously prosecuted with but rare intervals of intermission. Commenced by the Germans, they were taken up by the French, and at length began to command some attention in England. The whole of Spinoza's works have been newly translated into both German and French. We have now his two most important works in our language. The literature that in one way or other treats of Spinoza would of itself form a pretty large library. To say nothing of his influence upon biblical study, his philosophical thought and religious feeling have deeply affected those rich sources of modern European culture—German philosophy, theology and poetry. He numbers amongst his disciples Herder and Goethe, Schelling and Hegel. The man, not less than his works, has been studied and revered. His life, like that of Socrates, has been admired as an ideal of philosophic devotion. The poet Berthold Auerbach has made it the subject of a charming novel.

To an unprejudiced mind there is on first acquaintance



with Spinoza's works, especially his *Ethics*, his chief work, and that which is most read or talked about, something unaccountable in the praise bestowed on them. Any one who examines the *Ethics*, for instance, will be astonished at the number of faults he will discover, and such faults as would sentence any book produced in these days to death without hope of resurrection. If we detail a few of them, we shall be gaining an insight into Spinoza's system, as well as forming a judgment on the merits of his chief work.

The *Ethics* has none of the attractions of form. It is poor in illustrations, wholly without style, devoid even of method. The reader has to re-arrange it in order to grasp its meaning. It makes no other pretensions than to be a book of demonstrations, a system of philosophy and ethics presented in the form of Euclid. If it makes good this claim, then it must receive the praise it deserves. But if it is deficient in this respect, whatever else it may be, and whatever other merits it may possess, it must be called a failure as to its main purpose. Spinoza himself believed that he had produced a work of rigid demonstrations, without a flaw in any of the links of his chain of reasoning. Coleridge said his "deduction is a chain of adamant." Before and since Coleridge's days the same thing has been said, and by men who ought to have known better. For the fact is, as Leibnitz in his day and Trendelenburg and many others in our own have proved, Spinoza's arguments are often fallacious, his chain of adamant but a rope of sand. But our charges against the *Ethics* do not end here. A book of its nature ought to make its meaning clear and intelligible, and form a harmonious whole, without inconsistencies and contradictions. But the *Ethics* does not do this. It contains many obscurities and inconsistencies. It is our duty to prove the justice of these charges.

Spinoza delivered himself from some of the delusions of scholastic thought. He thought independently of authorities. He gave no real existence to collective names. Notwithstanding, he could not completely escape this injurious heritage. If he treats genus and species as names, he never doubts but that substance, accident, essence, are realities. It never occurs to him that such terms stand for relations of things only, and not things themselves. He places at

the commencement of his book a definition of the self-contradictory phrase *causa sui*, assuming by its use what needed first to be proved, and basing much of his reasoning upon it. It is strange that he did not see that a thing must exist before it can be a cause; if it is not strange, it is philosophical suicide to *assume* that nothing can be causeless.

The definitions and axioms of the Ethics prepare us to meet fallacies in the subsequent reasoning. We do meet them with surprising frequency. The proof of the existence of substance breaks down. The proposition takes this form: "It is of the nature of substance to exist." The argumentation is: "Substance cannot be produced by anything external to itself (*vide* preceding prop.); it must therefore be the cause of itself (*vide* def. 1), i.e. its essence involves existence, or it is of its nature to exist." Now, every one sees two ways of escaping from this conclusion. Substance may not exist at all, or it may be causeless. Besides, the terms *causa sui* and *essentia involvit existentiam* are not necessarily co-extensive. In fact, Spinoza assumes that substance exists in order to prove it, and merely refers to his arbitrary definition to shew that these two terms mean the same thing. These assumptions invalidate his reasoning, and destroy the claim of his book to be considered logically perfect. But at the same time they throw light on Spinoza's religious position. God, or substance, was so much the basis and element of his thought, that he assumes his existence when he would prove it. We know that it is of the essence of a circle that all lines drawn from the centre to the circumference are equal; but, for all this definition says, no circle may exist. It is of the essence of God to exist, but doubt suggests, If there be a God? This points to a constant and disastrous error in Spinoza's thinking. He converts ideas into realities, and definitions into things. Another form of the same vice appears when he confounds cause and reason, effect and conclusion. Accordingly in his system, just as the properties of a triangle are included in and follow from its nature, so the world follows logically and is produced naturally from the nature of God. The two cases are perfectly similar with Spinoza. God is a definition, and the world is the sum of conclusions that are contained in it. At the same time God is the

eternal creator, and the universe is an infinite reality. Two distinct forms of thought, reasoning and causation, are confounded. Neither is lost sight of really, but they are mixed. God is not only the truth, but he is also nature. From his essence not only follow eternal attributes which, like mathematical figures, have no relation to time, but there also proceeds a multiform world of temporal things. The two things may be inconsistent enough in thought, but yet they are present in Spinoza's philosophy.

We are thus conducted to another complaint against Spinoza. His system is at war with itself. It contains irreconcilable elements. *Omnis determinatio est negatio*, is one fundamental principle of our philosopher's thought. Accordingly his God is the impredicable, the nameless One. He is the absolutely infinite One. He is eternal, out of all relation to time. His attributes are, like Himself, infinite and eternal. His acts, like the attributes whence they proceed, are necessarily infinite and eternal also. But here is a world of finite and temporal existences. At least we think there is. Some philosophers have denied it. They have said, This world is all a dream; the eternal world, God only exists. But most men have thought the dream as hard a puzzle as the reality. So thought Spinoza. Or, at all events, his nature was sound enough to enable him to hold fast to the realities of time and place. But this landed him in a hopeless slough of difficulties. How could his timeless, changeless, infinite, absolute God give rise to this world of limited and changeful beings? An impassable gulf yawned between his absolute substance and his world of endless limitations. How could he find his way over? Words had carried him into the infinite void of abstract being. Kind attendant angels of helpless thinkers! they must come to his aid and bridge over the chasm between abstraction and reality. As the abstract world of Spinoza was an airy nothing, a vocable and no more, so also was the road by which he travelled back from it into the world of concrete being. Upon the wings of the word *substance* he was borne into the vacant realm of formless, colourless, lifeless entity, and by the air-bridge of the term *affections of substance* he was landed again where the solid earth was firm beneath his feet. To us this "dreadful voyage" into "the dark, unbottomed,

infinite abyss," and the adventurous return, are explicable enough. Shades of Plato, Spinoza and Hegel notwithstanding, the whole voyage was a dream. Substance is a word, and affections of substance are words about a word. But since to Spinoza substance was *toto cælo* not a word, we must see how he endeavoured to get over his difficulty. Words help people over difficulties only when they do not see the full seriousness of the difficulty to be surmounted; and they help them over the half-seen difficulty by blindfolding them first, and then persuading them they have got over, when in reality they are still on the same side as at first. Spinoza did not see the whole difficulty that confronted him, and the words modes, or affections of substance, played him a trick. The correlative terms substance and mode passed well together. Where the one was, the other must be. Each gave surety for the necessity of the other. Still, when it is thought over, it is difficult to see how the absolutely infinite substance can be subject to modes and accidents. And when the matter is looked at concretely, it does not appear how impredicable substance can exist or act. Substance, though without any *determinatio*, must have some *attributes*. Of course these attributes must be infinite, but still they describe the Absolute, and are more easily conceived as immediately belonging to Him than modes or affections. The two most general attributes that can be ascribed to the Absolute are thought and extension. All things in the world are forms of one or the other. Infinite thought and infinite extension may be conceived as the fountains of all existence. Still thought and extension as divine attributes must not be conceived as at all resembling the thought of man or the extension of body. Both are infinite. Extension as a divine attribute is not divisible. But another difficulty arises. How can infinite thought and infinite extension, attributes of an eternal and infinite Being, be the cause of the finite and perishable things of the world? They cannot. Thus the old difficulty recurs—how to bridge over the gulf between the infinite and the finite. Spinoza is reduced to an extremity. He hits upon a way out. It is an evasion, though an unconscious one. God produces some things immediately and others mediately. Eternal and infinite things follow from the eternal and infinite attributes of God, but temporal and limited things follow

from temporal and limited things which preceded them. Names came to his aid again. The terms *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* had been used before. He applied them to the two classes of created things. This distinction does not touch the real difficulty. It leaves the origin of finite and temporal things as much unexplained as ever. We ask, how did the series of causes and effects which form *natura naturata* commence? Are they eternal as God? Then they are not accounted for.

How am I to know that my knowledge is true and not a delusion? Spinoza replies, The truth is its own witness. *Sicut lux se ipsam et tenebras manifestat, sic veritas norma sui et falsi est.* In fact, Spinoza accepted the criterion of truth which Descartes had propounded, Whatever I clearly and distinctly perceive is true. With both philosophers, therefore, the criterion of truth is in reality subjective certitude, and the cause of this certitude is the clear perception of the truth. It is not our intention to examine this principle, a principle which has been so awfully prolific of good and evil since Descartes first laid it down. It was the principle by which Spinoza professed to come to his conclusions, and we refer to it as another canon by which his *Ethics* may fairly be judged. Now, when this canon is applied to it, the book must be pronounced deficient. Already we have seen Spinoza at work in thick fogs of conflicting thoughts. However strong his certitude of the truth of his system was, we can clearly see that this conviction did not arise from the clearness and distinctness with which he perceived each part of it, and the harmony of the parts in the whole. If his view of the relation of God to the world was clearer to himself than it is to us, still it was far too confused to be the cause of the certainty of its truth which he undoubtedly felt. The charge of want of clear and definite thinking is of very general application to the *Ethics*. Take, for instance, the phrases, *causa sui*, *in se vel in alio*, *in Deo*. The first term was criticised above. In reference to the others, it must be said that they are unintelligible without further definition. The preposition "in" is used by Spinoza in two senses, as an adverb of place and tropically as expressing a relation of thought. He passes from the one sense to the other without any logical compunction. He leaves its relative meaning abso-

lutely undefined. What *in Deo* means, therefore, no one knows, although many like the sound of it. Again, Spinoza has said that God is a *res cogitans*, that he has an *infinitus intellectus*, and an *idea* both of his nature and of all things that necessarily follow from his nature. But at the same time he denies in another part of his book that God has *intellectus*, making even the *infinitus intellectus* not a part of *natura naturans*, but of *natura naturata*. Surely, if God has ideas, He must have intellect. Further, as to the great question of the relation of God to the world, Spinoza does not possess any clear idea. Modes are realities, and they are "in God." Are the modes God? Does this world of extended and thinking existences constitute God? Is He simply their totality? Spinoza answers, Yes and No. At one time, for instance,\* he ascribes to God conception independently of the conceptions of men; but at other times† he describes the conceptions of God as consisting in those of men. We of course expect no clear ideas on such subjects; but a philosophy which professes to propound them must be estimated by the degree in which it fulfils its promises.

Enough in depreciation of Spinoza has now been said. The vices of his book have been pointed out, and they are neither few nor small, both numerous and serious enough to have sunk most books into the limbo of

"All the unaccomplish'd works of nature's hand."

Spinoza's *Ethics* has been saved from this fate,

First, by the number of true and grand conceptions which it contains. We have seen how hard he struggled to find a thought which could mediate between the two worlds of abstraction and reality, in both of which he had implicit faith. It is one of the strongest evidences of the clearness of his eye for the truth, that he never lost sight of reality in his devotion to abstraction. His system is not an attempt to construct a universe out of dialectical cobwebs. It is an attempt to see and know that the foundations of the world lie in the nature of infinite and eternal God. Therefore it is that true and vast ideas about the world in which we live and the natures we possess are so abundant in the *Ethics*. It is no great licence that we take if we give the

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\* II. Prop. iv.

† II. Prop. xi. cor.

outlines of Spinoza's system without any reference whatever to his substance, modes, essences, or his axioms and definitions. So substantial a basis of reality is there underneath his abstract reasoning.

The world is infinite, being the embodiment of the thoughts of an infinite mind in an infinitude of forms of existence. All possible things, all that an infinite mind can conceive, we have in the world. This infinite universe is God revealing himself in creation, being, reality. The absence of any conceivable existence would be an evil, an imperfection. Infinite reality is perfection. The world is infinite, and therefore perfect. Men talk of evil and sin, but they do not know what they say. As applied to man, these terms have but a relative meaning; applied to God, the infinite sum of existence, they have no meaning at all. When we ascribe ferocity to a tiger or ingratitude to Nero, we simply say that a particular animal or an individual man has not the qualities of other animals or men. No form of being can fail in an infinite universe. To ascribe will to God or man is an error. God has neither intellect nor will; at least, as applied to Him, these names describe things as different as the word dog when used as the name of the constellation and of the canine animal. God is creator by the necessity of his nature. All existences flow forth from the infinite fulness of his nature. He does not act with a view to future ends. Final causes exist only in our imagination. The universe is a concatenated whole of causes and effects. No existing thing is free from the necessity which unites the world. All thoughts, acts and existences, are the products of necessary causes. God does not operate upon the world from a point without it. He is in the cause and the effect.

“Was wär' ein Gott, der nur von aussen stiesse,  
Im Kreis das All am Finger laufen liesse,  
Ihm ziemt's, die Welt im Innern zu bewegen,  
Natur in Sich, Sich in Natur zu hegen,  
So dass, was in Ihm lebt und weht und ist,  
Nie Seine Kraft, nie Seinen Geist vermisst.”

Spinoza's conceptions of the nature of man, which form his *Ethics* properly speaking, are on the same vast scale.

Everything in the world is endowed with the ceaseless impulse, the instinctive desire, to preserve and perfect its



nature. Man is no exception to this rule. The perfection towards which he is impelled, which is at the same time the nature he has to preserve, is activity, the free play of his powers, the possession of independent existence, perfect self-control and self-development. Virtue is power—power to act and to be oneself. But man possesses this power but in a limited measure. His position deprives him of it. He is not an isolated unit in the world, nor is the world always on his side to give him scope and help for the unfolding of his nature. He is a part of Nature, and she has infinite instincts and struggles. She opposes and contradicts as much as she befriends and aids him. He is not allowed to stand alone, untouched and unthwarted, in the midst of the myriad forces around him. He is touched and *affected* by them in countless ways. He is not permitted to be, and to *act* out his being in peace; he must *suffer*, be acted upon and acted against. He is subject to affections and emotions. In almost all cases he is their creature and not their creator. Sometimes they diminish his power to act, and sometimes they increase it. Of the three leading affections, desire, joy and grief, the first produces both effects, the second augments our power, while the third lessens it. The whole prolific tribe of affections spring from these three. Love, for instance, is only joy attended by the idea of its external cause, and hatred is grief attended by the idea of its cause. Hope, fear, envy, humility, remorse, and all other emotions, are forms and compounds of these three. Thus we “are affected and agitated by external causes in many ways, and, like the waves of the sea driven hither and thither by contrary winds, we toss about in ignorance of our destiny and fate.”

The incessant effort to maintain existence is not only characteristic of every condition into which our nature is brought, but of the very essence of our nature as well. We cannot escape the slavery to which our affections reduce us without intense effort, still less can we submit to it without a struggle. If our passions and emotions fight to live, our true nature does the same. The law which endeavours to perpetuate our bondage is opposed by a law which aims at enlarging our freedom. Action is the end of our being, and we are endowed with an unconquerable impulse to be active and not passive. Under the sway of these two conflicting

powers, our life is in constant transition from one state to another—from the state of activity to passivity, and *vice versa*; and this is oscillation from higher to lower, and lower to higher, degrees of perfection. Sometimes the pressure of the external world is great upon the barometer of our being, and then it stands at a low mark; but again the pressure is lighter, and our nature expands and attains more fully its true altitude. Logic tells us not to ask, How *can* we diminish the pressure of the external world, get more free of it, and become more ourselves, our own nature being a law and a life unto itself? For we have neither will nor power to be anything than what we at any moment are. God made and makes us, and not we ourselves. Our inquiry, therefore, must rather be, How *is* the pressure of the external world lessened? How is it that men come to act more and to suffer less? How do they acquire power, or, which is the same thing, virtue? How do they get the mastery of their affections? Yet custom is stronger than logic.

God alone is perfectly free from all emotions. He knows neither joy nor sorrow, neither love nor hate. Men can only control their emotions, and this but imperfectly. Emotions, or affections, are the result of confused and inadequate ideas. Had we perfect knowledge, we should no longer be the subjects of joy, grief, desire, and the thousand perturbing feelings that spring from them. We might then live the untroubled life of heaven. Our knowledge being limited, we cannot at once remove the cause of our trouble and suffering, so putting an end to it altogether. We can only alleviate it, and this we may do in more ways than one. There is a difference in affections, as we have seen—some leading to higher and some to lower life. They may be used against each other. The nobler affection may expel the baser. Both soul and body strive to banish a passion that weakens them, and to call up one that may strengthen them. They seek their own welfare. They desire to exchange sorrow for joy. Again, if affections spring from confused ideas, although human knowledge must always be confused in reference to some things, still it may be increased and become clear and adequate in reference to others. If I discover that what I once thought was useful to me, and accordingly loved, is really injurious, my passion for it at

once dies. If I learn that men are just what God has made them, the contempt and hatred I felt towards some, and the envy or fear I felt towards others, will no longer afflict me. If I gain wisdom to see the great fact that there is no such thing in the world as chance or change, but, on the contrary, law and necessity are absolute and universal, I shall have gone a long way towards the attainment of the calm of resignation and acquiescence. But this is not the whole of what the increase of knowledge can do for me in my contest with affections. The knowledge of things presupposes the knowledge of God. For He is the cause of all things, and the knowledge of effects must come through the knowledge of their causes. There is besides an intuitive knowledge of God, which is not won by the slow stages of logic. The knowledge of God, however found, is the truest deliverance of the mind from slavery to feeling. For He is the infinitely perfect One, and knowing Him we are compelled to love Him. The love of Him must be a stronger passion than any other. It will therefore expel all others from our minds. The love of God will fill us with joy, which is our strength and virtue. With the love of God must come acquiescence and perfect rest. Even the two thoughts, that God is the cause of our sorrow as well as our joy, and that He can love no one, which to some bring bitter grief, can bring us only joy. For, as a universal law, to know the cause of sorrow is to convert it into joy, and much more is this so when we know that the cause is God. And as to the grief that might arise from the fact that God can love no one, no one who loves God can desire God to love him in return, for that would be to desire to degrade God, since to be subject to affections is imperfection. The knowledge of God is eternal. The love that springs from it, *amor Dei intellectualis*, is eternal also. This love is God's own love of Himself. It is the immortality of the soul, the oneness of man and God.

However little faith some may be able to bring to Spinoza's views, none can deny that, as a theory of the relations of the world and man to God, it is one of the grandest that men have conceived. But apart from his general system, there are certain characteristics of it, and some special thoughts contained in it, which have very powerfully attracted some minds.

There is, first of all, the profoundly religious character of the entire system. Some philosophies and theologies remove God to such a distance from the world, that it becomes profane. Spinoza cared little for the world save as he could see that it was entirely in God's hands. His philosophy is an attempt to lead all things up into the light of Heaven. Thanks to the abstractions in vogue in his day, he does this in a fashion that has won for him the names of Atheist, Pantheist, Akosmist, and the like ; but readers like Herder and Schleiermacher have found in him the profoundest religious genius. Later philosophies, with which his is often ranked, have made it their object to explain the origin of the world, to deduce everything from nothing, creating God by the process of their thought. Spinoza's philosophy has another aim and is filled with another spirit. Spinoza knows that God is. He was a religious man before he was a philosopher. He was a philosopher only because he was a religious man, with the necessity laid upon him to know that all things are caused and maintained by God. To find things in God, not to find God in things, is the aim of his thinking. Nor does he deduce the world from God, but reduces the world to God.

His philosophy is pre-eminently practical. He rightly names his book *Ethics*. He thinks that he may know how to live. He never contends for principles of no use to men engaged in the urgent struggle of life. He endeavours to discover the true way of living, the path of peace and acquiescence. Therefore men like Goethe have been deeply moved by him.

Then, his philosophy teaches and applies the great doctrine of the unbroken, unchangeable, irresistible sequence of all physical and mental causes and effects. This doctrine has always naturally had strong attractions for deeply religious natures. It is hard for them to believe that God's will has ever been thwarted ; it is as hard for them to believe that He is not the cause of all things. Spinoza preaches to these men what they love to hear, and preaches it with the persuasive force of resistless logic, for he can be logical here. Beside this class of men, there is another who listen eagerly to a teacher who endeavours to prove that the law of God's world is that of necessity and uninterrupted order. These are students of history and philosophy. Stu-

dents of history discover that most miracles have no foundation in fact, and that history is evolution in perfect order from existing forces. Students of physical nature admire the beautiful connection and development of the world around them, and grow unable to believe in new and miraculous causes. Both classes of observers, especially when their sciences were in their infancy, found in Spinoza a great prophet of the truth they hoped might be true. To Herder and Goethe he was in this respect a helpful master.

In the great field of morals, too, he held out a light for the guidance of bewildered inquirers. Spinoza based the structure of morals on the firm foundation of utility. He derived the law of duty from the audible, intelligible and authoritative command of Nature: Be what God has made you; obey the laws of your nature. Great as the deficiencies in his moral system may be, his great doctrine of self-preservation and self-development, presented with remarkable clearness and force, appealed with the power of a gospel to men who were escaping from an ascetic morality of self-abnegation. It might be far enough from the whole truth, but there have been many who received as a divine message Spinoza's great ideas: Strength is virtue; joy is strength, but sorrow is weakness; the useful is the good; knowledge is strength and virtue, ignorance is weakness and vice; happiness is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself. There was a strange attraction, too, given to these ideas, which, like the Divine blessing, satisfied consciences which might listen to them with trembling fear, by the fact that, side by side with them, were others as awfully destructive of all selfishness as these might seem to invest it with a strange and perilous sanctity. For Spinoza demanded of men that would be perfect the most awful sacrifice that the religious man can be asked to offer, that they should not desire God to love them if they would love Him perfectly. Here were the views and the intellect of a Hobbes consecrated by the piety and devotion of a Quietist. Hence Goethe confesses: "What especially bound me to Spinoza was the illimitable unselfishness which breaks forth from every sentence. That strange word, 'Whoever loves God perfectly must not desire that God should love him,' with all the premisses upon which it rests and all the consequences which follow from it, occupied all my thoughts."

Further, since the Greeks and before Spinoza, and for nearly a century after his death, there was no man, with the spirit and power of a true philosopher, who thought and wrote with such entire independence of authorities as he did. Philosophy had been Christian, and Spinoza delivered it from all subjection to any positive religion. At the same time he was no incapable, frivolous "free-thinker." His independent position—we may even say, his antagonism to every existing religious system—rightly or wrongly, commanded the admiration and confidence of such men as Lessing, Herder and Goethe. These men were possessed with the desire of leading mankind out of churches, synagogues and mosques, that they might appear before God under the open heavens, and speak to Him in the pure language of their hearts, or bow before Him in silent adoration, if that should seem more becoming. To see man and God in awful converse, with no one intervening, was the divine and irresistible instinct or desire of souls that could not rest in forms and churches. Spinoza, like the prophet of his forefathers, spoke face to face with God, as a man speaketh with his friend, and was not afraid.

Lastly, a vein of mysticism is constantly cropping up from the rocky surface of Spinoza's propositions, proofs and corollaries. Without expressing any opinion as to the worth or worthlessness of mysticism, it is enough for our purpose to recognize the fact that it has attractions for not a few, and those not the weakest, minds of our race. Such minds have been attracted to Spinoza in spite of his apparent cold intellectualism. His *intuitiva scientia*, his adequate knowledge of God, his intellectual love of Him, the being *in* God of which he says so much, the absolute surrender of self to God which he demands, the peace which "passeth understanding" that pervades his works,—these parts of his philosophy have laid hold of men like Novalis and young Schleiermacher. Besides, a pantheistic philosophy, whether its propounder be a mystic or not, will always be read by mystics.

For many minds the thoughts of Spinoza's *Ethics* have been a welcome harbour in the troubled sea of human ignorance and uncertainty. The great, restless mind of Lessing steadied itself around the great thought of Spinoza's *ἐν καὶ πᾶν*. Goethe found an asylum in the *Ethics*. Not a few

of the principles of Spinoza have become the axioms of more recent philosophies. He asserted the universality of Necessity and the inviolability of Law, and denied the possibility of human freedom and divine interference. He taught the doctrine of necessary development in opposition to final causes. He maintained the relativity of moral codes, and derived the moral test from utility. Buckle, Darwin and Mill, therefore, follow in the paths which he began to clear.

But there is something more in Spinoza's works than we have yet named. Men have been attracted to him by a more subtle influence than the thoughts that are exposed upon his page. A hidden magnet lies beneath every leaf of his works. To the eye, his *Ethics* conceal the personality of the author; but it is only to the eye. Spinoza cannot make his book a non-conductor of his nature and life. Philosophical Euclid as it seems to be, it is a strong spiritual medium still. The reader is *en rapport* with the author. The early struggles, disappointments and persecutions, the subsequent peaceful, contented, happy existence, and the calm, loving, resigned and joyous nature that had both made this existence and been made by it, live and breathe through the book as its soul. And the *Ethics* owe no small measure of their fame and influence to this fact. We must therefore glance at Spinoza's life.

Baruch (Latin, Benedict) de Spinoza, born at Amsterdam, November 24, 1632, was the son of a Spanish Jew who had taken refuge in Holland from the persecutions of the Inquisition. His father set him apart for the office of Rabbi. At the age of fifteen he had distinguished himself as a Talmudist. He acquired also a knowledge of the classical languages from the free-thinking scholar and physician Francis van den Ende. While still a youth he expressed heterodox views on religion. At the age of twenty-three, August 6, 1656, he was excommunicated and anathematized by the heads of the synagogue. Cut off from his relatives and nation, he was at first received into the house of Van den Ende. But Amsterdam was too hot for him. The Jews endeavoured to procure from the corporation of the city a sentence of banishment against him, and a fanatic attempted to assassinate him. In 1660 he is found at Rynsburg amongst Baptists. Meanwhile he has fallen in love with



the daughter of Van den Ende, and been supplanted by a richer suitor, who won his prize by the aid of presents. And, what is more, he has studied Descartes, and adopted his principle of the criterion of truth, and his definition of substance. All this time and subsequently he gained his livelihood by grinding and polishing lenses. He must be independent in life as well as thought. In 1663 appeared his first work, a summary of Descartes' philosophy, written for a pupil. In 1664 he removed to Voorburg, near the Hague, and in 1670 to the Hague itself, where he remained till his death in 1677. The only other book that he published was the "*Tractatus Theologico-politicus*," in 1670. Its main principle is, that the design of positive religion is unlike the design of philosophy: it is not to teach the truth, but obedience. By this principle he gains freedom to criticise the Bible freely. This he does, anticipating a great many of the conclusions of modern criticism. This book created so much noise and ill-will, that he resolved to publish no more. His other works are posthumous. The chief of these is of course the *Ethics*. He produced this work in the years 1662-5, but continued to amend it until the very last.

Spinoza's life was that of a noble, brave, free, truth-loving man. He knew by painful experience what prejudice, custom, dependence, fear and unruly feelings, can do. He resolved, or perhaps instinctively struggled, to get free from bondage to such masters. Two records tell us how and with what success he struggled. His *Ethics* and his life record this. He lives by the labour of his hands, for it is good for the body, and the perfection of the body is in his philosophy the perfection of the soul. A friend will give him two thousand gulden, but, like Socrates, he says, "No, nature is content with a little, and therefore so am I." The same friend bequeaths to him an annuity of five hundred gulden, but he cannot be prevailed upon to take more than three hundred. His father dies, but of the inheritance he leaves his children Benedict takes no more than a bed. His style of living was simple in the extreme. He drank but little wine, and for days together lived upon milk and oatmeal porridge. He was a happy, pleasant, humorous man. After his days of work with head and hand, we see him chatting with his landlady.

When she comes home from church on Sundays, he listens to her account of the sermon, and encourages her to be at peace as to her soul. Or, again, we may see him indulging in the rarer pleasure of a pipe with his landlord, or enjoying himself in a merry-making with a party of friends. Joy is power and grief is weakness, he said. Thus his days were passed in honest industry, close thinking and innocent recreation, far from the noise of the world, and greatly free from care and passion. He had early in his life discovered that the world was not his proper sphere. Nothing could induce him to leave his retreat and enter it again. His fame was great. Honours and positions of influence were offered him in vain. The Prince Palatine invited him to take the chair of philosophy in Heidelberg, allowing him full liberty to teach, provided he would not use his liberty to the overthrow of the established religion. He replied: "Because I had never a taste for public teaching, I cannot embrace this opportunity. Firstly, I think that if the charge of teaching youth rested with me, I should cease to help on the cause of philosophy. Further, I do not know within what limits my liberty to teach would have to be kept that I should not appear to disturb the stability of religion."

Spinoza's *Ethics* present a constant commentary on his life. "Cares and misfortunes," he says, "are chiefly owing to undue love of things that are exposed to many changes, and over which we have no control. For no one has anxiety and trouble about things for which he has no love; and he suffers injuries, suspicions, animosities, and the like, only from love of objects which are really not in his power." "From all that I have said it appears how much more efficient the wise man is than the ignorant, and how much stronger he is than the ignorant man who is ruled by his desires only. For the latter is not only swayed hither and thither at the mercy of external causes, never attaining to any real peace of mind, but he also lives in ignorance of himself, God and all things, and when he ceases to be acted upon, he ceases to exist also. On the other hand, the wise man, considered as such, scarcely suffers a perturbation in his breast, but by some eternal necessity acquainted with himself, God and other things, he never ceases to exist and ever enjoys true satisfaction."

Spinoza's philosophy and Spinoza's life form one noble effort to discover the divine secret of the world, and at the same time solve the great problem of living the true life. Men differ in opinion as to the value of his discoveries and solution, but the enlightened amongst them must ever read his works with deep feeling as well as eager attention, while they will look up to the man with reverence and admiration, thanking God that our poor humanity, generally so weak and blind, has given birth to a few great heroes, of whom Spinoza was not the least.

The books at the head of our article call for brief notice. We take them in the order of their entry.

The translation of the *Ethics* and the volume of notes accompanying it, by J. H. von Kirchmann, form a very valuable addition to the numerous helps the students of Spinoza possess. The translation is close, without being unintelligible to those who cannot compare the Latin. The notes, which form a commentary and criticism on almost every paragraph of the *Ethics*, are invaluable as explanations of the difficulties and expositions of the inconsistencies and fallacies of Spinoza. They are written from the point of view of the realistic as opposed to the absolutist school of philosophers. In his fundamental principles, the commentator therefore stands at the philosophical antipodes of his author. Accordingly, Spinoza's system has never undergone a more severe and generally unfavourable criticism than it is here subjected to. Still, von Kirchmann acknowledges the grandeur of Spinoza's ideas and the lasting value of many of them. We could wish that he had also looked at Spinoza from a greater distance and with less slavish adherence to his terminology. If he could not do this in his notes, consistently with their design, it would have added greatly to the value of his work to have done so in a separate essay on the entire system of his author. A great man like Spinoza can never be understood by a reader who does not sometimes get outside the mists and limitations of his words. Amongst Spinoza's disciples, Herder clearly saw that this was especially the case with his master. In fact, to press Spinoza's philosophy into the narrow limits of his definitions, is often to convert one who was confessedly a great man and a great thinker into a mere *λογομάχος*.

The little tract by Spinoza, discovered by Schaarschmidt

in 1862, then translated from the Dutch MS. into Latin, and now for the first time into German, requires from us no more than the bare announcement.

The work of Moritz Brasch is a very useful book. Spinoza's method of distributing his Ethics into propositions greatly adds to the difficulty of getting a connected view of his system. This inconvenience our author helps to remove. He discusses Spinoza's system under certain heads, and collects from the whole of the Ethics the chief passages in point. This is of great assistance to the student, especially as the quotations are always in the original Latin. Besides, Herr Brasch gleans together the scattered criticisms of Kirchmann, transferring them almost word for word to his own pages without any more than a very general acknowledgment. He collects similarly from Ueberweg and other critics of Spinoza. This almost exhausts the praise due to him. His book is disfigured with teeming misprints.

We notice Dr. Willis' book last, not because it is least, for it is a big book, nor because it is best, for it is not a good book. The author's main qualifications for his work have been a vast but not very intelligent admiration for his hero, and brave patience in writing so much about what he has often not understood. It was a meritorious thing to attempt a translation of Spinoza's Ethics. No doubt there are Englishmen who would like to read the great work of the great Jew if it were not locked up in a dead language. But there is no merit in Dr. Willis' translation. It is not only frequently unintelligible, which in this case might be a pardonable fault, but it is very inaccurate, and that is not pardonable. This serious charge must be proved. In the Appendix to the first part of the Ethics, Spinoza, amongst other things, discusses the origin of the ideas good and bad, order and disorder, desert and sin, and the like. "Postquam homines sibi persuaserunt, omnia quæ fiunt propter ipsos fieri, id in unaquaque re præcipuum judicare debuerunt quod ipsis utilissimum, et illa omnia præstantissima æstimare, a quibus optime afficiebantur." This sentence Dr. Willis renders thus: "When men had persuaded themselves that everything in nature was made for them, they of course came to this pleasant conclusion from noting those things especially which, in so far as they were concerned, they found most

useful, most excellent, and by which they were most agreeably affected." Spinoza goes on to say that men formed the ideas of good and bad from this primary idea of the useful and agreeable, and continues further: "Et quia se liberos existimant, inde hæ notiones ortæ sunt, scilicet laus et vituperium," &c.; which sentence takes this form on Dr. Willis' page: "On these grounds, too, have men concluded that they themselves were free; and, further, have spoken of Praise and Blame," &c. At the end of this Appendix, Spinoza answers the question, Why did not God so create all men that they should be led solely by reason? "Quia ei non defuit materia ad omnia ex summo nimirum ad infimum perfectionis gradum creanda; vel magis proprie loquendo: quia ipsius naturæ leges adeo amplæ fuerunt, ut sufficerent ad omnia quæ ab aliquo infinito intellectu concipi possunt producenda, ut propositione 16. demonstravi." Our translator's version is: "That it was not because God was without material for the creation of all things from the highest to the lowest grade of perfection; or, to speak more properly, because the laws of his nature were not so ample as to suffice for the production of all absolutely that can be conceived by an infinite intelligence." In all three of these instances of mistranslation, not only is Spinoza's meaning not given, but the sentences have no meaning at all. In the last instance, a fundamental principle of Spinozism is blindly missed, creating the suspicion that the translator has not mastered his author's most general principles. Space forbids any more quotations. With a bare reference to another gross mistranslation, the demonstration of prop. 14, pt. 4, we pass on to a brief glance at the translation of Spinoza's letters. Here the course was more clear of difficulty, and the version is better. But still very serious blunders occur. The famous passage in Epist. 21, "Dico, ad salutem non esse omnino necesse, Christum secundum carnem noscere; sed de æterno illo filio Dei, hoc est, Dei æterna sapientia, quæ sese in omnibus rebus, et maxime in mente humana, et omnium maxime in Christo Jesu manifestavit, longe aliter sentiendum. Nam nemo absque hac ad statum beatitudinis potest pervenire, utpote quæ sola docet quid verum et falsum, bonum et malum sit,"—reads in our translator's version thus: "I say that it is by *no means* necessary to know Christ according to the flesh; *for*, of that eternal Son of

God, in other words, of the eternal wisdom of God, which manifests itself in all things, in the mind of man especially, and, above all, in Jesus Christ, we are to hold a totally different opinion. Without *this [spiritual] view*, I hold that no man can attain," &c. In Letter 36, Spinoza meets the objection, If God is the cause of all things, He is the cause of evil. Evil, replies the philosopher, is only a negation. The positive elements in Nero's matricide, the deed and the intention, were present in the case of Orestes. Nero's crime consisted in want of virtue, of gratitude, pity and obedience. "None of these vices were anything positive, and therefore God was not their cause, although *He* was the cause of the act and the intention of Nero" (*licet causa actus et intentionis Neronis fuerit*). Dr. Willis translates, "although *they* were the cause," &c. We must quote no more from the letters, and merely refer to the translation of the 30th, and the sentences upon p. 289, commencing, "From what I have now said." They are shockingly inaccurate, and discover lamentable ignorance of Spinoza's doctrines. Imagine the author of a big book on Spinoza inserting such a parenthesis as the following into his translation: "The imagination, moreover, is entirely governed by the state of the mind (as this is by the state of the body)"!

Too much space has been occupied in this examination of Dr. Willis' translation to permit us to say much about the 250 pages of writing that precede it. We have here a sketch of Spinoza's system, an account of his life, and a sort of review of the history of Spinozism. In reference to the last subject, Dr. Willis makes the apology, amongst others: "My survey in this direction is necessarily imperfect, for a volume, instead of a few pages, would scarcely suffice to do it justice." Then why treat this survey in so irrelevant a manner? For instance, we have thirteen pages on Schleiermacher, with scarcely anything to the point, and much that is wholly erroneous. Spinoza is called the "master" of Schleiermacher. The reader is led to suppose—and generally, in professing to give an account of the relation men hold to Spinoza, Dr. Willis leaves them to suppose or find out for themselves what it actually was—that Schleiermacher was a Spinozist. No error could be greater. Schleiermacher himself pointed out fundamental differences in the first principles of the two systems. And what can we say

to an attempt to shew that our John Locke "was well acquainted with the works of Spinoza, but carefully avoided all mention of his name"? The passages quoted to shew the acquaintance, one of them being a passage from Spinoza "done into English," are absolutely as unlike as two passages can be. Of all men, John Locke was the last to be indebted to a heretic and "suppress" his name. Of all philosophies, his shews least touch of Spinozism. But we must conclude. This part of Dr. Willis' work is not more satisfactory than his translation. There is a great display of reading, but it is very frequently wholly beside the mark. A great deal is said about Spinoza's system, generally for it, sometimes against it. But what is said as frequently displays ignorance of it or inability accurately to understand it. At one time, for instance, Spinoza is lauded for teaching necessity; at another time, his teaching is objected to because it leaves no scope for contingency. Further, Dr. Willis crowds and disfigures his pages by irrelevant and offensive theological digressions, often as deficient in knowledge as in taste: for instance, on p. 26, both in the text and the long note, and p. 102 similarly. It would have been well if the translator had caught more of the loving wisdom of his author, as well as more of his love of "clear and distinct knowledge."

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

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## VI.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Spiritual Religion. Sermons on Christian Faith and Life.* By James Drummond, B.A. London: Longmans. 1870.

THE sermon, as a rule, is not suited for the printed page. "Essentially a lyric expression of the soul" in its loftiest moods, uttered through the living voice to those elements of our nature that constitute our common humanity, it derives its chief charm, beauty and power, from the expression of the human personality from whence it flows. When this is unknown and we have only its words, we are in the



same predicament as those who have presented to them the score of a musical composition, but have never heard its cadences. To those, however, who have heard these, the notes are invaluable as the means of recalling movements in their souls, inspirations of their moral and spiritual being, that are numbered among the higher experiences of life : and by many in the large and influential congregation to which these discourses were delivered, they will be welcomed and cherished as invaluable mementos of seasons in which their higher nature was animated, encouraged, inspired ; in which their conscience was quickened, guided, strengthened ; in which their joys were hallowed, their sorrows sanctified, their faith deepened, their hope elevated, their charity enlarged. For them there will be around this volume a halo of magnetic, intellectual, moral and spiritual power ; and through it all, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the fellowship of His Holy Spirit, that will endear it to them for ever.

To those, also, outside that favoured circle, who will accept these discourses as specimens of the ordinary productions of a ministry largely occupied by pastoral and philanthropic labours, they will prove of much service, as aids to the solution of some of the greater problems that are engaging the thoughts of the best and noblest men in the present crisis of theological inquiry. Whether they be looked upon from the stand-point of philosophy or ethics, religion or theology, faith or science, they present us with studies of great beauty, with lines of thought of much interest, and with moral and spiritual characteristics of unwonted purity. Utterly void of any semblance of pedantry, they afford perpetual evidence of a wide-spread erudition, and are so deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ and with a knowledge of the moral tendencies of this century, as to enable their author, by the simplest and most direct appeals, to lay open its heart to society, to quicken its sense of imperfection, and to animate its endeavours after the true, the beautiful and the good.

Any detailed criticism of these sermons would be impossible in the space at our command. We can only indicate their general principles and spirit. Believing in a world within us as firmly as in that without us, Mr. Drummond accepts the facts of consciousness with as unhesitating a

trust as he accepts the facts of science ; and finds in the former an all but logically demonstrable spiritual basis of life, which he opposes with great earnestness to the physical basis now presented with so much skill by the votaries of science. In the fine discourse on " God as the Author of Law," he adopts a process of reasoning beside which the defects of that of Professor Huxley become glaringly apparent, and which lodges us in the conclusion that the Laws of Matter or Life cannot account for the origin or development of the one or the other, but can only shew us the methods of procedure adopted by their spiritual Source, Sustainer and Administrator. Not content, moreover, with the wonderful Mechanician, the unfathomable Artist unto whom the laws of nature lift the soul of man, when it calmly trusts those primary and everlasting tendencies that have been implanted within it, our author enters with unfaltering step the moral and spiritual domain of our inner life, and finds there what we can but deem irrefragable evidence of the existence, government and perpetual presence of the moral and spiritual God whose objective reality our moral and spiritual experiences imply.

Starting from these fundamental axioms of all religion, Mr. Drummond finds the Father-God revealing Himself not so much through the fossil remains of various species in the world of matter, unburied from the grave of ages ; not so much through the living forms of exquisite beauty, marvellous adaptation, wonderful instinct and mighty power, that adorn the outward universe, but chiefly through the spiritual characteristics of man, His own offspring ; through the beams of truth and tenderness, of disinterestedness and devotion, of purity and pity, of gladness and peace, wherewith the Holy Spirit of God irradiates our own souls, or illuminates the spirits of those of our fellow-men who lovingly and reverently receive it into their hearts, and are thereby constituted sons of God, bearing the lineaments of His character, and endowed with the elements of His attributes.

All other media of revelation are resolvable into these, and without these any knowledge of God is impossible ; but as in the outward world we find a progressive development of the lower and humbler forms of matter and life into the higher and nobler, so in the inner world we discern a

progression from lower forms of moral and spiritual being and powers of perception to higher and clearer. The Spirit of God is universal in its operations, pervading the whole family of man, pouring its inspirations through all, in all ages, but culminating in various characteristics at specific points, and thence shedding the radiance and enlivening influences of those characteristics on all subsequent developments of our race. It perfected the sense of Beauty in forms, and the faculty of criticism upon them, in Grecian art; whence the spirit of beauty has been diffused, till it has touched and modified and humanized all subsequent civilized life. It consummated the principles of Law in Roman pandects; whence the spirit of law has infused its light and warmth into the whole realm of civilized mind; and in like manner it embodied its divine ideal of Religion in the flower of the Hebrew race. In the spirit of the life of Christ we have a divine revelation of the relations in which a true son of God stands to his Father-God and to his brother-man; and from his childlike, manlike, godlike personality goes forth evermore an inspiration which, we trust, is destined to leaven the whole human family, and make all its members joint-heirs with the Author and Finisher of their faith of an inheritance of goodness. That personality embodies at once the perfect beauty and the eternal rule of God. It has smitten the heart of humanity with a divine rod, and unsealed its deepest spring of feeling and religious life. As men become enamoured of his immortal ideas of God and self-consecration to God; as they become enraptured with his perfect spiritual beauty and moral obedience; as they become captivated by the refinement of his religious love, the spirituality of his holy sorrow, the light of his unshaken hope, the serenity of his confidence in goodness, and the humility of his prayerful spirit,—they find their own tendencies, in all these directions, unfolding, and themselves “changed into the same image from glory to glory,”—the law within them harmonizing with the objective reality and beauty of God without them; their conscience linking itself with a government above them, and their morality taken up and fostered and nourished in the bosom of religion.

It is just these personal relations between Christ and his disciples which Mr. Drummond has so ably and clearly

shewn to develop "The Christian's Distinctive Faith;" to have made "Christ a Quickening Spirit;" to have led man on from his primal "Innocence" to "The Awakening of Conscience" to "The Sense of Sin;" thence to the yearning for "The Manifestation of the Sons of God" within him, and to his highest "Spirituality." It is these relations that have knit together "The Church of Christ" and made possible "The Communion of Worship:" and whatever present personal inspiration we may enjoy from the Holy Father, these relations to Christ, His perfected Son, can no more be dispensed with in the perfecting of our humanity, than the influences of Grecian art can be ignored in the unfolding of man's æsthetic faculty, or the principles of Roman law can be repudiated in the development of national jurisprudence. Those relations have been the life-blood of all Christian—and that is to say of all the highest—art, poetry and philosophy; of every grand and fruitful modern polity; of every beneficent philanthropic or social movement; and of all the higher phases of our own material civilization. The philosophy or science that would eliminate them from the life of our race would verily go far to reduce us to what some men say we are—developed mollusks, with finer organs of digestion, of sanguineous circulation and of locomotion, indeed; connected with a more complicated nervous system, out of which spring mental powers; but with no divine life or relations, with no immortal capacities or functions, with no heavenly spirit or destiny—having our hope here, but none hereafter!

Arrived at an age when man is "compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses" that have gone before him, and is constrained to look for what is coming after him, our thanksgivings are perpetual that Manchester New College has of late years sent forth *Alumni* on which our hopes for the future may rest with so great and assured a hope as that inspired by the reading of this volume. Its author is but one among several compeers of whose moral and spiritual characteristics and tendencies his work is an indication. May they enter, occupy and cultivate the wide field which the noble band of their forerunners have so tenaciously held and faithfully tilled in the spirit of freedom, wisdom and reverential faith; and may our author, called in all honour by his theological *Alma Mater* to

preside as a Master in her Hall, train there a succession of younger brethren who shall reflect his spirit, his wisdom and his faith, and adorn the household with sons of whom the Mother need not be ashamed !

J. LETTIS SHORT.

2. *Chronologie der Römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts.* Von Richard Adelbert Lipsius. Kiel. 1869.

The "Chronology of the Bishops of Rome" is not a subject which promises much entertainment to any but those who have acquired an artificial taste for such studies, and indeed the author himself informs us that it is no special liking for the work of a literary mole (*literarischer maulwurfsarbeit*), but a sort of adverse destiny which he has not the adroitness to escape, which has brought him to his present task.

In spite of all that has been written on the subject of the Chronology of the Popes, Professor Lipsius finds that his special line of investigation brings him practically into the position of a pioneer in a very thick literary jungle ; and accordingly 140 of his 280 pages are devoted to a patient and minute examination, from his peculiar point of view, of the various catalogues and lists of the Popes. These he divides into two classes, the Greek or Eastern and the Latin or Western, acknowledging, however, that these terms are inapplicable, in so far as the Eastern catalogues are drawn from Western sources, and the Latin catalogues are probably translated from Greek originals.

It is impossible here to follow Professor Lipsius in his restorations and emendations of doubtful texts, his comparison of various recensions, and his juxtaposition of various catalogues, as he endeavours to fix the genuine forms, the relative values, and, above all, the mutual relations, of the various lists of the Popes, drawing first the Eastern, then the Western catalogues into groups and families, each with a common source, and finally tracing them all back to a common archetype, extending first from Peter to Urban, then to Dioclesian's persecution, and then to Silvester (died Dec. 31, 335 A.D.) ; and yet without any such minute investigation it is impossible to appreciate his labours, or

to form any critical estimate of the value of his results. We must be content, therefore, with pointing out a few of the results at which he arrives, referring those who desire to form a critical judgment as to their validity to the work itself.

The whole period over which the researches of our author extend embraces 352 years, and this falls into two great divisions: 1st, from Peter to Urban (ending 230 A.D.); 2nd, from Pontianus to Liberius (230—352 A.D.). For the second of these periods we have much fuller materials than for the first, and are able indeed to fix with tolerable certainty, not only the years, but the months and days of the several episcopates, together with the burial-places of the bishops. During this period our author endeavours to fix as accurately as possible the chronology of the several bishops of whom he treats successively, by using the *Catalogus Liberianus* as his basis, but carefully comparing the other catalogues, and availing himself of every possible indication afforded by inscriptions, notices of contemporary events and bishops, &c., and thus varying his more technical investigations by the incidental introduction of a variety of interesting matter. The periods during which the chair was vacant, owing to the persecutions to which the Christians were subjected, are considered with special care and minuteness.

The bishops of the first period fall into two principal groups, the latter of which is again subdivided. In the second group an uncertainty of three years, which still remains, in the date of Xystus I. (presbyter-bishop for ten years ending 124-6 A.D.) diminishes and disappears from those of his successors, until the death of Eleutherus may be placed with certainty in the year 189 A.D.

It is in the first group, however, that the general reader will feel the greatest interest. The list, according to the best authorities, is as follows: Peter, Linus, Anencletus (or Cletus), Clemens, Evarestus (or Aristus) and Alexander. The length of the periods of episcopal authority assigned to each of these is fixed on purely mythical and artificial grounds, but, with the exception of Peter, they all had a real connection with the Roman Church. Here we will give the conclusions of Lipsius in his own words:

“The legend of Peter’s residence at Rome, in connection with

the legend of Simon [Magus] sprang up, therefore, about the beginning of the second century, and the rival Petropauline narrative of the common missionary activity and the common martyrdom of the two apostles in Rome, somewhat later or towards the middle of the century. A few decades later yet, when in the Catholic interest the lists of bishops, with the prince of the apostles at their head, were composed (i. e. at latest, under Eleutherus, under whom Irenæus wrote, but probably as early as the time of Anicetus, under whom Hegesippus came to Rome), the twenty-five years of Peter's bishopric at Rome (twenty-two, according to Cat. v.), from the first year of the reign of Claudius to the Neronian persecution, arose from a combination of the two forms of the legend."\*

"The historical existence of the persons whose names are employed in these lists of bishops can hardly be doubted; they were men who held an important place in the Roman community in the first and second generations after the apostles."†

Linus belonged to the first, Anencletus to the second generation. Then comes Clemens. The catalogues vary greatly in the position they assign to him, some placing him first, some second, and some third, after Peter. Our author believes him to belong to the second generation after the apostles, and accounts for the desire to place him earlier by the great celebrity which was afterwards attached to his name, and the desire to bring so renowned a bishop into immediate connection with Peter. The question of the identity of the Consul Flavius Clemens and Clemens the bishop is fully discussed, but no final decision is arrived at.

"The alternative consequently appears to be as follows: either Flavius Clemens was a heathen, and in that case the bishop is a real historical personage (but one of the true circumstances of whose life we are absolutely ignorant) who was different from the Consul, but was early identified with him; or the ecclesiastical legend of the bishop draws its first origin from the Consul, and in that case the latter, in spite of the silence of the later tradition, was a Christian."

And again:

"If he was the same person as the Consular Flavius Clemens, the time of his death is fixed with precision as January, 96; if, on the other hand, he is a different person, reliable history knows nothing of the circumstances of his life, except that he occupied

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\* Pp. 166, 167.

† P. 146.



a prominent position in the Roman college of presbyters in the time of Domitian." \*

This brings us to the end of the first century; but we must not suppose that Linus, Anencletus and Clemens were "bishops;" they were merely presbyters. So also were Evarestus and Alexander at the beginning of the second century, though these latter perhaps were in some sense bishop-presbyters, a term which can only be applied with certainty to Xystus I., the next in succession, and the first on the list for whose chronology we have anything like reliable information.

We have selected, as specimens, those particulars from the part of the work which appeared most likely to be generally interesting, but the book is one which cannot be judged at second-hand. We need only add that the catalogues are given in extenso, and the different portions of them displayed in parallel columns as they are successively dealt with, and that their relationship is indicated by genealogical tables, so that everything is done to enable the reader to follow the author in his reasonings and judge of his conclusions.

A restoration of the text of the *Catalogus Liberianus* (founded on that of Mommsen) and an exact reproduction of the *Berner Codex* of the *Catalogus Felicianus*, are appended to the volume.

P. H. W.

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3. *Owen Glendower, a Dramatic Biography, being a Contribution to the Genuine History of Wales; and other Poems.* By Goronva Camlan (Rowland Williams, D.D.). London: Williams and Norgate. 1870.

This, a posthumous work of the late lamented Dr. Rowland Williams, is, on many accounts, the most remarkable production of his pen. For, setting aside the painful circumstances attending its publication, alluded to in the simple but graceful and touching notice prefixed by his widow, the nature and intrinsic value of its contents render it a suitable memorial of himself, and a welcome legacy to his many friends and admirers.

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\* Pp. 160, 161.

For of all his works it comes nearest to an autobiography. We have in it a complete self-revelation, probably undesigned, but none the less true on that account, of the man himself. The main episodes of his life, his trials and struggles, his views and speculations, his feelings and sympathies, are portrayed by his own hand with evident truth and genuine simplicity. Hence for those who are interested not only in the scholar and thinker but in the man, we cannot recommend a fuller or more trustworthy record than is contained in these interesting pages.

It is possible that the form of the book may occasion surprise to some people. Dr. Williams was known as a biblical critic and a thoughtful divine rather than as a poet; and yet, in addition to fugitive pieces, this is the third collection of poems which he published. Indeed, throughout his life, his hardest struggles, his profoundest speculations, seem to have embodied themselves in a poetic form. It might be worth asking, had we space to do it, why it is that the profoundest divines have ever been, even when they wrote prose, essentially poets? Is it that profundity of speculation (and this is true even of the researches of science) can exist only with powerful and vivid imagination? Anyhow, such is the fact. The best divines have been, and are, poetical; and we may, moreover, record our conviction of the truth of the converse of this proposition, that the greatest poets are, in the truest and best sense of the words, divines.

We may allow in passing that in form Dr. Williams' poetry was not of the highest possible order. His versification seems to us to lack the grace of smoothness and easy flow. It is possible that this defect (if it be one) was conscious on his part, for he always valued the masculine virtue of rugged strength more than the feminine attributes of delicate structure and exquisite polish. It may, however, be attributed in a great measure to the intense feeling, as well as to the sustained concentration of thought, which characterize his poems. To ourselves his poetry appears symbolical of his life,—not the even course of the placid stream, gliding without a ripple along its easy course, but the mountain rivulet, conscious of its vigorous strength, and boldly surmounting the rocks and boulders which obstruct its path.

The first piece in the book, and the longest of all his poems, is the drama of Owen Glendower. Its main object seems to be the rehabilitation of the great hero of the Welsh people, and the rescue of his character from certain calumnies and misrepresentations with which English jealousy of a bygone age had obscured it. Attentive readers cannot, however, help discovering, that beneath this main purpose there lurks the covert intention of making the hero the representative of the author's views. It might, indeed, be said that we ought to bear in mind the warning of the proem :

Nor yet let men too curiously surmise,  
If in the tale lurk something of my own.

But the misfortune of this disclaimer, is that the very need of expressing it serves to confirm rather than allay our suspicion. It is, however, certain that many of the sentiments proceeding from Owen Glendower, and which at first sight appear to belong of right to an age long subsequent to his own, may be found in the works of pre-Reformation reformers contemporaneous with himself: e.g.,

To see no priestly conscience urged to lie,  
Nor people's prayer postponed to priestly rite,

was a demand made by more than one forward spirit of the 14th century. And the well-known general sense in which Dr. Williams interpreted the doctrine of Inspiration, and which he puts more than once in the mouth of his hero, may be discovered in the writings of reformers of that, and of schoolmen of a still earlier, period.

The characters and incidents of the drama are quite historical. Its interest, however, concentrates mainly round its principal character. Owen Glendower, as portrayed by the patriotic pen of Dr. Williams, is certainly a great and noble chieftain; and this representation of him, allowing for a little dramatic colouring, is at least as likely to be historically true as the obviously distorted conception so long current, that he is nothing more than a Welsh robber. .

The smaller pieces and sonnets will prove of the greatest interest to our readers, their subject-matter being in almost every case some form of theological thought.

The one called Patriarchal Religion is among the best of these. It describes in beautiful language the natural reli-

gion, the instinctive piety, of the old Hebrew patriarchs, as finding its full fruition in Christianity. It contains characteristically vigorous reprehension of the errors of superstition, on the one hand, and of unbounded scepticism, on the other.

In the remaining sonnets we find the chief subjects of religious thought treated from the moderately rationalistic standpoint of their author. In all of them we recognize a breadth of view, aptness of illustration and profundity of feeling, only too rare in the theological thought of our time. As especially noteworthy, and as containing the root-thought of his whole theological teaching, we may point out Dr. Williams's philosophical method of dealing with dogmas, by calling attention to the rudimentary truths of which they are the (often distorted) embodiment. He says, e.g., of the ancient heresies :

But out of mind and nature sprang they all,  
Nor less each conquering dogma passed through mind,  
By reason shaped, or fancy of mankind,  
Ne'er then our reason either can enthrall.

And as happy applications of this method, we may point out the sonnets called "Humiliation" and "Prayer and Morality."

We had intended calling attention to the poems bearing on his persecution, of which there are no less than fifteen in the volume, and in the glimpses of home life at Broadchalke revealed in "Geology" and "Wiltshire Roads," &c. But our space is exhausted. We can only recommend the book to our readers as a worthy record of a great thinker and a good man.

J. O.

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4. *Turgot : his Life, Times and Opinions.* Two Lectures.  
By W. B. Hodgson, LL.D. London : Trübner. 1870.

It may seem there is scant, if any, reason for inserting even the slightest notice of the able financier who only did not succeed in averting the French Revolution, within our pages. In spite of a note to these Lectures, in which Dr. Hodgson says that "a gentleman long and creditably engaged in education" writes to him to confess that he is wholly ignorant of Turgot, we cannot think such crass ignorance exists among the readers of this Review, who must

surely, as part of a liberal English education, have read Carlyle's French Revolution. And such will know at least some outline of Turgot's life and character, sketched with all the power so constantly manifested in that wonderful book. They will know that he was "virtuous" and "philosophic," that "he never went to mass," worked as Controller-General with all his might for twenty months to save France from inevitable ruin, "steering up hillward," as few men before or since; that he was the friend of Morellet, Condorcet, Voltaire. There is little of theology in all this; less when we read Dr. Hodgson's careful analysis of his life and deeds.

But if any of our readers may possibly have been induced by M. Coquerel's book on Jean Calas, or in any other way, to look into the history and the struggles of French Protestantism in the latter part of the last century, they may be glad to be put on a trace which M. Coquerel himself has missed, as well as his reviewer in our pages. While Intendant of the "generality" of Limoges, Turgot "occasionally visited Paris, and it is very memorable that on one of those occasions he took part in the judgment that reversed the sentence on Calas, the well-known Protestant martyr of Toulouse. It is recorded, and is very characteristic, that on this subject he spoke with a vehemence in him unusual."\*

And as this is our excuse for mentioning this little book, we shall not go out of our way if we notice the earnest and simple piety of the man who, first intended for the clerical profession, "shrank with an invincible repugnance" from it, and ended by discarding the whole popular theology current in his day. It is not the first time or the last in which the best men of their age have seemed to reject religion because they would have nothing to do with superstition.

The principles, which seem to many of us so modern, of the Education League, could scarcely be better put than in the words in which Turgot gave his views on this most important matter. "The moral instruction of the people ought to be absolutely distinct from both theological opinions and the ceremonies of worship." Can we wonder that in his day he went on to say that those who guide a nation should

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\* P. 24.

be careful not to abandon education "to the management of priests, whose direct influence over the morals of the people is incompatible with the good order of society" ?\*

For other reasons, as well as those which specially concern ourselves, Dr. Hodgson's Lectures are thoroughly worth reading.

*The Gates Ajar.* By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Sixth Edition. London: Sampson Low. 1870.

This is outwardly one of a class of books on which we look with the extremest aversion. It seems part of a pietistic literature, without knowledge, without an attempt at a scientific theology, the volumes of which are mostly a hash of texts in a nauseating Calvinistic sauce. Such little volumes are terrible when they come from Scotland, as do a vast number of them, but then we are not obliged to read them. If, on the other hand, they come from America, they are doubly terrible, because there is a certain fascination and freshness in almost all American prose writing which induces us to skim the pages to our intellectual harm and moral disgust. We have no doubt many of our readers sympathize with us, and if they should chance to take up "The Gates Ajar," would lay it down all the more quickly if they saw "Sixth Edition," or such and such a "Thousand," on the title-page. For they have learnt by long and sad experience that popular theology is scarce worthy the name, and popular piety extremely irreverent.

But they would do Miss or Mrs. Phelps an injustice, and deprive themselves of a great pleasure, if they thus treated this singularly beautiful little book. If the buyers of all the editions really understand its drift, the creed of the people is in a far healthier state than we have believed it. If not, may many more thousands be sold, that the change may be wrought insensibly.

"The Gates Ajar" are the gates into the spirit world through which, as it seems to the authoress, we gain glimpses of the state of the dead. Mere fancy, perhaps; but since men's minds will rest on such fancies, it is well they should be cheerful rather than gloomy, hopeful rather than desponding, honourable rather than dishonourable, to our God

and Father. This book is an attempt to shew that the next "life, to be worth living, must be very like the better side of this ;"\* to find some medium between the putting away the thoughts of our dead by a strong effort, and the weariness and sadness which arise from even the brightest common views of their state,—as in the following passage :

"He must have gone to heaven. But I know nothing about heaven. It is very far off. In my best and happiest days I never liked to think of it. If I were to go there it would do me no good, for I should not see Roy. Or if by chance I should see him standing up among the grand white angels, he would not be the dear old Roy. *I should grow so tired of singing !*"†

And it is a very healthy and happy attempt ; the sermonizing is strung on a graceful little story, though of the slightest kind ; the language is nervous and pure, with just that foreign dash about it which makes us remember that we are reading American, not English. There is not only deep pathos, but its near kinsman, true humour :

"It has been very warm all day,—that aggravating, unseasonable heat, which is apt to come in spasms in the early part of May, and which one finds intolerable. The thermometer stood at 75° on the church porch, every window was shut, and everybody's face was fluttering. Now with this sight before him, what should our observant minister do but give out as his first hymn, 'Thine earthly Sabbaths.' 'Thine earthly Sabbaths' would be a beautiful hymn if it were not for those lines about the weather :

No midnight shade, *no clouded sun,*  
*But sacred, high, eternal noon.*

There was a great hot sunbeam striking directly on my black bonnet. My fan was broken. I gasped for air. The choir went over and over and *over* the words, spinning them into one of those indescribable tunes, in which everybody seems to be trying to get through first."‡

We have hardly the heart to hint at faults, but the two we discover are those from which the authoress's own principles will speedily deliver her, while they tarnish the book in only small degree. She still holds, or thinks she holds, that all the conclusions of human reason must be brought to the test of some texts of Scripture, instead of

\* Theol. Rev., July, 1870, p. 409.

† Pp. 7, 8.

‡ P. 49. .



bringing the texts of Scripture to the test of human reason ; and she still believes, or thinks that she believes, in an eternity of punishment and in a personal devil. But there is little of either in her charming little book, the whole tendency of which is against doctrines which dishonour the God she loves, and would darken the heaven she thinks so bright and fair.

C. KEGAN PAUL.

5. *The Authenticity of John's Gospel deduced from Internal Evidence, with Answers to Objections derived from the Mode of Teaching, the Style, the Doctrine of the Logos, and other Circumstances.* By James Orr. Williams and Norgate, London. 1870.

Perhaps there is no critical question which it is so difficult to handle with fairness and equanimity as this of the authorship and authenticity of the fourth Gospel. The tone of Mr. Orr's book, though not quite perfect, is on the whole exemplary. He is rarely angry or unfair, and he never descends to vituperation. He writes with the earnest purpose of defending the truth. Many of his arguments display argumentative ability and productive ingenuity. His book deserves to be read by a larger public than the "Inquirer," in which it was first published, probably commands.

The book is divided into two parts, the first on the Coincidences of the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptist, the second on the Objections urged against the Authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. Looking at the whole question from a different point of view from that occupied by Mr. Orr, we necessarily find much to dissent from in both parts.

The great defect of the first part, and indeed the whole of the book, is that it ignores the results to which criticism has arrived as to the synoptical Gospels. The composite character, the successive strata of narrative, and the growth of doctrine, which they all exhibit, are not recognized. Matthew, Mark and Luke, are assumed to be the authors of them. The Synoptists and John are put into the witness-box to have their evidence compared, and for the purpose of deducing the authenticity of the fourth Gospel from the discrepancies and coincidences which they present. The day is gone by when the four witnesses could be brought

into court to receive the verdict of "the calm good sense and discriminating judgment of the British Public."

From the second part of the work, the view taken of the Logos of the Gospel may be selected for remark. Mr. Orr combats the notion that the doctrine of the Logos held by the author of the Gospel "modified his conception of the person of Christ." Space forbids us to quote his arguments. We simply ask, Cannot such passages as the following be best understood in the light of the Logos doctrine: iii. 31, v. 17, seq., vi. 2, 33, seq., viii. 42, 58, x. 30, 38, xvi. 28, xvii. 5? Mr. Orr interprets i. 14, "The Word *σὰρξ ἐγένετο* became flesh," was "revealed in flesh," understanding by "the Word" "the Gospel," "the word of Jesus," or, an entirely different thing, "Jesus as the embodiment of the Gospel." A view of this Gospel and the Gospels generally which compels its holder so to distort language, seems to us thereby to condemn itself.

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

This work\* by M. Sabatier deserves hearty commendation. It is an able contribution towards a true view of the genesis and final form of the great apostle's theology. The author finds the formative powers of this theology in Paul's nature, which he calls *la passion de l'absolu*, his Rabbinical and not Hellenistic education, his sudden and marvellous conversion, and the practical needs of his missionary work. Very ably, and on the whole we think very truthfully, he sketches the origin and development of Paul's religious (which in this case is also theological) life. While differing in many essential points with M. Sabatier, who belongs to the conservative school of critics, we give his book most cordial commendation. Especially should it be read and studied by those who have been beguiled by Mr. Matthew Arnold's view of the apostle's teaching, a view which we can only call *preposterous*, using the word in its etymological sense.

A new book† by Ewald is sure to gain attention. We

\* L'Apotre Paul. Esquisse d'une Histoire de sa Pensée. Par A. Sabatier, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Strasbourg. Strasbourg. 1870. [London: Williams and Norgate.]

† Das Sendschreiben an die Hebräer und Jakobos' Rundschreiben übersetzt und erklärt. Von H. Ewald. Göttingen. 1870. [Williams and Norgate, London.]

indicate merely his main views on these two Epistles. The Epistle to the Hebrews was written from Palestine by an unknown author to a Christian church in Italy, probably the church of Ravenna, just before the outbreak of the Jewish war. Its main object is to warn Christians against falling back into the Jewish religion. The peculiar form of the Epistle is its rhetorical style, being almost a homily. In this respect, as well as in that of doctrine, the author manifests acquaintance with Philo. Our author is a "Christian Philo." Paul and Philo meet in him, for he is one of the noblest of Paul's disciples. The Epistle of James was written from Jerusalem by James "the Just" and "brother of the Lord," shortly before his martyrdom in the year 63. One of the objects of the Epistle is to correct the evil consequences which might follow from an unintelligent use of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. The Epistle to the Romans is referred to. The whole Epistle is artistically laid out in seven divisions, with a short appendix of three smaller divisions. Grave doubts as to many of these conclusions in reference to both Epistles we cannot overcome.

Dr. Wünsche\* may have received the mantle of the departed Hengstenberg, judging both from the matter and the temper of his book. He endeavours to shew that the central figure of Old Testament prophecy is the Messiah as suffering and dying for the sins of the world, and that the ancient Jewish synagogue never lost sight of this fact. It is modern Christianity and Judaism that have dared to deny the expiatory sufferings and death of the Messiah. Our author finds a suffering Messiah in Gen. iii. 15; Psalms xxii. cii. cix.; Isaiah lii. 13—liii.; Zach. ix. 9, xii. 10, xiii. 7; Dan. ix. 24—26. These are his proof passages. His proofs for the early belief of this doctrine in the Jewish synagogue are as weak. He himself allows that the earliest witnesses for it are those of the Babylonian Talmud, and that all the passages in which it is met with belong to the Haggadah. If the Jews had always conceived of the Messiah as an expiatory sufferer, strange indeed would it be that there is no evidence for it in the Halacha. Strange, too, would it

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\* *יְסוּדֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ* oder Die Leiden des Messias in ihrer Uebereinstimmung mit der Lehre des Alten Testaments und den Aussprüchen der Rabbinen in den Talmuden, Midraschim und andern alten rabbinischen Schriften. Dargestellt von Dr. Aug. Wünsche. Leipzig. 1870. [Williams and Norgate, London.]

be that both the Jews and the disciples of Jesus found it hard to receive a crucified Messiah. Besides, no one passage quoted speaks of a *dying* Messiah who is son of David. Thus one of Dr. Davidson's conclusions\* is confirmed. We can only say of Dr. Wünsche's book that it contains a great many curious extracts from the Talmud which are worth reading, while at the same time it proves that the doctrine of a suffering Messiah does not exist in the Old Testament, but grew up in the Jewish synagogue long after Christianity had taught it to the world. On the authority of Ewald, the first evidence we have of the doctrine of a dying Messiah being received by a Jew is in the fourth (otherwise the second) book of Esdras, vii. 27—29, written A.D. 80, 81.

A lively, spirited review of Luther's history during the period of his progress and heroism, by Dr. Schenkel.† The strength and the weakness of the reformer are both clearly exhibited. The point at which Luther stopped is shewn to lie far from the true goal. The point which Dr. Schenkel, as leader of the *Protestantenverein*, thinks is the goal is described, and the way to it marked out. Therefore for us the book is interesting as a chapter of Luther's life, and as descriptive of the position and aims of an important party in the church of Germany.

As religion and art are sisters, the theologian who has also an eye for the beautiful is well qualified to speak about it. In fact, without a knowledge of the history of theology and religious life, mediæval and modern art can neither be understood nor historically studied. Dr. Holtzmann,‡ having both qualifications, has written a very interesting, instructive and suggestive account of the mutual relations of religion and art in Italy, from the time of the Christian catacombs to the glorious days of Leonardo, Raphael and Michael Angelo.

The *Protestantenverein* is to be congratulated on the appearance of this Review.§ It will shew to the world

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\* Theol. Rev. Jan. 1870, p. 22.

† Luther in Worms und in Wittenberg und die Erneuerung der Kirche in der Gegenwart. Von Dr. D. Schenkel. Elberfeld. Friderichs. 1870.

‡ Denkmäler der Religionsgeschichte auf dem Gebiete der italienischen Kunst. Drei Vorträge von Dr. H. Holtzmann, Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Elberfeld. Friderichs. 1869.

§ Jahrbuch des Deutschen Protestanten-Vereins. Unter Mitwirkung von Dr. Baumgarten, Dr. Bluntschli, &c. &c. Erster Jahrgang. Elberfeld. Friderichs. 1869.

what they are attempting, and, to a certain extent, what they are doing. Besides a report of the year's proceedings, this first number contains some very able papers. From them we select for special mention that of Professor Lipsius on the Apostle Paul.

A small brochure\* on great matters by an anonymous author. The author does not deny the reality of evil, nor does he find its origin in a free will. It is the necessary consequence of an infinite effort of all creatures to externalize and expand themselves. Evil is eternal, though an individual being is able to overcome it. There is much good thought in the book, but also much vain fancy; and it is worse than waste of time to attempt to find in the Bible such doctrines as are here propounded.

J. FREDERICK SMITH.

Dr. Morison's Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew† is a portentously thick volume of nearly 700 closely printed pages, in the proportion of a grain of text to a bushel of exposition, with rather an affected parade of critical learning. Codex 33, for instance, is several times referred to as "the queen of the cursives." The work conveys the impression throughout of a manufactured book. The author has drawn his materials from multifarious sources, and his work indicates, no doubt, a wide range of reading and imparts a great quantity of information, much of it sensible, useful and really illustrative, but much also tediously wordy, diffuse, and not unfrequently paltry, frivolous and frothy, resembling the worst style of extemporaneous sermonizing, as though the author were in the habit of addressing either very young or very ignorant hearers, who took for gospel whatever he might please to say. Thus, for example, on Matt. xvii. 7 (after the transfiguration), "*And touched them*:—How exquisitely human! How *touchingly* tender! How finely too, and with what admirable simplicity, does the evangelist *touch off* the scene!" The author's elaborately argued interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18, will be very convincing, we think, to intelligent readers, whether Catholic or Protestant: "Thou art a Piece of Rock,

\* Ueber den Ursprung und die Dauer des Bösen, die zukünftige Welt und die Christliche Offenbarung. Leipzig. 1870. [Williams and Norgate, London.]

† Commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew. By James Morison, D.D. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1870.

and upon this Rock (i.e. Myself) will I build my Church." Opponents of a hired ministry would be amused with an exposition which he quotes, without adopting it, however, of the advice given by the wise to the foolish virgins, Matt. xxv. 9: "*Them that sell:—*Shepard says that these represent *the ministers of the gospel.*" Dr. Morison has a very convenient inability to see any force in any sceptical objection. He winds up a piece of helpless floundering in the attempt to explain the co-existence in the mind of Christ of limited and unlimited knowledge (referring to Matt. xxiv. 36), by quietly asserting that "there is not an atom of ground on which legitimate objection or disbelief can stand." In the preliminary dissertations also, which form the Introduction, he seems to think that any stick is good enough to beat a doubter, resorting to the most capricious and far-fetched hypotheses to evade a difficulty or an objection. Thus after quoting from Meyer that "the introduction of the myths or legends . . . concerning the resurrection of some of the deceased saints at the time of our Lord's own resurrection, is incompatible with the idea that an apostle wrote the Gospel," he replies—"What if our Lord's resurrection was not isolated? What if it was the centre of a little resurrection circle?" It is not easy to believe that a writer can be serious and earnest who so glibly and jauntily dismisses a difficulty gravely urged by a learned and thoughtful critic. Dr. Morison lays it down (p. xviii) that "there is no more reason to doubt" that Matthew's Gospel was really by the Apostle Matthew, "than there is to doubt that Virgil's *Æneid* was written by Virgil, or that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was actually Bunyan's." We do not say that the work is of no value, though there are other commentaries in which what is really useful in the way of exposition is much more carefully, correctly and concisely given; but we think a great deal of it, to use his own words in characterizing the plan of the Gospel itself, "finely free and easy."

Dr. Morison makes one remark on Matt. xxvi. 26—"This is my body"—which may appropriately lead us to the next work in our list.\* Dr. Booth's modest volume is avowedly

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\* The Lord's Supper, a Feast after Sacrifice. With Inquiries into the Doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Principles of Development as applied to the Interpretation of the Bible. By James Booth, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., &c., Vicar of Stone, Buckinghamshire. London: Longmans. 1870.

not so much an original production as an attempt to recall by selected citations what he thinks the too much neglected learning of the Fathers of the Church of England. The volume is divided into four chapters, in the first of which he adduces authorities to prove that the Lord's Supper is not a mere service of commemoration; in the second he adduces authorities to prove that it ought to be regarded as a feast of thanksgiving, implying a preceding sacrifice; in the third he treats of the principle of development as applied to the interpretation of the Bible; and in the fourth he discusses and dismisses the doctrine of transubstantiation, incidentally treating at some length of the influence of the philosophy of Aristotle. The most original thoughts and illustrations occur in the third chapter, and the reasoning seems to us most conclusive in the fourth. The quotations have evidently been selected with thought and care, and evince much research, and the author's own writing is finished and good, though we observed in one instance a confusion between *would* and *should*, indicating, we conjecture, an Irish origin. The volume is the careful production of a thoughtful scholar, though it conveys the impression to us that the mind of the writer has been somewhat overlaid by scholastic learning, so as to be in an artificial state, and partially disabled from receiving in their freshness and simplicity the truths which we conceive to be really revealed in the Scriptures to the human heart. From an ecclesiastical point of view, the volume may be safely commended as a "sound" and "judicious" contribution to the maintenance of solid and respectable orthodoxy, evincing eminent fitness in the writer for further preferment in the Church of England, which, however, we fear that our recommendation will not do much to procure for him.

"The Bible in the Public Schools"\* is the report of a trial before the Superior Court of Cincinnati as to the legality of a resolution passed by the Board of Education to exclude religious instruction and the reading of religious books, including the Holy Bible, from the Common Schools of the State. The arguments of counsel on both sides are very able, and travel over a wide range of thought and reading.

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\* The Bible in the Public Schools. Arguments in the Case of John D. Minor et als. versus The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati et als. Superior Court of Cincinnati. With the Opinions and Decision of the Court. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co. London: C. D. Cazenove. 1870.



Under the guise of strict impartiality to all forms of religious belief, there seems to have been a Roman Catholic conspiracy to prepare the way for breaking up the system of Common Schools, and substituting a separate endowment of denominational schools ; so that the decision of the majority of the Court, denying the legality of the resolution of the School Board, was, we suppose, practically right. The speech of Mr. George Hoadly for the Board of Education contains eloquent tributes to the character and influence of some on whom the Churches have looked coldly, such as Spinoza, Humboldt, Theodore Parker and R. W. Emerson. "When Theodore Parker, that prophet of God to New England, lay dying, literally worn out by his labours for the emancipation of the human mind and the relief of the destitute and perishing, wicked Christians publicly prayed in Boston that 'a hook might be put in his jaws ;' but the tears of William and Ellen Craft, and many another whom he had helped from bondage, are shed on his grave ; and his great collection of books, given to Boston to be a part of her public library, renders sacred the memory of this unbeliever wherever knowledge is valued. Unbelievers ! I heard your Honour, the presiding judge [Storer], in language which did you and the object of your eulogy equal honour, introduce Ralph Waldo Emerson to a Cincinnati audience. The loftiest philosophy of this age this man has written. No word of his will ever bring a blush to the cheek of young or old. No word of his, but is a trumpet blast, loudly calling to a better life. Alike in poetry and philosophy, the first name our literature can present is of this so-called Infidel."\*

Mr. G. R. Sage (for the plaintiffs) tells a striking story of a young child's evidence being available for the conviction of a murderer, through the religious instruction it had received at school, by which it clearly understood the nature of an oath and the solemn duty of always speaking the truth. Mr. Rufus King, also for the plaintiffs, quotes the following passage from a speech of Count Bismark in the Prussian Chambers : "Without a religious foundation, the State is only an accidental aggregate of rights ; a bulwark against the king ; a bulwark of all against all. Its legisla-

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\* P. 137.

tion will not be regenerated out of the original foundation of eternal wisdom, but stand upon the shifting sands of vague and changeable ideas of humanity."\* But we must not go further into details. The volume presents a few American provincialisms, such as "dog-trot" and "snap-judgment;" but, as a whole, both the arguments and the language are eloquent and interesting, and well worthy of perusal by English readers, especially with reference to our own recent controversies on the Government Education Bill.

Mr. Picton's "New Theories and the Old Faith,"† is the unmistakable production of honest and earnest thought. It consists of five Lectures, with an Appendix of valuable Notes. As a sample of the first Lecture, on "The Soul's Longing after a Final Cause," we give the following passage from the conclusion :

"And he with whom is this secret of the Lord can look, if with painful longing, yet without despair, on all the darkness of the world's mystery of sin. For his own experience tells him that God is not very far from every one of us. His own communion with God he values, not as a personal or sectarian peculiarity, but as a token of the divine kinship of all mankind. Indeed, herein often lies the distinction between genuine religious experience and mere sectarian fanaticism. For the one makes us more human than before, brings us down from our personal isolation unto the deeper region of life, which, though beneath the surface of consciousness in many, is nevertheless we feel a generic attribute of man. The other shuts us up in self or sect, and makes us feel as the detestable Calvinistic sentiment has it—

‘a garden walled round,  
Chosen and made peculiar ground.’

Nor is this all the distinction. Sectarian fanaticism will generally be found to eye the future with gloomy fear, sweetened only by the fierce joy of personal salvation as a brand snatched from a burning world. But he who feels most profoundly God's essential nearness to himself will derive from that a secure and sometimes triumphant confidence that one day God will be all in all."‡

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\* P. 340.

† *New Theories and the Old Faith. A Course of Lectures on Religious Topics of the Day, delivered in St. Thomas's Square Chapel, Hackney. By the Rev. J. Allanson Picton, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate. 1870.*

‡ Pp. 28, 29.

The second Lecture, on "The God-consciousness in Humanity," is also eloquent and thoughtful, and contains a striking passage on the evidence afforded by the God-consciousness in man of an actually existing God. In the same Lecture the author utters a protest "against the senseless use which is sometimes made of the solemn truism—'religion is one thing, science another.'" "It is perfectly consistent to say, 'My heart holds to the living God as the substance of all things, a faith no scientific theory can touch.' But it is not consistent, and but for the effect of custom would be felt to be sheer self-stultification, for an accomplished geologist solemnly to declare as a fact, that '*God spake all these words, saying . . . in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day.*'"\*

With regard to the scientific theory of development, the author points out that God may just as well be conceived to act gradually as suddenly, pursuing the same thought at greater length in an excellent Note in the Appendix. In the third Lecture, on "Inspiration," he considers Inspiration to differ in degree rather than in kind in its various manifestations. In the fourth Lecture, on "Infallibility," whilst he forcibly demonstrates the impossibility of upholding the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as an infallible standard of moral and spiritual truth, he ably vindicates their real value in developing the inspiration of God in the human heart. In this Lecture he points out how little the early Fathers relied on the precise expressions of the Scriptures as an infallible guide, regarding them rather as simply embodying the earliest tradition of the Church. Members of the Church of Rome might perhaps exult in this admission, though our author would of course not admit the inference they would draw as to the infallibility of the Church itself. In the opening of the fifth and concluding Lecture, on "The Use and Abuse of the Bible," he corrects, and successfully, we think, the ordinary translation of John v. 39, "Search the Scriptures," &c., and renders the passage declaratively, "Ye do search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye might have

life ;" remarking that the tendency of the Jews whom Jesus addressed was rather towards an excessive disposition to appeal to what was written, rendering them less susceptible to the appeal of a fresh and genuine inspiration. We cannot say that Mr. Picton is more successful than others in the attempt to render conceivable the co-existence at the same time of divine and human natures in Christ, and all his labour, as it seems to us, might be saved by affirming the simply human nature of Jesus, though possessing in more than ordinary measure an inspiration from God. Mr. Picton boldly maintains that Isaiah cannot be held to have been a prophet of Christ in any other sense than that in which Plato may be so designated, in his description of a career which would be necessary to prove a love of virtue for its own sake. He compares the effect of saintly characters in developing the spiritual nature to that of the study of the works of artists in cultivating a susceptibility to the influences of external nature. In passages which we have not space to quote, he eloquently illustrates the true power of the Bible to lead the soul up towards God, and the power of the inspiration of Christ to impart a higher spiritual meaning to the utterances of the older prophets. Mr. Picton deprecates the practice of enforcing the reading of the Bible as a regular part of the exercises in a daily school. In the concluding part of this Lecture he exposes the "impious nonsense" of alleged fulfilment of Scripture prophecies by ignorant, fanciful and far-fetched analogies to passing events ; and concludes by urging that "if we would find God our Father, we must not seek the living among the dead. We must look to present spiritual facts rather than to the ruins of a departed world."\* Note A in the Appendix is a vindication of the essentially religious character of Buddhism, against a statement in the *Theological Review* of April last by Mr. R. A. Armstrong, on which we will not dwell, especially as the author of the article has himself replied through another channel. Note B is a very able and thoughtful argument to prove the compatibility of the Development Theory with the spiritual nature and immortality of the human soul, in which the author is at least successful in shewing that the difficulties attendant on the

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\* P. 180.

subject are not really increased by the above theory. Several other Notes are added, defending or illustrating more at length positions advanced in the Lectures. But our space will only allow us to add, in conclusion, that the whole book, especially when we regard it as proceeding from an orthodox source, is a refreshing manifestation of liberal and earnest thought. Even if the reader cannot accept all the author's conclusions, he will feel that every topic is instructively and candidly treated, and never in any instance will he be offended by the assumptions of arrogant dogmatism or the affectations of spiritual pride. J. R.

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#### 6. *Miscellaneous.*

Mr. Hunt's survey of the Religious Thought of Protestant England\* is both clear and elaborate. If the second volume prove equal in merit to the first, the whole, though it will need some revision, bids fair to become a work of permanent value. The great care and pains which Mr. Hunt has evidently bestowed upon the accumulation of his materials deserves all praise. In dealing with many obscure corners and byways of theology, he has in all cases gone to the original sources of information, and has conscientiously examined and made himself master of the varieties of religious opinion which he lays before the judgment of his reader. This is the virtue of the book, and it is at the same time the occasion of its chief defect. For we cannot avoid discovering that Mr. Hunt is comparatively new to the particular line of study of which his book gives us the first fruits, and the minuteness of his method has now and then interfered with the completeness of his investigation. He has made an excellent digest of an unusually large store of materials; his arrangement is lucid and good; he supplies the student tolerably well with those accurate references and dates which are too often missing in hand-books of this kind; and he has done his work in a very candid spirit and without any sort of pretension.

His book indeed has the aim of being something more than a mere arrangement of reported opinions, and there is

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\* Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of last Century: a Contribution to the History of Theology. By Rev. John Hunt, M.A. Vol. I. Strahan and Co. 1870.

a definite purpose at the bottom of this painstaking exhibition of the curious shapes and phases of English religion. Mr. Hunt regards the history of English Protestantism as bearing important testimony to the "education theory" of revelation and religious development. It is in his Preface that he declares his mind upon this point. "There are two views," he says, "of Christianity distinctly traceable in the history of the Church. They exist more or less in all systems, and often in the same mind. The one receives its highest expression in the Roman claim to infallibility, the other in Bishop Temple's theory of the education of the human race. All questions of Catholicism and Protestantism, the Church and the Bible, in all their varied forms, are ultimately reducible to these two. Neither of them has yet been pressed to its logical result, and it is only in our day that the full antagonism between them begins distinctly to appear." "In the trial of the question, which of the two theories agrees best with the facts of Christianity, the history of all Protestant Churches, and especially of the Church of England, must be brought in evidence. What is the result of three centuries of the Reformation? Is it such as to justify the Reformation, and to determine us to go forward?" This question Mr. Hunt considers to be decisively answered in the affirmative by the facts of our religious history, which in the main and in spite of "the extravagances of some individuals or of some sects," he reads as "a record of progress." In the volume before us he pursues the line of this progress from the dawn of the English Reformation under Robert Barnes, John Frith and William Tyndale, through a period which brings us down to the divines of the Restoration. We would especially single out for commendation his treatment of two difficult subjects which render that period interesting and important, the influence of the Martin Marprelate Tracts, and the rise of the "untolerated sects" at the time of the Commonwealth. The concluding chapter on Rational Theologians, though careful and large, is not so full as it might be. In fine, we would cordially commend the volume as a handy and useful introduction to the study of the religious development of our country.

The author of the "Christ of History" comes before us with a third and revised edition of a little work, first published thirteen years ago, "The Creator and the Creation—

how related.\* Its object is to determine, if possible, the method of the government of the universe, and ascertain the exact relation between God and nature, and between God and humanity. We have not much sympathy with any attempts to justify the ways of God to man, and it cannot be said that Dr. Young rises to the height of the great argument. It is amazing to find a writer who believes that man has only existed on the earth six thousand years, taking upon himself to say that creation without man would have been "unmitigated selfishness."† During all the countless ages that preceded the introduction of man (for Dr. Young does not, so far as we understand him, refuse all the results of modern science) was God simply "enjoying the display of His own productive power," "looking upon a not exalted reflection of Himself," &c.? Such statements are simply irritating; and our author must know that they do not advance the question one way or other. The main bulk of the book is occupied with discussions about the origin of evil, free will, and the like. Of course these are treated philosophically and scripturally. Dr. Young employs the high a-priori style, and entirely ignores all recent methods of psychological analysis. From his frequent quotations from Cousin and Hamilton as final authorities, one might fancy there was no later intelligence from the war of philosophies; and in these days of Mill and Bain, general statements about the creation of souls, backed up by a passage from Locke, may be very inoffensive, but they are certainly not defensive weapons. Nevertheless, the book may do some good to those into whose hands it will probably for the most part fall. Dr. Young opposes with much earnestness the doctrine of eternal punishment. He has the merit of seeing clearly that everlasting punishment, when properly interpreted, necessarily means everlasting sin; and he argues vigorously against so gross a supposition. As there are probably many others who are as "sternly averse," as the author candidly confesses he himself once was, to the idea of the final triumph of good over sin and misery, his example may be not without effect; and we can but commend to them a book in which disbelief in the perpe-

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\* *The Creator and the Creation—how related.* By Dr. John Young, LL.D. London: Strahan and Co. 1870.

† P. 165.



tuity of evil is shewn to be not incompatible with the strictest orthodoxy.

In the "Christianum Organum,"\* Mr. Miller claims for the inductive method, as generally employed in scientific investigation, a specially Christian basis; and he attempts to indicate in what manner it may be applied to the elucidation of the Scriptures. He has, however, mistaken the fundamental conditions of the problem. Scripture does not admit of being treated in the same manner as the facts of outward nature. Mr. Miller justly remarks that every scientific induction may be represented as a syllogism, the major premiss of which is the belief, however arrived at, in the uniformity of nature. What, then, must be the major premiss of a similar syllogism of scriptural induction? Nothing less than this, that (to use the words of Hooker, quoted approvingly and italicised) "every proposition of Holy Scripture, every sentence, is a principle;" or, as the writer elsewhere states it, "in Scripture, being the work of the Divine Mind, which knows perfectly and eternally, we have reason to believe we are at once presented with facts and principles that are unchangeable, perfect and ultimate." It is impossible to claim for this dogma an intuitive basis, such as that by which the belief in the uniformity of nature is sought to be established; nor can we regard it as in itself a previous induction; it is simply an assumption, one of the numerous *eidola* which criticism is rapidly destroying. And if the method is thus rendered unsatisfactory, so are its results, which, to judge from the specimens offered, are either false or superfluous. Altogether, we think Mr. Miller is more at home among the "sweet singers" than among the philosophers and critics.

The little work mentioned in the note† is, in substance, an introduction to Hebrew Grammar. It is concise and elementary, but, notwithstanding an old-fashioned kind of preface, a chief object of which is to sound the praises of the Hebrew language, the book will be useful to beginners. One of its good points is the size and distinctness of the type in which much of the Hebrew is printed. The account

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\* *Christianum Organum, or the Inductive Method in Scripture and Science.* By Josiah Miller, M.A. London: Longmans and Co. 1870.

† *Progressive Hebrew Course and Music of the Bible, &c., &c.* By P. I. J. Warschawski, F.R.A.S. London: Longmans. 1870.

of the vowel-points and their changes, and of other minutiae, is not so full as the advanced student will require; but it is good as far as it goes, and is illustrated by a series of short exercises, for translation out of Hebrew into English and *vice versa*. This addition forms a leading feature of the work, and will be acceptable to the teacher in elementary instruction. The work will be of chief utility in conjunction with a larger Grammar, such as that of Gesenius or Ewald; and will throw light on various points simply by its different mode of statement.

The Old-Testament sketches which the Bishop of Winchester has reprinted from "Good Words," under the title, "Heroes of Hebrew History,"\* are lively, often picturesque, presenting in a remarkable degree the merits of style which might be expected to belong to a successful preacher. And they may have a value in helping some persons to form definite conceptions of characters of Scripture, which are too often felt to belong to a remote and quite obscure antiquity. But our praise can go no further. Criticism apparently does not exist for Dr. Wilberforce. He makes no attempt to use scientifically even the materials presented by the Bible itself. We have nothing but the barest traditional interpretations of facts and motives; only the unqualified acceptance of scriptural statements, unaccompanied by any recognition of difficulties or attempt at the reconciliation of diversities. We do not believe that even the Bishop of Winchester would care to stake his reputation on a volume of sketches from *English* history which in spirit and treatment should be similar to this: why is it that, upon the secular field, accuracy is always set before edification—upon the religious, edification preferred to accuracy?

Mr. Leigh Mann's little volume of sermons, which he calls "Life Problems answered in Christ,"† is one of the books which, even in those who are compelled to disagree with many of its statements, awaken a sincere respect for their authors. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Mann has a warm heart, a rich vein of spiritual emotion, and a quick and graceful mind. The title of the book speaks for itself.

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\* *Heroes of Hebrew History*. By Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. London: Strahan. 1870.

† *Life Problems answered in Christ: Six Sermons*. By Leigh Mann. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

In the incarnation of the Son of God, Mr. Mann finds the only sufficient solution of all the problems of nature and of grace which perplex the religious thinker. Whether he does not sometimes unconsciously state the question with a view to the answer which he is about to give to it, or whether he would always be able to substantiate the ground of such answers, are matters into which it is hardly worth while to go. It is quite enough to welcome these sermons as the work of one who honestly investigates and deeply feels the truths of religion.—In their “Critical English New Testament,”\* Messrs. Bagster, with their wonted enterprize in biblical matters, have followed in the path not long ago pointed out by Dr. Tischendorf and his spirited publisher, Baron Tauchnitz. But they have gone a step further than their predecessors. Tischendorf was content with printing the English of the Authorized Version, and indicating in the notes the readings of three great MSS. In the present edition, the readings of *five critical Texts* are recorded, and that not merely at the foot, but in the body of the page itself. At the same time, in the notes are given the authorities for addition, omission or change. The book is an admirable contribution to the biblical knowledge of the people. We have only one fault to find with it, and that is, the unaccountable absence of any explanation of words and symbols freely used. The scholar knows well enough what is meant by  $\aleph$ , B, G, L, S, Sahidic, P. Syriac, &c.; but what can the English reader, for whom we suppose this volume is primarily designed, make of them?

Dr. Réville’s “History of the Doctrine of the Deity of Jesus Christ”† has been already reviewed at length in our pages. An “authorized translation” has now appeared, which is on the whole well executed, though deformed by several trifling errors, which will probably disappear in a second edition.—A little book called “The Soul’s Inquiries answered in the Words of Scripture,”‡ contains two or

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\* A Critical English New Testament, presenting at One View the Authorized Version and the Results of the Criticism of the Original Text. London: Bagster. 1870.

† History of the Doctrine of the Deity of Jesus Christ: translated from the French of Albert Réville. Authorized Translation. London: Williams and Norgate. 1870.

‡ The Soul’s Inquiries answered in the Words of Scripture: a Year-book of Scripture Texts. By G. W. Moon. London: Hatchards. 1870.

three texts for every day of the year, arranged in the form of question and reply, with blank spaces for a diary. It is everything that good print, good paper and good binding, can make it. There our commendation must stop. To take a question from 1 Peter and answer it from Psalms and Proverbs, or, again, a question from Romans and the answers from Daniel and the Apocalypse, is a very dangerous method of treating Scripture, and one which may lead to almost any doctrinal results. The only thing it can by no possibility result in, is a just and reasonable interpretation of the Bible.

Among a host of pamphlets upon our table, we select the following for very brief notice. In her "*Indian Theism*,"\* Miss Collet gives an interesting account of the Brahmo Somaj, which she fondly hopes may still suffer a specifically Christian development. Dr. Adler's lecture on "*The Jews in England*"† treats without passion a theme, in regard to which sorrow and anger would not be without excuse in any Hebrew heart. Dr. Vance Smith, in "*The Bible in Convocation*,"‡ takes the occasion of the refusal of the Northern Convocation to join in the scheme of Biblical revision adopted by that of the Southern province, to recommend the movement, in connection with which he has since suffered so much notoriety. "*The Noachian Flood*"§ is a lecture, in which a Western clergyman draws out, with great liveliness and force, the absurdities and impossibilities which attend the theory of a universal deluge; but while he demonstrates with absolute cogency that the flood must have been partial, we think he is hardly successful in imposing that meaning upon the narrative in Genesis. Mr. Pretyman, formerly a beneficed clergyman, asks, "*What is the Use of Infant Baptism?*"|| and urges over again the usual Baptist argument, which is, we think, from the point of view of Scripture, not to be gainsayed. "*The Primitive*

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\* *Indian Theism, and its Relation to Christianity.* By S. D. Collet. London: Strahan. 1870.

† *The Jews in England: a Lecture to Jewish Working Men.* By Rev. Dr. H. Adler. London: Longmans. 1870.

‡ *The Bible in Convocation; being York Letters on Revision.* By G. Vance Smith, B.A., Ph.D. London: Whitfield. 1870.

§ *The Noachian Flood: a Lecture, &c.* By T. R. R. Stebbing, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Worcester Coll., Ox. London: Macmillan. 1870.

|| *What is the Use of Infant Baptism?* By Rev. J. R. Pretyman, M.A., formerly Vicar of Aylesbury. London: Hamilton. 1870.

Mode of making Bishops"\* is, according to the vicar of Fenwick, their election by the laity ; and episcopal functions, he thinks, are exercised in virtue of such election, and not of any mysterious apostolical succession. And lastly, Mr. Peter, the rector of Cavendish, writes a kindly Letter† to Churchmen and Dissenters on the subject of Comprehension, in which he displays more desire to heal differences than knowledge of what they really are. Altogether the hail-storm of pamphlets with which this and every other editor is assailed, is a cheering sign of the times. It shews at least that thought on religious matters is no longer stagnant, and that open speech is suffered to follow upon honest inquiry.

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\* On the Primitive Mode of making Bishops, &c. &c. By John Harrison, Vicar of Fenwick. London : Longmans. 1870.

† A Letter to Churchmen and Dissenters, from R. S. Peter, M.A., Rector of Cavendish, and late Fellow and Tutor of Jesus Coll., Cam. London : Bell and Daldy. 1870.

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